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DELINEATION
OF
ROMAN CATHOLICISM,

DRAWN FROM THE
AUTHENTIC AND ACKNOWLEDGED STANDARDS

OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME:

NAMELY,
HER CREEDS, CATECHISMS, DECISIONS OF COUNCILS, PAPAL BULLS, ROMAN CATHOLIC
WRITERS, THE RECORDS OF HISTORY, ETC. ETC.:

IN WHICH
THE PECULIAR DOCTRINES, MORALS, GOVERNMENT, AND USAGES OF
THE CHURCH OF ROME ARE STATED, TREATED
AT LARGE, AND CONFUTED.

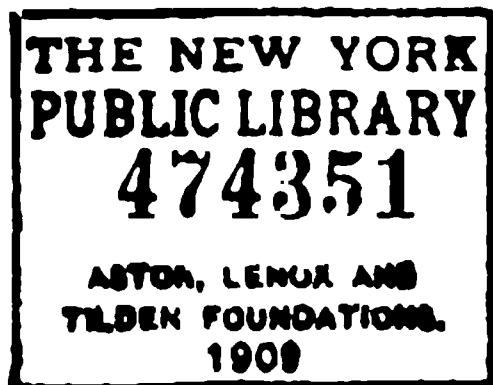
BY REV. CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D

VOLUME II.

New-York:
PUBLISHED BY LANE & SCOTT,
200 MULBERRY-STREET.

JOSEPH LONGKING, PRINTER.

1851.



**“Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1841, by
GEORGE LANE,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New-York.”**

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DELINEATION OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

BOOK III.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH.

I. NAME AND DEFINITION. 1. Meaning of the word in general: 2. Particular meaning: 3. Bellarmine's definition—its absurdity: 4. Not supported from antiquity.—**II. SCRIPTURE CHARACTER OF THE TRUE CHURCH.** 1. It receives and holds the true doctrine: 2. Has an apostolic ministry: 3. And true sacraments: 4. Exercises a pure discipline.—**III. MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.** 1. Are of two classes: 2. Some improper persons become members: 3. The proper members of the church: 4. The views given defended: 5. Their definition of a church faulty: 6. Of the unbaptized as members: 7. Heretics and apostates: 8. Schismatics: 9. The excommunicate: 10. They teach that open and scandalous sinners, and concealed heretics, are members. Their divines cited. Their discordant sentiments.—**IV. OF THE CHURCH AS VISIBLE, OR INVISIBLE.** 1. Sentiments of Protestants faulty: 2. Protestant distinction: 3. Definition of Dens: 4. Renovation of heart and newness of life necessary. Four proofs of this: 5. Outlines of morality from the General Rules of the Methodists: 6. Notes of the church.—**V. UNITY OF THE CHURCH.** 1. The union taught in Scripture: 2. Unity of itself not a true note: 3. Their plea for unity unfounded: 4. Adhesion to the pope no proper mark of unity. Ten arguments on this head: 5. No parallel between the agreement of Scripture and the decrees of popes and councils: 6. The decrees of councils differ among themselves: 7. So do those of popes: 8. True character of Roman Catholic unity. Seven characteristics of it: 9. Alterations in their divinity at different times. Five species given: 10. Are internally divided by their different orders, schools, &c.: 11. Are divided on the rule of faith: 12. Their unity defective in its head: 13. Are divided on the limits and extent of the pope's authority: 14. And the extent and prerogatives of the church: 15. On the doctrines of grace, predestination, human liberty, and original sin: 16. On morals: 17. The sacraments: 18. And the mode of instructing Christians: 19. On the immaculate conception. The bull Unigenitus: 20. Their principles necessarily divisive. Instances of this. Divines cited: 21. Exact uniformity of opinion not necessary. Six proofs of this: 22. Protestants united to a good degree. Points of agreement: 23. Their unity preferable to that of Rome: 24. Importance of Scriptural unity. Mistakes of the early Christians on this point.

I. The name and definition of the church.

1. The word *ἐκκλησία*, *church*, means an *assembly* or *congregation* of any kind, the nature of which is to be collected from connecting circumstances. It is used for the mob, or confused rabble gathered together against Paul. Acts xix, 32–39. The word is derived from *ἐκκαλεω*, *to call out of*, or *from*, that is, an assembly gathered out of a multitude. It must have some other word joined with it to determine its nature, as the *church of God*, the *church of Christ*. It is understood of the collective body of Christians, or all those over the face of the earth who profess to believe in Christ, and acknowledge him to be the

Saviour of mankind. This is called the *visible* church. Eph. iii, 21 iv, 11, 12; 1 Tim. iii, 15. By the word church also we are to understand the whole body of God's chosen people in every period of time; this is the *invisible* church. Those on earth are called the militant, and those in heaven are called the triumphant church. Heb. xii, 23; Acts xx, 28; Eph. i, 22; Matt. xvi, 28.

2. The word church denotes also in Scripture a particular congregation of Christians united together, and meeting in one place for the solemn worship of God: hence the "church which was in the house of Aquila and Priscilla," Rom. xvi, 3, 5; and 1 Cor. xvi, 19; and "the church which was in the house of Nymphas," Col. iv, 15. We have also an account of several churches existing in one place or province; as the seven churches which were in Asia, the churches of Achaia, of Judea, &c.

3. The following definition of Bellarmine is adopted in words or sense by most Roman Catholics: "The church is an assembly of men, united in the profession of one and the same Christian faith, and in the communion of the same sacraments, under the government of their lawful pastors, as especially of the Roman pontiff."*

That the church of Christ has a visible unity throughout the world, under the pope as a visible head, is manifestly contradicted by the language of the apostles, who, while they teach there is but one church, composed of believers throughout the world, think it not at all inconsistent with this view to speak of "the churches of Judea," "of Achaia," "the seven churches of Asia," "the church of Ephesus," &c. Among themselves the apostles had no common head; but planted churches, and gave directions for their government, in most cases without any apparent correspondence with each other. The popish idea of a church is not found in their writings; and so far were they from making provision for the government of this one supposed church, by the appointment of one visible and exclusive head, that they provide for the government of the respective churches raised up by them in a totally different manner; that is, by the ordination of ministers for each church, who are indifferently called bishops, presbyters, and pastors. The only unity of which they speak is the unity of the whole church in Christ, the invisible head by faith; and the unity produced by "fervent love toward each other."

4. Nor has the popish doctrine of the visibility of the church any countenance from early antiquity. Shortly after the apostles, all the churches of a province were formed into one large ecclesiastical body, which, like confederate states, assembled at certain times, in order to deliberate on the common interests of the whole. No very large association, however, of churches assembled till toward the close of the second century, which sufficiently refutes the papal argument from antiquity.†

Some observations on the nature of the true church of Christ may be necessary before we examine particularly the claims of the Church of Rome to be the only true church.

* *Ecclesia est cætus hominum unius et ejusdem fidei Christianæ professione, et eorundem sacramentorum communione conjunctus, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum ac præcipue Romani pontificis.*—Vide *Lieberman. Theol.*, tom. ii, p. 45.

† See *Watson's Biblical Dictionary*, art. Church, No. 3.

II. *Scriptural character, or marks of the true church of Christ.*

The following Scriptural traits we find attached to the true church of Christ; which we briefly set before the reader, not as a complete list of Scriptural marks, but as the most prominent ones which the Holy Scriptures furnish.

1. The true church is characterized by its receiving and retaining the *doctrine* or *faith* of the apostles.

It is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," Eph. ii, 20. Again, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. iii, 11. Faith is the medium which unites us to Christ. And his doctrine, which is the object of faith, is the foundation of the church.

To establish, then, the claims of any association to be the true church of Christ, it is indispensably necessary that it should hold the same doctrines which the inspired prophets and apostles taught, and which are contained in the canonical Scriptures. This is a test laid down by the Saviour himself: "My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me," John x, 27. "A stranger they will not follow," John x, 5. St. John also says: "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son," 2 John 9. "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed," 2 John 10. From these and other portions of Scripture of a similar kind, it is evident that all societies which hold or teach doctrines contrary to the written word of God are heretical in proportion to the number and greatness of their errors. From these the true church withdraws itself, and expels them from its communion, after suitable efforts to reclaim them from their errors.

The duty of testing the doctrines of all persons and societies by the Scriptures is repeatedly enjoined. "Search the Scriptures," said the Saviour to the Jews, John v, 39. "Try the spirits," saith St. John, 1 John iv, 1. While St. Luke eulogizes the Bereans for comparing the preaching even of St. Paul himself with the sacred records. Acts xvii, 11.

It is not, then, the sentiments of fathers, or pontiffs, or bishops, but only those of prophets and apostles, that constitute the foundation of the church's faith. Most assuredly we should honour the fathers; we should pay to them all the respect and deference that the holiness of their lives, the excellence of their knowledge, and the antiquity of their characters deserve. But at the same time we should remember they were fallible men, the subjects of infirmity and of error. It is the word of God, uttered by the mouths and written by the pens of the apostles, that alone is infallible, and is entitled, by way of emphasis, *the truth*. St. Augustine, therefore, when refuting the Donatists, says: "Let them show me their church; not in the councils of their bishops, not in the writings of disputers, not in the miracles and prodigies of which they boast; but let them show it me in the ordinances of the law, in the predictions of the prophets, in the songs of the Psalms, in the preaching of the evangelists, and in the canonical authorities of the sacred books. This is our foundation, to which we inviolably attach ourselves, re-

posing only upon this Scripture, which is come from the prophets and apostles.”*

Its apostolic doctrine is the first test of the church, which is emphatically entitled, “The pillar and ground of the truth,” 1 Tim. iii, 15. If this be entirely wanting, no other quality, not even the possession of apostolic succession, can avail. If those to whom the ministry was confided become apostate, they surely must be regarded in the same light as generals, or officers, who, though commissioned by their government or king, have forsaken their loyalty, disobeyed their orders, and indulged in treasonable practices. Gregory Nazianzen, in his eulogy upon Athanasius, says: “This is the law of the family of God, that it is neither flesh nor blood, nor the transmission of pulpits and benefices, which constitutes the succession, but the spirit of Jesus Christ; or,” continues he, quoting from Tertullian, “as Tertullian speaks, ‘the consanguinity of the faith.’ ‘Let them produce,’ said this same father,† ‘the origin of their churches. Let them unfold the roll of their bishops, so that the first may name for author some apostle, or some apostolic person who has persevered with the apostles, &c. But when they should have found out together all these things, still they would have advanced nothing, since their doctrine, compared with the apostolic doctrine, would pronounce, by its diversity and opposition, that they have for author neither apostle nor apostolic man.’”

Be it, then, settled in our minds, that a retention of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus the Lord is the first mark of the true church.

2. A second mark of the true church is the apostolic ministry.

The office of the ministry, if not absolutely necessary to the existence of the church, is necessary to its well being. It was the ordinary means appointed by God for its formation, which consists in calling men unto the light of the gospel, and uniting them in Christian communion. It is also the means appointed by God for the increase and edification of the church, it being the office of the ministry to feed the flock with the divine word, to guide it with the pastoral rod of discipline, and to administer to it the holy sacraments. So evidently necessary is the office of the ministry to the church, that none dispute it; every religious society, however distracted by the widest misrule and disorder, pretending to have its ministry.

Now, Scripture instructs us, that a divine vocation is necessary to the exercise of this ministry; that none may presume to discharge its functions till he be first legitimately invested with the office. “No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron,” Heb. v, 4. “How,” says the same apostle, “shall they preach, except they be sent?” Rom. x, 15. They are called “watchmen,” Ezek. iii, 17; but watchmen must be appointed by persons in authority: “messengers,” 2 Cor. viii, 23; but such persons must be commissioned by the Master: “ambassadors,” 2 Cor. v, 20; but such persons do not act by their own authority, they must be furnished with credentials: “stewards,” 1 Cor. iv, 1; but such persons must have the charge of the keys intrusted to them by the lord of the house. In fine, every representation given of them in Scripture carries with it the idea of an office bestowed by divine investiture and vocation.

In the ancient Scriptures the Jews were frequently warned against

* 1 De unit. Eccle., cap. 6.

† De Præscrip. adv. Hæret., c. 32.

false prophets, of whom God declared "he had not sent them," Jer. xxiii, 32. In the Scriptures of the New Testament the apostles utter similar admonitions. 2 Pet. ii, 1. Our blessed Lord said, "Many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many," Matt. xxiv, 11. And in the Revelation of St John he utters this commendation to the angel or bishop of the Ephesian church: "Thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars," Rev. ii, 2.

It is then evident, that men may pretend to be ministers of Christ who have no right whatever to that title; that it is the duty of Christians to test their pretensions; and that there must be some standard of appeal, else would it be absurd to require that we should examine or guard against them.

What, then, is the vocation to the ministry of which Scripture speaks?

To understand this, some have distinguished two sorts of vocation, which they denominate internal and external vocation. By the former they mean the disposition of mind which a man feels who is powerfully influenced by the grace of God to consecrate himself to the ministry. By the latter, the public investiture of a person with this office and charge.

Now it should be observed, that to constitute a legitimate call to the sacred ministry, both these things should be united. The mind should be disposed by the Holy Spirit to desire this hallowed office; but at the same time such a disposition, however it may be a necessary qualification for the work, does not of itself constitute a Scriptural call to the ministry. We are the subjects of self-deception. Not only are we often ignorant of our true motives, which self-love may disguise, but we may also experience irrational impulses; and a mere impulse upon our own minds will not furnish any credentials to satisfy the minds of others. If this were sufficient, then every fanatic, however wild his delusions, would have a right to claim our deference and credit.

There must, therefore, be some credentials duly sealed and certified, by which his mission may be attested to the world. There must be some exterior vocation to make the office known. This vocation may be either immediate or mediate. If it be immediately from God, without the intervention of men, as was the vocation of Moses, St. Paul, and some others, then must it be attested, as in their cases, with extraordinary endowments as its proofs. But if it be mediate, or by the intervention of men, as in the case of the Jewish priesthood and the primitive ministry, then must it be conferred by authorized persons, and miraculous endowments are unnecessary.

Ordination, then, to this office, by men duly authorized from God, is necessary to constitute a legitimate ministry. If any should say that the ordination is only a ceremony, yet, let them remember, that it is a ceremony of divine appointment. The consecration of the Jewish priesthood was a ceremony, but without it the office could not be conferred. The anointing of their kings was a ceremony, but it was necessary for royalty. The baptism of Christ was a ceremony, but he himself said, "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness," Matt. iii, 15.

It is proper to note, however, that neither the wicked, the unqualified, or those destitute of the Christian graces, are at all eligible to the Christian ministry; nor can any persons, whether bishops or others,

appoint them. "For a bishop or pastor must be blameless, the husband of one wife," &c., 1 Tim. iii, 2.

3. Apostolic sacraments are a mark of the true church.

These are baptism and the Lord's supper. These are clearly set forth in Holy Scripture, as binding ordinances on every Christian.

4. The adoption and exercise of a pure discipline is an indispensable mark of the true church.

Holiness is a distinguishing feature of the true church. Its subjects are called *saints*, or holy persons ; i. e., those whose hearts are purified by faith, who shun every known sin, and bring forth all the fruits of the Spirit in their hearts and lives. The Christian vocation is called a *holy calling*.

It is admitted, that some may indulge in secret sins ; but as they are secret, they cannot render the persons liable to discipline. It is also admitted, that in the purest churches the discipline may sometimes be exercised too laxly by its administrators. Still, as secret offenders will soon become public transgressors, a vigilant ministry and pious people will soon be able to detect hypocrites, and expel them when discovered. A few evil persons may for a while mix with the good, but these never constitute the character of the church. A pure church will drive from it all scandals. It will not allow those guilty of known or notorious crimes to remain in its communion. Private admonitions, public censures, and excommunications, may be requisite, according to the nature of offences, and the degree to which they may pollute the church.

But if this salutary discipline be neglected, and men be permitted without restraint to live in open sin, then such a society is destitute of an essential mark of a Christian church. A society which allows in its members open sin is "a synagogue of Satan," Rev. iii, 9. "For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness ? And what communion hath light with darkness ?" 2 Cor. vi, 14. Purity of character and conduct will ever characterize the spouse of Christ.

III. *Of the members of the church.*

1. Those collected into the church of Christ may be considered in a twofold point of view. Some are inwardly renewed by the Holy Spirit ; are sanctified, implanted in Christ, and live pious lives. These are the true and living members of the church. Others, destitute of regeneration and sanctity, are joined only to the outward visible society of the church, which consists in the mere profession of faith and the use of the sacraments. Those are the true and living members of the church, who receive their life and spirit from Christ, the head ; these are putrid and dead members. Those belong to the church internally ; these externally. Those in respect of their interior and spiritual conjunction with Christ ; these in respect of external custom, profession, and association.

There are, therefore, two things to be proved here. In the first place, that there are more or less unsanctified persons in the society of the church ; secondly, that the church is properly and principally called a society, or congregation of saints or holy persons.

2. And in the first place there are more or less unsanctified persons in the society of the church. We use the word *unsanctified*, or *unrenewed*, in preference to any others. For if it were said, there are in the church any considerable number of impious or outwardly wicked

persons, this might be understood of flagrant transgressors, who must be excluded from the church. These unrenewed persons, who have not the power of godliness, and are not seeking it, may be mixed with the true members of the church, by consenting to a profession of faith, and by using the sacraments; as the church cannot always discern their true character, it being her province to separate from the number of her members obstinate heretics, manifestly wicked persons, and those who do not use the appointed means of grace, such as reading the Scripture, prayer, public worship, &c. The following are the proofs which we adduce for this: 1. As God alone can judge the heart, and as some hypocritically counterfeit, for a time, the character of Christians, the utmost vigilance of man cannot always keep the church entirely clear of unsound professors. 2. We find some such in the churches of Judea, Corinth, Galatia, &c. 3. The state of human society is such, that until the end of the world there will be more or less of unsanctified mixture in the church of God. This is represented in various parables by our Lord: and though these representations give no countenance to the sentiment that this representation suits the church as well as the world, and that therefore the outwardly wicked are to be allowed to remain unmolested in the church; yet the worldly admixture will sometimes find its way into the church.

3. That the true church is properly a congregation of holy or truly pious persons is proved by the following reasons:—

(1.) The church of God is the *body of Christ*, but the mere profession of Christianity makes no man a member of Christ. “Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing in Christ Jesus nothing but a new creature;” nothing but “faith that worketh by love;” and “keeping the commandments of God.” “Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?” “Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?” 1 Cor. vi, 15, 19. Thus whoever is a true and genuine member of this body is governed by the Holy Spirit; and consequently he who has not this indwelling Spirit, and is not governed thereby, is not a true member of Christ’s body, the church. And since all the members of Christ are governed by the Holy Spirit, therefore wicked men are not members of Christ’s church, because they are not thus governed. They are dry and dead branches, and do not make legitimate portions of the true church.

(2.) The true members of the church are *born of God* by the Spirit, and are therefore *the sons of God*. John i, 12. They are “heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ,” Rom. viii, 17. “They are led by the Spirit of God,” ver. 14. They imitate the works of their heavenly Father. Matt. v, 45. Those who have not this Spirit of adoption are none of his. Rom. viii, 9. It is manifest that these properties belong only to the truly regenerated, and do not belong to any class of mere outward professors. The expression, “He that hath not the church for his mother hath not God for his father,” can be understood only of those sons who are such by regeneration, and not by doctrine only. For they who are sons, not by regeneration and imitation, but by doctrine only, are the children of the wicked one, and not the sons of God, and the true catholic church, properly so called. Bellarmine, in order to show that the *mali, wicked*, may be properly called the sons of God, when they believe in the *doctrines* of Christianity, reasons thus: “The

word son may be taken in a threefold sense. First, on account of production ; secondly, on account of imitation ; thirdly, on account of doctrine. The wicked are the sons of God, not on account of regeneration, but on account of doctrine ; yet this is a sufficient reason why they should be called the sons of God.*

(3.) The true members of the church are called *the sheep of Christ*, which are thus described: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me ; and I give unto them eternal life : and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand," John x, 27, 28. This description by no means agrees with all those who are in the external society of the church.

(4.) They are distinguished from the bad, or wicked, because they forsake every sin, do all the good in their power, and use the means of grace. By these traits are they known among men. Such is their *outward* character ; and to distinguish them from mere professors, who have only a name, they possess these traits *in spirit and in truth*.

4. The foregoing distinction, in our view, may be justified and defended, viz., that the church is properly and truly a congregation of saints, or true believers, to which, however, in this life, some hypocrites and unholy persons are joined in external society. We maintain that hypocrites, wicked persons, and concealed infidels, as long as they remain such, are not true members of the church, although they profess, externally, the same faith, and partake of the same sacraments.

Not that there are two churches or two societies. They are parts of the one visible society. But the truly pious constitute the church by way of proper character ; the others are the church only by denomination of law ; not in union and proper relation to Christ ; they are not the house of God, not the temples of the Holy Ghost, not the members of Christ. Hypocrites are not Christ's servants, and therefore not Christ's members, and no part of the church of God, except improperly and equivocally, as a dead man or a picture is a man. They who are of their father the devil, and the synagogue of Satan, are not of the kingdom of God. "They are not all Israel who are of Israel," Rom. ix, 6. And "he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly," Rom. ii, 28, 29. The true servants of Christ only are the church ; that is, to them only pertain the Spirit and the truth, the promises and the graces, the privileges and advantages of the gospel.

To others these privileges pertain as *promised* blessings, such as the promise of pardon. The difference between the faith of a devil and the faith of a wicked man is, that there are hopes that the wicked man may, by his faith, be converted to holiness of heart and life, and consequently become a member of Christ and the church, while there can be no such hopes of the devils. Christ hath taught us plainly that the promises and privileges of the gospel are realized only by the faithful or pious. "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you," John xiv, 21, and xv, 14. Here the condition is, doing what Christ hath commanded. And this very blessing and promise, according to the following passage of Scripture, appertain to the godly alone : "Henceforth I call you not servants ; for the servant knoweth not what his

* Filii nomen tripliciter sumi primò ratione productionis, secundo ratione imitationis, tertio ratione doctrinæ, malos esse Dei filios, non quidem ratione regenerationis, sed tamen ratione doctrinæ, idque sufficere ut possint dici ecclesiæ filii.—*Bellarmin. de Regener.*

lord doeth ; but I have called you friends, for all things I have heard from my Father I have made known unto you." So that being the friends of God is the only way to know the will of God ; and such will certainly be directed by Christ and the Spirit of truth. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself," John vii, 17. And St. John says, "Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things," 1 John ii, 27. The Spirit of God is the great teacher of all truth to the church ; and they that "grieve the Spirit of God," they that "quench the Spirit," they that "defile his temple," from such he will surely depart. That "he shall abide with men to the end of the world," is a promise not belonging to the world, but to them that "keep his commandments."

The external parts of religion may be administered by wicked persons, and by wicked persons received ; but the spiritual excellences of the gospel, that is, truth and holiness, are the portions of saints, not of wicked persons, whether clergy or laity. Those who "hold the truth in unrighteousness," are given over to delusion to believe a lie. As, therefore, all the principles and graces of the gospel are the property of the godly ; so they only are the church of God of whom glorious things are spoken. This church is "the pillar and ground of truth." Church members, who are such by profession only, cannot claim the promises otherwise than as they may, and do return to God.

5. The Roman Catholic definition of a church is peculiarly faulty. The definition requires three qualifications of church members, viz., profession of faith, use of the same sacraments, and submission to the pope. By reason of the first, all infidels, such as those who never were in the church, as Jews, Turks, and pagans, as well as those who leave the church, as heretics, apostates, &c., are excluded. On account of the second, catechumens and excommunicated persons are excluded. The third part of the definition excludes heretics. Yet the definition includes among the church members notorious sinners of every grade. If by the faith is meant the doctrines taught by Christ and his apostles, then no Roman Catholic is a member of the true church, because many of their doctrines, as we have seen, are contrary to those taught by Christ and his apostles. How easily can it be shown that multitudes of true Christians never acknowledged the supremacy of Rome ! It is remarkable that true piety, or faith that works by love, forms no prominent trait of the Roman Church.

6. *Whether the unbaptized belong to the church ?* These are excluded from the Church of Rome and from salvation as a matter of course. Catechumens, because they are unbaptized, are considered as out of the church in the estimation of some divines, but in the view of others they belong to the church. Romanists, however, suppose they may be saved, should they die unbaptized, provided they had the desire of baptism.

7. Manifest heretics and apostates, they say, are not in the church, because they do not profess the same faith and doctrine with the Church of Rome. Nevertheless, "heretics, on account of their baptism, are subject to the church ; hence she deservedly PUNISHES them as deserters from the camp of the church, so that they may be OBLIGED to return."*

* "Quamvis enim hæretici sint extra ecclesiam, manent tamen ratione baptismi eccle-

8. The Church of Rome pronounces schismatics, that is, all who are not subject to the see of Rome, as out of the church of Christ.

9. The excommunicated too are placed in the same relation, and embrace all who have been formally expelled from the Church of Rome. It is worth remarking, that the Church of Rome never expels wicked or profane persons from her pale, provided they acknowledge the authority of the pope and clergy. And should the most pious persons in the world deny clerical authority in their sense of it, they must be expelled from the Romish Church.

10. Roman Catholics teach that open and notorious sinners, and concealed infidels and heretics, are true members of the church.

Lieberman, a late writer, in his *Institutiones Theologicae*, may be taken as the voice of the Church of Rome on this point. He lays down the following proposition and its proofs :

"Moreover, manifest sinners, as well as concealed heretics and infidels, pertain to the external and visible church of Christ."

"PROOF OF THE FIRST PART. Sinners, with other infidels, are joined in the profession of the same Christian faith, and communion of the same sacraments, and are held under the same government of legitimate pastors. Therefore, they have all things which are required for a member of the church.

"PROOF OF THE SECOND PART. They belong to the external and invisible church who, 1. Are not separated from the body of the church ; and, 2. They retain all those bonds by which the members of the church are bound together. But concealed heretics and hypocrites, 1. Are not separated from the body of the church ; 2. They retain all the bonds of external unity. Therefore, &c.

"PROOF OF THE MINOR. 1. Separation from the church is twofold, such as in any other external society : the one voluntary, by which a person secedes of his own choice ; the other penal, by which on account of some crime he is ejected. But it is manifest that concealed heretics and infidels neither secede of their own accord, nor are they ejected by the church. Therefore, &c. 2. The bonds by which the members of the church are connected are, profession of the same faith, participation of the same sacraments, and subjection to legitimate pastors ; as appears from the definition of the church. But concealed heretics and infidels retain these bonds. Therefore," &c.*

The same author, on the note of the church denominated *Sanctity*, maintains the following proposition :

"The sanctity, such as Christ wills to exist in his church in this earth, does not exclude wicked men and sinners."

"This is proved from the practice of the apostles and of the first ages. Although the apostles paid all attention to this very thing, that they might teach and form all Christians to a more holy state of life, yet they never supposed that wicked persons were out of the church. They reprov'd them, they exhorted them, nor did they spare any labour, nor prayers, or threats, that they might bring them to a better state. But they treated them as men who were in the church, not out of it. Thus when the apostle (1 Cor. v) judges the avaricious, fornica-

sarum subjecti : unde merito illos punit tanquam transfugas ex ecclesiae castris, adeoque redeundi obligationem habent."—*Dens, Theol. de. Eccles.*, No. 71, tom. ii, p. 392.

* Peccatores etiam manifesti &c.—*Liebermanni Instit. Theol.*, tom. ii, p. 177.

ters, &c., nay, also the incestuous Corinthian, he supposed that they still belonged to the church, since he there openly declares, *What have I to do to judge them also that are without?*"*

From the foregoing extracts it will be seen that Romanists have no proper idea of the true character of the church of Christ. The most flagrant transgressors, such as drunkards, swearers, incestuous persons, may live and die accredited members of their church. The most notorious and scandalous sinners retain their membership with them. It is only when they disobey the authority of the clergy that they are to be expelled. So their divines generally teach.

Bailly says,† "The church is constituted not only of the perfect and just, but it hath mixed the wicked and sinners, even *notable and wicked sinners*." He attempts to maintain this as a thesis, from the following arguments: 1. From parables. 2. St. Paul. 1 Cor. v. 3. Augustine. 4. The consent of all theologians. 5. The absurdity of the contrary doctrine. 6. From theological analogy. After this he affects to answer seven objections to his doctrine.

Dens maintains in like manner that open transgressors are members of the church.‡

Bellarmino says, "In the one true and Catholic Church of Christ, there are not only the imperfect, but also GREAT SINNERS, and that *not only concealed, but manifest*."§

Many doctors, however, of the Church of Rome previous to the Council of Trent, believed and taught that wicked men are not true members of the church, but equivocally. So Alexander of Ales, Hugo and Aquinas as quoted by Turrecremata; so Petrus a Soto, Melchior Canus, and others. But ever since the Council of Trent, it became the settled doctrine of the Church of Rome that notorious, scandalous sinners, are true members of the church. This council decided that the ministrations and acts of wicked clergymen were valid to all intents and purposes; so that however wicked they were, their absolutions, consecrations, and other acts possessed all the sanctity and authority which those of the best of men did. It is allowed that unrenewed and even wicked men may creep into the purest church. But there is this essential difference between the treatment which such persons will receive in a true and false or corrupt church. The true church, if she cannot reform them by gospel remedies, will separate them from her pale by exclusion. The corrupt church, though she may reprove and threaten them with hell, will still permit them to remain within her pale on the bare condition that they acknowledge her authority. In no other point does the apostacy of the Church of Rome appear more alarming and evident than in her permitting the wicked to remain church members. Yet they must maintain this corrupt doctrine to support their system, agreeably to the position of Bellarmine: "If wicked members were not true members of the church, a wicked pope could not be the head of the church." Thus to maintain a wicked head, the clergy and laity may also be wicked! Such is the morality

* Sanctitas qualem Christus, &c.—*Liebermanni Instit. Theol.*, tom. ii, p. 88.

† Theol. de Eccles., c. 2, sec. 2, tom. ii, p. 297.

‡ Dens, de Eccles., No. 72, tom. ii, p. 394.

§ In una vera et Catholica Christi Ecclesia non solum imperfectos, sed etiam graves peccatores esse et non solum occultos, sed etiam manifestos.—*Bellarmino, de Eccles.*, c. 9.

of Rome. And such too is her practice ; as the greater number of her acknowledged and approved clergy and laity are **MANIFEST AND GREAT SINNERS**, as she herself permits and encourages them to be.

IV. *Of the church, considered as visible or invisible*—**THE MARKS, or notes of the church.**

1. We are not prepared to adopt all the sentiments uttered by Protestants respecting the church, considered as visible and invisible. But by the church invisible they mean all pious Christians, who are truly such in the sight of God. By the visible church they mean all those who are in outward and visible society professed Christians. On the other hand, Romanists discard the character of the church called *invisible*, and rest their claims entirely on that of the visible church. We can assign no other reason for this than that they do not desire to rest their claims of being the true church on the marks of true piety found in its members, which marks have been, by some Protestants, improperly called invisible. Romanists mostly rest their claims on the outward organization of the church.

2. Protestants generally consider the church visible in regard to its outward organization, consisting of a profession of faith, the use of the sacraments, the ministry of the word, and the exercise of discipline. They call the church invisible in reference to the internal graces of the Holy Spirit, such as love, peace, joy, &c., which are not the immediate objects of sense, and whose existence are infallibly known to God alone. Romanists consider this idea of the church as a preposterous one, and contend for that character of the church only which represents it as a visible organization, overlooking the direct and peculiar influences of the grace of God.

3. The following definition of Dens, however, may be safely enough adopted by us, viz.: "*How is the church called visible?* 'The church is formally called visible, as is known, not only by faith and intellect, but also by corporeal senses: because, the church is not only spiritual in consequence of the interior form of faith, hope, and charity; but it is also a certain material and sensible body.'" He then adds the following: "because it embraces a visible head, visible men, an external profession of faith, sensible sacraments, and order of a visible hierarchy."* To the former part of the definition we have no particular objection; but when he applies it to embrace the pope as the true head of the church of Christ, we demur. Our author adds the following: "By what is the church sensibly seen? By her notes, which are so proper to our church, that they are not found in any other congregation or sect: hence, the church is not only visible to the faithful, but also to those who have not faith, as heretics, (Protestants,) Jews, and Gentiles."

But let us examine here how the Scriptures teach us in reference to this matter.

4. Renovation of heart, and a subsequent newness of life, are everywhere taught, in Holy Scripture, to belong to all the true children of God. And though the heart of man is not known infallibly to others, yet a sober judgment can be formed of the heart from the character which the man sustains in the world. This will be manifest from the following Scriptural views:

(1.) *The outward conduct of men is generally a sure index of the state*

* Dens, de Ecclesia, No. 73.

of the heart. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor a bad tree good fruit. An impure fountain doth not send forth pure water. Hence a good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure of his heart, bringeth forth evil things: for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.

(2.) *The true followers of Christ may be distinguished from the false by their fruits, or external conduct.* "Ye shall know them by their fruits," Matt. vii, 16. And this was spoken respecting false prophets, who came in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they were ravening wolves. And after reasoning on the certainty of distinguishing such, our Lord infers, "Wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them," verse 20. So John the Baptist required that his converts should bring forth *fruits worthy of repentance*, Matt. iii, 8. And the fruits were, that they that had two coats were to impart to those that had none; the publicans were to exact no more than what was appointed them; and the soldiers were to do violence to no man, to accuse none falsely, and to be content with their wages. Luke iii, 8-14.

(3.) *The spiritual influences of the grace of God on the heart are manifest in the tempers, dispositions, and actions of their possessors.* "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, against which there is no law. And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts," Gal. v, 22-24. Thus the pious bring forth good fruits; they *crucify*, or *put to death*, the *flesh*, or *the wicked principle*; and they do not bring forth the fruits of the flesh, such as hatred, variance, drunkenness, &c.

(4.) *The wicked, or unrenewed, manifest themselves by their outward conduct.* "Now the works of the flesh are MANIFEST, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have often told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God," Gal. v, 19-21.

If the foregoing Scriptural canons or rules were observed, few hypocrites or wicked persons would be found in the church. The few that would occasionally manifest themselves could easily be separated from the pious, so that the church would integrally be sound, and a true piety would predominate, so as to give character to the body.

5. Or the foregoing Scriptural notes or marks of true Christians may be comprehended in the following outlines: Wherever there is a true profession of Christianity, embracing at least a firm purpose to flee from sin and seek salvation, and where this purpose is fixed in the mind, it will be shown by its fruits.

"*First*, BY DOING NO HARM, BY AVOIDING EVIL OF EVERY KIND, ESPECIALLY THAT WHICH IS MOST GENERALLY PRACTISED: such as the taking of the name of God in vain. The profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying and selling. Drunkenness: or drinking spirituous liquors unless in cases of necessity. The buying and selling of men, women, and children, with an intention to enslave them. Fighting, quarrelling, brawling, brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil; or railing for railing. The using many words in buying and selling. The buying or selling

goods that have not paid the duty. The giving or taking things on usury, that is, unlawful interest. Uncharitable or unprofitable conversation; particularly, speaking evil of magistrates or ministers. Doing unto others as we would not they should do unto us. Doing what we know is not for the glory of God: as the putting on of gold and costly apparel; the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus. The singing those songs or reading those books which do not tend to the knowledge and love of God. Softness and needless self-indulgence. Laying up treasure upon earth. Borrowing without a probability of paying; or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them."

Secondly, Those who profess to be Christians should manifest the sincerity and reality of their faith "BY DOING GOOD; by being in every kind merciful according to their power; as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and, as far as is possible, to all men. To their bodies of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick or in prison. To their souls, by instructing, reproving, or exhorting all they have any intercourse with. By doing good especially to them who are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be. By all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed. By running with patience the race which is set before them, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily; submitting to bear the reproach of Christ, to be as the filth and offscouring of the world; and looking that men should say all manner of evil against them falsely for the Lord's sake."

Thirdly, They should manifest their desire of salvation, "BY ATTENDING ALL THE ORDINANCES OF GOD: such are, the public worship of God; the ministry of the word, either read or expounded; the supper of the Lord; family and private prayer; searching the Scriptures; and fasting or abstinence."

These, and such regulations are clearly taught in the word of God, the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice; and God's Spirit writes these on every truly awakened heart. If there be any church member who observes them not, who habitually breaks any of them, he that hath pastoral charge over this person should be informed of the matter. The offender should be admonished of the error of his ways, borne with for a season; but if he repent not, he is to be separated from the communion of the church.

The foregoing are the outlines of the General Rules of the Methodist societies, which form the best system of church regulations extant, because they are taken from the word of God. By enforcing these rules, the Methodists have preserved the purity of primitive Christianity in its doctrines and discipline for an entire century, without any material deviation.

When unmasked hypocrites are permitted to dwell in the church, and the profane and profligate are allowed to be members, and when experimental and practical religion is not promoted, then corruption of doctrines and profligate manners will prevail. When this is the case it is vain for Protestants or Roman Catholics to contend that they are the true church; for this plain reason, that *the children of the wicked are not the children of God.*

6. Roman Catholics fix on various notes or marks by which they designate their church as the only true one. Some have only two marks, while others extend the number, with Bellarmine, to as many as fifteen ; and others yet far exceed this number in their catalogues. They vary considerably too in reference to what are the true notes of the church.*

The more recent writers mostly confine them to four, according to the list in the Constantinopolitan creed, viz., *unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity*. Bellarmine makes up the following formidable list of notes, viz.: 1. The name Catholic, and Christian. 2. Antiquity. 3. Perpetual and uninterrupted duration. 4. Amplitude, or the multitude and variety of believers. 5. Succession of bishops from the apostles. 6. Agreement in doctrine with the ancient church. 7. Union of the members among themselves, and with the head. 8. Sanctity of doctrine. 9. Efficacy of doctrine. 10. Sanctity of the life of their authors. 11. The glory of miracles. 12. Prophetic light. 13. Confession of adversaries. 14. Unhappy end of opposers. 15. Temporal felicity. Whether we can have time to go through the examination of all these, we cannot say. We shall, however, examine the most notable, such as *one, holy, catholic, and apostolic*.

V. *Unity of the church.*

On this note of the church we will examine, *First*, The proper Scriptural idea of Christian unity: *Secondly*, The unity existing in the Church of Rome: and, *Thirdly*, The unity of Protestants.

1. *First*, we are to examine the union taught in Holy Scripture. The following passage will present this in a very clear light: "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all," Eph. iv, 1-6. From this passage of Scripture, in connection with others, we can learn what are the true properties of Christian union.

1st. ONE GOD, the fountain of all being, self-existent and eternal. The *Father of all*, both Jews and Gentiles, because he is the Father of the spirits of all flesh. *Who is over, or above all*, as the King of kings, and Lord of lords. *And through all*, pervading every thing; being present with every thing; providing for all creatures; and by his energy supporting all things. *And in you all*, by the energy of his Spirit enlightening, quickening, purifying, and comforting true believers, and making their hearts the temples of the Holy Ghost.

2d. ONE LORD, Christ, the Saviour, who is the Head of the church, to whom, by God's appointment, all Christians are immediately subject.

3d. ONE SPIRIT, the Holy Ghost, who animates the church.

4th. ONE BODY, which is the church, composed of many members. "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For

* See Gerhard, de Ecclesia, c. x, sec. 147, p. 320, where the reader may find a very extensive list of the Notes of the Church of Rome.

by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink of the same Spirit—that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular,” 1 Cor. xii, 12, 13, 25, 26, 27.

5th. ONE FAITH. It is plainly asserted that there is one *common faith*. Titus i, 4. One *like precious faith* of all that bear the name of Christians. 2 Peter i, 1. A *unity of faith*, and of the *knowledge of the Son of God*, to which we must all attain. Eph. iv, 13. A faith once delivered to the saints, (Jude 3,) for which we must *strive earnestly*, and in which we must build up ourselves. There is a *faith of the gospel*, for which we are exhorted *to contend as with one soul*. Phil. i, 27. Viewing this one faith as the object of faith, it comprehends all the truths contained in Scripture. Looking at it as the exercise of faith, it justifies the sinner, purifies him from sin, and by it he overcomes the world. The inference of Romanists respecting this one faith is vain, viz., *That it must be either theirs, and then we cannot be saved without it; or ours, and then they cannot be saved*: for this one faith, into which all Christians are baptized, contains the great truths of Christianity as to its object, and its exercise consists not merely in assenting to dogmas of faith, but particularly confiding and relying on Jesus Christ for salvation, accompanied with true penitence and forsaking of sin, and followed by the fruits of the Spirit of God in the heart and life.

6th. ONE BAPTISM, by which we profess our faith; administered in the name of the Trinity, and so the sacramental covenant by which we engage ourselves to the Lord Christ: it is indicative of the influences, privileges, and effects of the Christian religion.

7th. ONE HOPE of everlasting glory, to which glory Christians have been called by the preaching of the gospel, and they should live with the same expectation of being all brought to the same blessed end, to one glorious abode in heaven.

8th. THE NATURE OF THIS UNITY, which the apostle prescribes, is, *the unity of the Spirit*. For the whole body of Christians is here said to have *one Spirit*, and their unity is styled the *unity of the Spirit*. The body is one, for by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body. And to the whole body of the church of Corinth he speaks thus: “Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?” 1 Cor, iii, 16: “Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, that is in you?” 1 Cor. vi, 19. By the unity of the Spirit we are to understand not only a spiritual unity, but also a unity of sentiment, desires, pursuits, &c., such as is worthy of, and springs from the Spirit of God. The seat of Christian unity is in the *heart or spirit*; it does not lie in one set of thoughts, or in one form of worship, but in one heart and soul. This unity we are to *endeavour to keep*, by exerting ourselves to the utmost. If others will quarrel with us, we must take all possible care lest we quarrel with them. If others will despise and hate us, we must not despise and hate them. *In the bond of peace*. Peace is a bond, as it unites persons, and makes them friendly with each other. A peaceable disposition and conduct

bind Christians together ; whereas discord and contention disjoin their heart and affections. Christ, saith the apostle, (Eph. ii, 16-18,) hath reconciled both Jew and Gentile into one body unto God, and hath made peace between them, *for by him we have both access by one Spirit to the Father*, and therefore having this one Spirit, by which we are made one body, and the sons of the same Father, *we are all fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the family of God* : and are all built into *a habitation of God through the Spirit*. From the foregoing the following inferences are drawn :—

Inference 1. None but true Christians are members of that catholic church of which Christ is the head, since the whole body is united to him by the communication of the Holy Spirit, whom the wicked of the world *cannot receive*, John xiv, 17 ; they being *sensual, having not the Spirit*. Jude 19.

Inference 2. Nothing can unite any professor to this body but the participation of the Holy Spirit ; and therefore nothing else can make him a true member of that church which is his body. Hence the apostle informs us negatively, “ That if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his,” Rom. viii, 9, 11. He also declares affirmatively, that “ by this we know that he abideth in us, and we in him, because he hath given us of his Spirit,” 1 John iv, 13. For “ as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God,” Rom. viii, 14. And “ because we are sons, God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts,” Gal. iv, 6. It is therefore a certain truth, that nothing can unite us to that church, or body, of which Christ Jesus is the head, but the participation of the Spirit.

Inference 3. That no error in judgment, or mistake in practice, which doth not tend to deprive a Christian of the Spirit of Christ, can separate him from the church of Christ.

Inference 4. That we are not to acknowledge any persons as our spiritual guides, unless we have good reason to believe that they belong to that church of which Christ is the head, and to which only the promise of the Spirit doth belong.

9th. *The means of preserving this unity are, lowliness and meekness, long-suffering and forbearing one another in love, walking worthy our vocation.* By *lowliness* we are to understand *humility*, and entertaining lowly thoughts of ourselves, which is opposed to pride. By *meekness* is meant that excellent disposition of soul which makes men unwilling to provoke others, and not easily to be provoked or offended with their infirmities ; and it is opposed to angry resentment or peevishness. *Long-suffering* implies a patient bearing of injuries, without seeking revenge. *Forbearing one another in love*, signifies bearing their infirmities out of a principle of love ; and so as not to cease to love them on account of these. The best Christians have need to bear one with another, and to make the best one of another ; to provoke each other's *graces*, and not their passions. We find much in ourselves which is *hard* to forgive ourselves ; and therefore we must not think it strange if we find that in others which we think hard to forgive ; and yet we must forgive them as we forgive ourselves. Now without these things unity cannot be preserved. The first step toward unity is *humility* ; without that there will be no meekness, no patience or forbearance, and without these no unity. Pride and passion break the peace, and

make all the mischief. Humility and meekness restore the peace and keep it. *Only by pride cometh contention*; by love and humility, peace and unity are promoted. We do not walk *worthy of the vocation* where-with we are called, unless we be meek and lowly of heart: for Christ, whom we are to imitate, was meek and humble.

10th. *The reasons or motives for this unity.* We are all the children of the same Father, redeemed by the same Saviour, enlightened and renewed by the same Spirit, baptized with the same baptism, members of one body, exercising the same faith, aiming at the same end, walking in the one way of holiness. Such are the reasons for unity. But they are such as are rejected by all wicked men, and are followed only by truly pious persons.

11th. *The importance of unity.* How can spiritual brethren fall out by the way? Have they not all one Father, all one Head? Do they not all form *one body*, and are they not all *members of each other*? How monstrous it is to see the *nails* pulling out the *eyes*, the *hands* tearing off the *flesh* from the body, the *teeth* biting off the *tongue*, &c.! And is it less to see the members of a Christian society bite and devour each other, till they are consumed one of another? Every member of the mystical body should labour for the edification and comfort of the *whole*, and the honour of the *Head*. Did all Christians live peaceably with each other and all mankind, glory would redound to God, and peace and good will would abound to man.

2. *Unity of itself is not a mark of the true church.* It is necessary that unity be joined with *faith* and *doctrine*. Nor is every union of faith and doctrine a mark of the true church; it must be a unity of *true* faith and *true* doctrine, that is, of the doctrines of the apostles and prophets. "If ye remain in my word ye are my disciples indeed," John viii, 31. Although therefore the true church is one, and its true members agree in one religion, it cannot be inferred from hence, that wherever unity and concert in religion exist, there is the true apostolical church. There is a twofold unity, as Thomas Aquinas on Eph. iv, sect. 1, says, "The one good, the other bad; the one of the Spirit, the other of the flesh." As there is one church of God, there is one Babylon of Satan. "If Satan be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand?" Matt. xii, 25. A Scriptural unity is productive of great advantages; if the unity be bad; it is a fruitful source of mischief. When Aaron and the congregation of Israel worshipped the golden calf, was their unity a proof of the purity of their worship? All the priests of Baal conspired against the prophets of God. In the time of Jeremiah the whole people conspired against the true worship of God. The ten tribes at Bethel were as much united as the two at Jerusalem; but notwithstanding their union and the superiority of their numbers, they were guilty of schism. Christ by the common council of the priests and elders, and by the suffrage of the people, was condemned to death. The heretics, too, of the first ages were closely united against the orthodox faith. All which go to show, that not every unity, but one of faith and doctrine, nor indeed this, unless it was a unity of the *true* faith and doctrine, is a true mark of the church of Christ.

It is therefore certain that union of itself is no proof of a pure and sound church. If the Romanists would derive any advantage from their professed union, they must prove to us that their doctrines are

apostolical, that their terms of communion are not sinful ; in short, that they are united by the love of God and man, in the practice and profession of the truths of the Christian religion as taught in the canonical Scriptures. Without this, their union will prove their church to be a mischievous schism from the one catholic and apostolic church.

The unity existing or professed by the Church of Rome will next claim our attention.

3. Roman Catholics plead for their unity the Scriptural declarations in which the church is called *one body, one fold, &c.* They also quote that, "Every kingdom divided against itself is desolated," Matt. xii, 25. "God is not the author of confusion, but of order," 1 Cor. xiv, 33.

No Protestant denies that the church is one, but he justly denies that unity of itself is a true note of the true church. All unity is not of God ; nor is all dissent derived from Satan. But the unity of sound doctrine and pure Christian love is that which is enjoined particularly in Scripture. But the Romanists attempt to evade coming to a test by this unity, and endeavour to carry us to their outward unity artificially made up of union with the pope and the clergy. Their claims to unity must therefore be examined in their various parts.

4. Adhesion to the pope of Rome is no proper part of Christian unity. The members of Christ's church are united to one another and to Christ their head by charity. The Church of Rome makes adhesion to the pope, not to Jesus Christ, to be of the essential constitution of the church. This being the great question between them and the Greek Church, and all the other churches of the world, is so far from being a sign to know the church by, that it is the great question of Christendom, and is condemned by all the churches of the world but themselves, and therefore is very suspicious as a fundamental article of religion, or as a note of the true church. That this adherence to the pope cannot be a certain mark of the true church, we prove by the following considerations :—

(1.) There are no direct or even inferential proofs from Scripture, that the pope is the head of all Christians, and with whom they are to be in communion. The scriptures adduced by them to prove this would never occur to an unprejudiced person as teaching any such thing as this headship of the pope.

(2.) The Scriptures not only nowhere teach that the Roman pope is head of the church, but, on the other hand, they contradict it. The Scripture acknowledges no one head of the church but Christ. Eph. i, 22, and v, 24. None other is the *chief shepherd* but Christ alone. John xx, 11 ; 1 Pet. i, 1. Hence the apostolic and primitive church, immediately succeeding the apostolic times, acknowledged no Roman pontiff as head of the church, but gave this honour to Christ alone, who supplied life and spirit to his mystical body.

(3.) Formerly, when the pious ancients cultivated intercourse with the Church of Rome, she was a preserver of the apostolic faith ; but in later times her doctrine is contaminated by many corruptions and errors. Wherefore, as formerly, on account of the preservation of apostolic doctrine, all the churches communicated with the Church of Rome ; so, in later times, on account of the depravation of Christian doctrine, they ought to secede from her. As the Roman pontiffs have degenerated

from the ancient bishops of Rome, the modern Church of Rome has also departed from primitive purity.

(4.) The fathers never ascribe this monarchy to the pope. The proofs of this are very ample.*

(5.) Those who separate from Christ, and not from the pope, cease to be true members of the true church; because Christ, not the pope, is the head of the church. "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned," John xv, 6. "Which is the head, even Christ, from whom the whole body, fitly joined together and compacted, . . . maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love," Eph. iv, 15, 16.

(6.) Many have separated from the pope who were, nevertheless, true members of the church. Victor excommunicated the Asiatic churches, who, nevertheless, were true churches, and had many synods and orthodox bishops. Marcellinus was condemned for idolatry by a Roman synod; therefore the Church of Rome, which was then a true church, was separate from him. Pope Liberius condemned Athanasius, the defender of the Catholic faith. So says Baronius: "Liberius subscribed to the decision that was introduced against Athanasius, and received the decrees of faith adopted by the Syrmian Council."† Liberius, writing to Ursacius and Valens, the Arians, says: "Let your prudence acknowledge, that Athanasius is separated from the communion of the Church of Rome."‡ Certainly, Athanasius did not cease to be a member of the true church, though he was separate both from the Church and pope of Rome. Honorius was condemned as a Monothelite by the sixth Council of Constantinople, which retained the communion of the Catholic Church. The Council of Basil deprived Eugenius of his seat. Many other instances might be given. From the foregoing cases it is clear, that union with the pope is not necessary to the unity of the true catholic church of Christ.

(7.) Many popes were not so much as members of Christ, but the basest of criminals and the enemies of all godliness. Of others who were not so notoriously wicked, they could not be certain that they were the members of Christ, or of their father, the devil. To make communion with men confessedly very wicked a note of true Christian unity is the highest absurdity.

(8.) Other popes were *heretics*; and, certainly, communion with heretics is a singular mark of true Christian unity. If the pope be heretic, he is, ipso facto, no pope; because heresy, as Bellarmine allows, is one of those cases in which a general council may interfere. This is manifest in the case of Liberius, who was deprived by the Roman clergy, and Felix was made pope.

(9.) No man can be certain who is the true pope. For if the pope be a Simoniac, he is, ipso facto, no pope. And many popes have been shown to be Simoniacs, and strong suspicions are entertained of

* See many quotations from the fathers on this point, quoted by Gerhard, de Ecclesiis, sec. 104, 234.

† Liberius sententiam adversus Athanasium latæ subscripsit, et decreta fidei in Syrmianensi Synodo scripta suscepit.—*Baron. Annal.*, tom. iii, anno 357, p. 709.

‡ Cognoscet prudentia vestra, Athanasium ab Ecclesiæ Romanæ communione separatum esse.

others. And since no man can know that the pope is not Simoniacal, no man can safely rely on him as a true pope.

(10.) A pope can be deposed by the church, and yet the unity of the church may remain, as is taught by Gerson in his book *De Auferibilitate Papæ, Of the Deposition of a Pope*. This is proved from the frequent vacancies of the Roman see, and from the schismatic dissensions of the Roman popes, which are numbered at twenty or upward; and sometimes there were two or three popes. Either, therefore, union with the pope is not necessary for the unity of the Catholic Church, or at the time in which there is no pope, or an uncertain one, the unity of the Catholic Church ceases.

From the above we may justly infer, that union to the pope cannot be a true mark of Christian unity. In behalf of their unity Romanists use several arguments, which we will distinctly consider. They maintain that they have the consent of the Scriptures, the agreement of their councils and popes, and the agreement of Catholics in doctrine throughout the whole world.

5. They adduce the agreement among the writers of the Bible as a proof of the unity existing among themselves. But what applies to the writers of Scripture will by no means apply to them; because their doctrines, in many points, disagree with the unanimous decisions of Scripture, as has been shown in the discussion of the several controverted points. Besides, they refuse to deduce their doctrines and rules of faith from Scripture alone, adding thereto tradition and several other additions. The agreement of the sacred writers among themselves has no affinity with the unscriptural unity of the Church of Rome.

6. They say that all the decrees of their popes and general councils are in all matters of faith in entire agreement, and therefore this is one proof of their unity in faith and doctrine. But this agreement, did it exist, signifies nothing, seeing the decrees of their councils vary from Scripture, as has already been shown in discussing the controverted points. Moreover, we have already shown, that the decisions of councils are frequently contradictory.*

7. That the decrees or decisions of popes are often contrary to Scripture and to each other, is abundantly proved.†

8. That Roman Catholics do not possess the true Christian unity we gather from the nature of the unity existing among them, as well as from their dissensions of a general and special character.

They maintain, to quote Bellarmine, "that all Catholics dispersed throughout the whole world agree in all articles of faith; nor can they believe differently, when they subject their sense to the pope in the chair of Peter, with the consent of the other pastors of the church." To this we answer, that, formidable as this argument may appear, it will have no foundation when duly examined. That this boasted unity does exist in the Romish Church we may admit, without giving them any advantage; for all, in fact, which is proved by it, if true, is that which Protestants have always with great justice objected to them as a reproach; that is, that under their system submission to authority has been substituted for faith, and uniformity of ignorance preferred to the investigation of truth. And since the right of private judgment, as

* See various instances of this in Gerhard, de Ecclesia, sec. 237.

† See also Gerhard, de Ecclesia, sec. 238.

exercised among them, has something in its very nature monstrous and impious, it is no more to be wondered that no difference of opinion subsists where no man is allowed to have an opinion, than that the blind should not dispute concerning colours, nor the deaf concerning sounds. It was for want of this wholesome spirit of discussion and inquiry, which is equally inconsistent with sincere piety and Christian liberty, that popery has subsided into a stagnant pool of corruption. The unity or concord of the Church of Rome has been aptly compared to the stillness of night when all are asleep, or the stillness of the church-yard where all are dead.

We allow that in the papal kingdom there is a kind of external unity; but we deny that it is that true unity of faith, and love, and truth, which the Spirit of God teaches the pious. Matthew Flaccius wrote a book concerning the sects, divisions, and dissensions among Roman Catholics, in which he describes seven kinds of popish concord, and names them as follows: *Satanic, political, beastly, Iscariotic, tyrannical and servile, Herodian, and extrinsical and accidental.*

(1.) The first is a *Satanic* peace, derived from Satan, who in every thing is on his guard, lest this kingdom of the pope should be dissolved. "For if Satan be divided against himself how shall his kingdom stand?" Matt. xii, 25: Luke xi, 18. Hence many cardinals and bishops, and orders of monks, though they warmly contend among themselves, nevertheless repress and conceal their dissensions, lest the pontific kingdom should suffer loss.

(2.) The second is a *political* union, when men so agree that they are subject to the will of a monarch. Thus their writers subject every thing to the judgment of the pope. All bishops, by the strict obligation of an oath, are held subject to the pope, so that they cannot contradict him, even in the smallest matters.

(3.) The third kind of unity is one founded in *ignorance, or stupidity*, in which men understand nothing of religion, and stupidly follow the opinion of others, and consider those things true which are commonly received. Such is the unity among their laity, who, without examination and scrutiny, receive whatever is proposed to them by the clergy; for they are not to read the Scriptures, but to hear whatever their ordinary pastors propose. This is the famous collier's faith, which "believes what the church believes."

(4.) A fourth kind of concord is called *Iscariotic*, and is this, when men are attached to the church through the motives of gain. Many are attached to the Church of Rome for this reason. From the most authentic testimony it appears, that the present race of Roman Catholic clergy are, in a good degree, attached to their profession through the influence of mere worldly gain.

(5.) A fifth trait of their unity is, that it is *tyrannical and servile*, as when men, by threats, persecution, and prisons, are prohibited from thinking differently. Thus, in the dominions of the pope, and in some Roman Catholic countries, no one is permitted to utter a word against the corruptions of the Church of Rome. Tyranny on the one hand and servility on the other mutually assist in preventing the free exercise of thought.

(6.) A sixth may be called *Herodian*. For, as Herod and Pilate, though disagreeing between themselves, yet consented to the death of

Christ, so Romanists agree in opposing Protestants, though they are at variance among themselves, and that too, not merely in the comparatively harmless dissent in entertaining different opinions, but in the worst dissension, that of the exercise of the worst passions, and in a want of brotherly love.

(7.) The seventh species of unity among Romanists is, *accidental and extrinsic*, consisting, not in the interior unity of religion, but in the conformity of ceremonies, rites, and external worship. For though they cherish bitter contentions concerning articles of faith, yet, by a likeness of ceremonies, they exhibit the appearance of unity.

Were we to listen to the pretensions of the Romanists, we would suppose their church was so much united that little room was left among them for difference of opinion or dissent. On examination we will find, that notwithstanding its boasted uniformity in doctrine it has always been divided by a multitude of controversies. Their unity, so far from being real, is only a mere shadow of what they pretend to. It is true the great crowd of the uninstructed common people, who are not allowed to be inquisitive or curious in matters of religion, are, to a great degree, silent on controversy. But this is a unity chargeable with all the objections mentioned above. The learned and the clergy among them are much divided in matters of religion; and their divisions must always affect the crowd, sooner or later. A reference to the several points on which they are divided will justify this statement. The dissensions among them which break their assumed unity may be divided into two classes, viz., *general* and *special*. Those dissensions may be called general which concern the very body of Romish doctrine, which was often varied and changed in different times. The special dissensions of Romanists and Jesuits may be reduced to these two heads, viz., those which concern the very *standards of religion*, and those which refer to the *other articles of faith*, as deduced from these standards.

9. The very body of Roman Catholic divinity was altered in different times. The five following forms are the principal, viz., the *Lombardic*, *scholastic*, *monastic*, *the mixed*, and *Jesuitic*.

(1.) The first is the *Lombardic theology*, which arose about the year 1150. There was a confused chaos of doctrine in this system, which taught that justification arose from grace and works. This theology was purer, in many respects, than modern popery, as can be shown from the four Books of the Sentences. Hence the Parisian doctors usually wrote in the margin of Lombard, when they dissented from him, *Hic magister non tenetur, Here the master is not to be adhered to*. The *Book of Sentences*, which rendered the name of Peter Lombard so illustrious, was a compilation of sentences and passages drawn from the fathers, whose manifold contradictions he endeavoured to reconcile. His book became the text book of theologians, and was preferred to the doctrines of Jesus Christ, as appears from a remarkable passage in Roger Bacon's works.*

(2.) The second is the *scholastic* theology, which arose about one hundred years after the former. In the article of justification the sum is, that justification and salvation are to be obtained by human works alone; done, however, according to the commandments of God. There

* See Mosh. Eccl. Hist., vol. ii, page 293, cent. xii, part ii, chap. iii, sec. ix: N. Y., 1824.

are distinct sects of scholastics, differing from each other, such as *Thomists, Scotists, Occamists, &c.* This led a Parisian divine to say, "that the scholastics were so discordant among themselves, that scarcely two could be found of the whole number who uniformly held to the same opinion."

(3.) The third is the *monastic* theology, the sum of which, in the article of justification, was, that salvation is to be expected through papal indulgences, from works of supererogation, from will worship. Hence they inculcate on the people that images are to be adored, that confidence is to be placed in saints, that pilgrimages are to be undertaken to holy places, monastic orders entered on, that funeral masses are to be bought. They introduce the legends of the saints and feigned miracles into their sermons.

(4.) The fourth is the *intermediate* theology. When, by the light of the gospel, these errors became palpable, Romanists began to be more cautious, and either rejected or palliated these crude dogmas. This system admits that we are justified by faith in Christ, springing from love. It concedes that by the merits of Christ alone we can be saved, but adds that good works are necessary to salvation. It concedes that the mass is not a sacrifice propitiatory, but adds that it is applicatory, by which the merits of Christ are at length applied to us.

(5.) The fifth is the *Jesuitical* theology, which is, in some respects, opposed to the scholastic, and to the popish writers of the preceding age. The sum of its doctrine on justification is, that habitual righteousness or justice before God consists in an infused habit, but actual justice in the merit of good works. The Jesuits materially altered the theology of the Church of Rome, as will appear from other parts of this discussion.

The foregoing is only a brief outline of the theological differences in the Church of Rome, the particulars of which would fill volumes.

10. If we consider the *internal state* of the Church of Rome, we shall find it, notwithstanding its boasted unity of faith, divided with contests and dissensions of various kinds. The Franciscans and Dominicans contend about several points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists have been always at war. The bishops dispute and contend with the pope and *congregations* that he has instituted to maintain his pretensions. The French and Flemish, and some other countries, openly oppose the pope on many occasions, and refuse to acknowledge his supreme authority. The Jesuits were continually at variance with the Dominicans, Benedictines, and other orders; and almost ruined them, especially the Benedictines. The theological colleges debate concerning almost all the doctrines of Christianity. It is true, however, that many of these controversies are tempered and managed by the prudence and moderation of the popes; but to heal entirely these divisions is a work beyond their power, and contrary to the intentions of the sovereign pontiffs.

Besides these debates of inferior moment, ever since the time of the Council of Trent controversies of greater importance have arisen, which divided and still divide the Church of Rome. These controversies were set on foot by the Jesuits, who formed a party in the church, and were always the warm supporters of the pope's supremacy. In opposition to them there is another party, who are in favour

of reformation, although a partial one: who, comparing the primitive church with the vulgar system of popery, think that a purer state of morals should exist than that which prevails. From these opposite ways of thinking the warmest contentions arose between the Jesuits and several other doctors of the Church of Rome.*

11. Considerable dissensions exist in the Church of Rome respecting their *rule of faith*. The true source or foundation of divinity is the word of God alone, as it is contained in the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. The Council of Trent† adds Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the two Maccabees. But Cardinal Cajetan follows Jerome, who rejects them from the canon. Arias Montanus, whom Gregory XIII. calls his own son, in his Hebrew Bible, with interlineary translation, approved by the Louvain doctors, says concerning the apocryphal books: “*Ecclesia orthodoxa Hebræum canonem secuta inter apocryphas recenset: The orthodox church, following the Hebrew canon, numbers these among the apocryphal books.*” Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, referring to the sentiment of Jerome, that the apocryphal books were inferior to the canonical, says: “And the same also saith Thomas Aquinas (2. 2) and Nicholaus de Lyra on Tobias, namely, that these are not of so great authority that they can be efficaciously used in argument in those things which concern faith, as the other books of Holy Scripture. Hence, probably, they have the same authority as the sayings of holy doctors which are approved of by the church.”‡

Not only the canon, but also the perfection of Scripture has been warmly contested in the Church of Rome. Our limits, however, will not allow us to enlarge here.§ The other parts of the Roman Catholic rule, as traditions, decrees of councils, decisions of popes, &c., would present such a Babel of confusion, were the sentiments of their authors quoted, as would thoroughly tire the patience of our readers, and would require a volume to contain them. Those who will examine them for themselves must peruse many a folio and quarto of barbarous Latin. and spend wearisome days and nights in the examination.

12. *The unity of the Church of Rome is defective in its head.*

The fearful schisms which took place in the popedom, the boasted seat of unity, for the space of fifty-one years, namely, from 1378 to 1429, and afterward between Eugenius IV. and the Council of Constance, is a plain proof of the want of that unity of which they so loudly boast, and the want of which they bring as a charge against Protestants.

At the commencement of the popedom of Clement V., in 1305, the seat of the pope was removed to Avignon in France, where it remained for seventy years. At the death of Gregory XI., March 27, 1378, the citizens of Rome, fearing lest a Frenchman should be chosen, came

* See Mosheim's Ecc. Hist., cent. xvi, sec. 3, No. 29, vol. iii, p. 164: New-York, 1824.

† Sess. iv, de Libris Canonicis.

‡ “Et idem etiam dicit Thomas (2. 2) et Nicholaus de Lyra super Tobiam, scilicet, quod isti non sunt tantæ auctoritatis, quod ex dictis eorum posset efficaciter argumentari in his, quæ sunt fidei, sicut ex aliis libris Scripturæ Sacræ. Unde forte habent auctoritatem talem, qualem habent dicta sanctorum doctorum approbata ab ecclesia.” —Antonin. Archiepisc., pars iii, tit. 18, c. vi, sec. 2, p. 1043: Veronæ, 1740.

§ Those who would see a large collection of discordant sentiments of Romanists on this point may consult Gerhard, de Ecclesia, sec. 241.

tumultuously to the conclave, and demanded that an Italian should be made pope. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, chose Urban VI., a Neapolitan. Some of the cardinals withdrew from Rome to Fondi, where they elected to the pontificate Robert, count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VIII., and declared the election of Urban unlawful, because they were compelled by violence to the choice. Which of these two was the lawful pope is to this day doubtful; nor will the records and writings alleged by the contending parties decide the controversy. Urban remained at Rome, and Clement took up his residence at Avignon. Thus the union of the Latin Church under one head was destroyed, and succeeded by that deplorable schism, known by the name of *the Great Western Schism*. "Christendom was divided," says Du Pin, the Roman Catholic: "divers kingdoms continued under the obedience of Urban, and others acknowledged Clement. This caused a bloody schism in the church. Urban joined the spiritual arms to the temporal to subdue them, (the followers of Clement,) and ordered a process to be made against Queen Jane, the earl of Fondi, the Ursini, and the other followers of Clement; and declared them to have forfeited their estates, their lands, their goods, and their dignities, and to be incapable to enjoy them. He declared Clement likewise the antipope, and his cardinals schismatics, and deprived them of all kinds of dignities and benefices. These reciprocal condemnations caused great disorders through all Christendom, each of the two having their partisans, who made war one upon another, and endeavoured to deprive each other of the benefits and dignities obtained from the pope whom they acknowledged; insomuch that the benefices were for a booty, and seized by such as found themselves the strongest. The popes bestowed them on those that sued for them, though undeserving, and being not of age, only to enlarge the number of their creatures, or else they sold them to supply their wants. Impunity reigned everywhere; there was no such thing as order or obedience, and the church was in dreadful confusion. Italy was the part of the world which suffered the most, because this was the place where the partisans of the two popes had most liberty. Urban, to make himself sole master, and to put in execution the judgment he had given against Queen Jane, gave away her kingdom to Charles, duke of Duras, a kinsman of the queen's, and called him out of Hungary, where he then was, to come and take the possession. When he had arrived at Rome he crowned him king of Sicily, after he had obliged him to give the duchies of Capua and Melphi to him, and divers other earldoms to his nephew, Francis Regnano, surnamed Butillo. But because this prince wanted money to undertake an enterprise so considerable as was the conquest of Sicily, the pope pawned the goods of the churches in the city of Rome, and sold the chalices, crosses, and other ornaments to make up a round sum, which he gave him."*

On the death of Urban, in 1389, the Italian cardinals chose for his successor at Rome Boniface IX. "Boniface augmented the revenues considerably, and the temporal authority of popes, and heaped together great riches in the time of his papacy. If we may credit Thierri of Niem, a cotemporary author, one of his domestics, he made a public merchandise of benefices at the beginning of his popedom, and after-

* Du Pin, *Ecc. Hist.*, cent. xiv, ch. iv, vol. ii, pp. 509, 510.

ward, willing to palliate it, he the first settled the annates, that is to say, the right of receiving the first year's revenues of bishoprics and abbeys which became vacant, and the dates for all sorts of benefices void by death, which he granted to different persons at the same time for money. He revoked all grants of reversions, to make new ones, invented particular clauses of provisions, which annulled all the former. He granted all sorts of dispensations for money. His court was full of apostate monks, whom he made his officers, or provided with employments and benefices. For money he gave license to the friars-mendicants to quit their order and convent, and to enjoy benefices. He fully settled the sovereign and immediate dominion of the popes over the city of Rome."*

On the death of Clement, which happened in the year 1394, Benedict XII. or XIII. was chosen pope by the French cardinals. Though before his election he took an oath to vacate the popedom, provided the cardinals desired it, yet after he was chosen he refused to do so at their request, and thus perjured himself. The Gallican Church, displeased at the proceedings on both sides, withdrew obedience from both popes in 1397, at a council held at Paris.

On the death of Boniface, the Roman party, in 1404, chose Innocent VII., who was succeeded in 1406 by Gregory XII.

The cardinals of Gregory and eight or nine of the cardinals of Benedict called a council, to meet at Pisa. The council excommunicated both these popes for schism, perjury, and contumacy, and elected Alexander V. But the decrees of the council were treated with contempt by both the pontiffs, each of whom performed the functions of the papacy in his respective bounds. Thus the western church was divided into three great factions by three contending popes, who loaded each other with curses, calumnies, and excommunications.

On the death of Alexander, the cardinals who followed him chose John XXII. to be his successor. For the purpose of healing the breach, John, at the instigation of the emperor, Sigismund, called a council to meet in Constance, and also from an expectation that its decrees would be favourable to his interests. The council "commenced its sittings Nov. 1, 1414, for the purpose of putting an end to the schism, and reforming the church in its head and members. They all agreed as to the legality of the Council of Pisa, and yet the greater number were of the opinion that John XXIII. should renounce the pontificate, as well as Gregory and Benedict."† This John absolutely refused to do, although he had sworn to do so, if required. John was therefore deposed by the council in 1415, and after having continued with the utmost obstinacy in his opposition, died in 1419, at Florence.

Gregory, in the year 1415, resigned to the Council of Constance. About two years after Benedict was deposed by the council, and having persisted in his contumacy, and being forsaken by all, died in 1423. He was succeeded by the choice of the two only cardinals who remained with him by Clement VIII., who resigned in 1429. By this means this schism was abolished after it had lasted fifty-one years, and Martin V. was acknowledged sole and only pope by the whole west.

The great end in view by the Councils of Constance and Basil was, *the reformation of the church in its head and members.* The popes were

* Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., cent. xiv, ch. iv, vol. ii, p. 511.

† Idem, vol. iii, p. 9.

looked upon as the head, and the bishops, priests, and monks as the members, both being exceedingly corrupt. Martin opposed the reformation to the utmost. However, five years after the Council of Constance, in consequence of frequent remonstrances by pious persons, he called a council to meet at Pavia, whence it was removed to Sienna, and thence to Basil. He died about the time on which the council met. The council met July 23, 1431, and seriously went about the work of reformation. Eugenius IV. opposed reform by every possible means. For though he at first approved of the assembling of the council, he afterward opposed it. The council deposed Eugenius, who in 1438 collected another council at Ferrara, which was afterward transferred to Florence, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at Basil, and afterward sentenced them to hell and damnation, and declared their acts null and their proceedings unlawful. The council, in 1439, chose Felix V. pope in the place of Eugenius. By this means that deplorable schism which formerly rent the church was again revived, with additional aggravations; for the contest was not only between two rival popes, but also between the contending councils of Basil and Florence. On the death of Eugenius, in 1447, Nicholas V. was chosen to succeed him. By the exertions of the king of France, Felix resigned the papal chair, and left Nicholas its undisputed possessor in 1449. Thus this schism, which lasted under two opposing popes for ten years, was terminated.

The foregoing accounts of these papal schisms were taken principally from Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History; with the express design of obviating every objection that could be made against Protestant authorities.

The calamities of these times are indescribable. The church had two or three different heads at the same time; each forming plots and pronouncing curses upon his competitors and followers. The princes of Europe were involved in wars on this account. Many lost their lives and fortunes in the struggle. In most places, all sense of religion was lost; and profligacy of manners prevailed almost everywhere, both among clergy and laity. Well meaning people who supposed they must be united with the vicar of Christ were in great perplexity. While many others, who were led to conclude that a visible head was not necessary, committed their salvation to God alone.

Every well disposed person must lament these deplorable schisms and their ruinous consequences. But while we view the sins and errors of our fellow-creatures with proper feelings, we must not forget to learn from them that lesson which they are designed to inculcate. We should learn that the unity professed by the Church of Rome is very defective in its head; and if the head be disordered, the members cannot be thoroughly sound.

13. The limits and extent of the pope's power and jurisdiction is a subject warmly debated in the Church of Rome. That the Holy Scriptures are not the sole standard of theology, the Romanists maintain. They say *the church* is the supreme authority; but then the authority of the church resolves itself into that of the pope. Yet they are very much divided on this point.

Bellarmino, their great controversialist, enumerates the four follow-

ing varieties of opinion among them:—"1. That the pope, even as pope, although he would define any thing with a general council, can be heretical in himself, and teach others heresy, and in fact it so happened. 2. That a pope, even as pope, can be heretical and teach heresy if he would define any thing apart from a general council, and in fact it sometimes so happened. 3. That the pope can in no manner be heretical, nor teach heresy publicly, though he should alone define any thing. 4. That the pope, whether he can be heretic or not, can in no manner define any thing heretical to be believed by the whole church."* Our author then expresses the following decision respecting these various opinions: "The first opinion is heretical; the second is not properly heretical, for as yet those who entertain it are tolerated by the church, yet it seems to be very erroneous, and bordering on heresy; the third is probable, but not certain; the fourth is most certain and to be maintained."†

On the temporal power of the pope much controversy has existed among them. Bellarmine says: "The pope as pope, although he hath no merely temporal power, nevertheless hath, in order to promote spiritual good, the supreme power of disposing the temporal goods of all Christians."‡ But the work of Bellarmine had well nigh been condemned by Sixtus V., for ascribing this indirect power to the pope. Certainly Sixtus openly condemned the distinction of indirect temporal power, when, in his bull against Henry III. of France, he says, "that he possessed the supreme power over all princes and kings of the whole earth, and all people, nations, and tribes; and that this power was committed to him, not by human, but divine institution."§

On the subject in hand we will give the following quotation from Mosheim: "The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependants, all maintain that the pope is infallible; that he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power which Christ has granted to the church; and that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested; that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils which compose it, and that he alone is the supreme lawgiver of that sacred community, a lawgiver whose edicts and commands it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far

* Pontificem etiam ut pontificem, etiamsi cum generali concilio defineret aliquid posse esse hæreticum in se et docere alios hæresin, et de facto aliquando ita accedissee.

Secunda. Pontificem etiam ut pontificem posse esse hæreticum, et docere hæresin, si absque generali concilio definiat, et de facto ita aliquando accidisse.

Tertia. Pontificem non posse ullo modo esse hæreticum, non docere publice hæresin, etiamsi solus rem aliquam definiat.

Quarta. Pontificem, sive hæreticus esse possit, sive non, non posse ullo modo definire aliquid hæreticum a tota ecclesia credendum.

† Prima est hæretica; secunda non est propriè hæretica, nam adhuc videmus ab ecclesia tolerari, qui illam sententiam sequuntur, tamen videtur omnino erronea et hæresi proxima; tertia probabilis est, non tam certa; quarta certissima est, et asserenda.—*Bellarmin., de Pontif. Rom.*, lib. iv, c. 2. See also Gerhard, de Eccl., sec. 242.

‡ Pontifex, ut pontifex, etsi non habet ullam mere temporalem potestatem, tamen habet in ordine ad bonum spirituale, summam potestatem, disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum.—*Idem, de Pontif.*, lib. v, c. 6.

§ Se supremam in omnes reges ac principes universæ tenæ, cunctosque populos, gentes et nationes, non humana sed divina institutione sibi traditam potestatem obtinere.

from being universally adopted. For other doctors of the Church of Rome hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error; that his authority is inferior to that of a general council; that he is bound to obey the commands of the church, and its laws, as they are enacted in the councils that represent it; that these councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses in a flagrant manner the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted; and that, in consequence of these principles, the bishops and other inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the Roman pontiff, but from Christ himself.”*

14. *The extent and prerogatives of the church* form subjects of debate. The Jesuits extend its borders far and wide. They comprise within it, not only many who live separate from the Church of Rome, but even extend salvation to heathen nations that have no knowledge of Christianity, and consider as true members of the church open transgressors who profess its doctrine. But the adversaries of the Jesuits exclude from all hope of salvation those who are not within the pale of the Church of Rome, and also those who live in its external communion, yet dishonour their profession by a vicious and profligate life. The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, assert, that the church can never pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either relating to matters of fact, or points of doctrine; while the adverse party judge, that in deciding matters of fact, it is not secured against all possibility of erring.†

15. The Church of Rome has been very much divided respecting the doctrines of *grace, predestination, human liberty, and original sin*. The Dominicans, Augustins, and Jansenists, with several other doctors, in the main, adopt the doctrine of Augustine, or, as we would say, of Calvin, on these subjects. The Jesuits maintain the opposite side of the question; or they are the Arminians of the Romish Church, who embrace also a considerable portion of Pelagius’s creed, especially respecting the depravity of our nature and human liberty. This controversy was carried on with great animosity and fierceness. The decision of it was committed by Clement VIII., toward the conclusion of the sixteenth century, to a select assembly of learned divines, or a *congregation*, to speak in the style of Rome.

These arbiters, after having employed several years in deliberating on this critical subject, intimated to the pontiff, plainly enough, that the sentiments of the Dominicans were more conformable to Scripture and the ancient fathers than the opinions of Molina, which were patronized by the Jesuits. The result, however, is not known with certainty; as the death of Clement, in 1605, prevented his pronouncing a decisive sentence. The Dominicans assure us, that the pope, had he lived, would have condemned Molina. The Jesuits, on the contrary, maintain that he would have acquitted him publicly from all charge of heresy and error. But it is difficult to determine, as the records are kept with the utmost secrecy at Rome.

The subject was resumed in 1605, by the order of Paul V.; and here the mountain was in labour, and brought forth nothing. For the controversy, instead of being *decided*, was *suppressed*; and each party

* Ecc. Hist., cent. xvi, sec. iii, No. 32, vol. iii, p. 167.

† See Mosh., cent. xvi, sec. iii, No. 33, vol. iii, p. 168.

was permitted to follow his own opinions. Yet both parties gave out that the pope and congregation were in their own favour. However, had a sentence been pronounced, it is more than probable it would be one of those *ambiguous* decisions, for which the oracle of Rome is so famous.

The controversy broke out again, with new violence, in 1640, and formed a kind of schism in the Church of Rome, which involved it in great perplexity, and proved injurious to it in many respects. The occasion of it was the publication of a book, entitled *Augustinus*, written by Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, and published after his death. He differed but very little from Augustine; and mostly copied him. This book enraged the Jesuits. They not only employed their pens against it; but endeavoured to have it condemned at Rome. The inquisitors began the opposition by forbidding the perusal of it in the year 1641; and the year following Urban VIII. condemned it by his bull.

There were several places, however, where neither the decision of the inquisitors nor the pope was respected. The doctors of Louvain, and the followers of Augustine, who were numerous in the Netherlands, opposed violently the proceedings of the Jesuits, and the condemnation of Jansenius. There were many respectable persons in France also who were of the party of Jansenius, such as Arnaud, Nicole, Paschal, and Quesnel, and the other famous and learned men who are known under the denomination of the *authors of Port Royal*. This party was also increased by many persons, who looked upon the usual practice of piety in the Romish Church, which consists in the frequent use of the sacraments, the confession of sins, and the performance of external ceremonies, as much inferior to what the gospel of Christ requires.

It is both amusing and curious to take a view of the various arts employed by both parties in this endless controversy: the Jesuits in their methods of attack, and the Jansenists in their plans of defence. The Jesuits came armed with sophistical arguments, odious comparisons, papal bulls, royal edicts, the authority of nobles,—with the secular arm and dragoons. The Jansenists employed sophistry against sophistry, and invective against invective; they evaded the force of papal bulls and royal mandates by nice distinctions and refinements; they had recourse to the interposition of omnipotence by miracles, to oppose human power. They declared war against the enemies of the Romish Church; formed new plans to ensnare the Protestants; took extraordinary pains in instructing the youth, &c. But the many miracles performed seemed to exceed every other means of defence. The cause of the Jesuits, however, was the cause of the papacy; and the grandeur, stability, and success of the Romish Church depended in a great measure upon the success and principles of their religious maxims. Accordingly, the doctrines of Jansenius, which were summed up in five propositions, were condemned in a papal bull by Innocent X., in 1653.*

In the controversy respecting predestination and grace, the Church of Rome has been very much agitated indeed. The excellent Paschal, a Roman Catholic, in his Provincial Letters, written in 1656, shortly after the condemnation of the book of Jansenius, exposes the princi-

* Mosheim's Ecc. Hist., vol. iii, 169, 520, cent. xvi, sec. 3; cent. xvii, sec. 2.

ples of the Jesuits, and in a very delicate, yet forcible manner, represents the agitations into which the public mind was thrown in consequence of this controversy. Speaking of *efficacious* and *sufficient* grace, he remarks: "Where are we now, exclaimed I, and which side am I to take here? If I deny sufficient grace, I am a *Jansenist*; if I admit it with the Jesuits, in such a sense that there is no necessity for efficacious grace, I am, say you, a *heretic*; and if I concur with you, I sin against common sense. I am a madman, say the Jesuits. What then am I to do in this inevitable necessity of being deemed a madman, a heretic, or a Jansenist? And to what a situation are we reduced, if the Jansenists alone avoid confounding faith and reason, and thus save themselves at once from absurdity and error?"

"Christians inquire of divines, what is the real condition of human nature since the fall? St. Augustine and his disciples reply, that it does not possess sufficient grace, unless it pleases God to bestow it. The Jesuits come forward and assert that all do absolutely possess it. Consult the Dominicans on this contradictory representation, and what is the consequence? They coalesce with the Jesuits. By this artifice their numbers appear considerable. They divide from those who deny sufficient grace, and declare that all men have it; and who would imagine otherwise than that they sanction the Jesuits, when, lo! they proceed to intimate that this *sufficient* grace is useless, without the *efficacious*, which is not bestowed upon all men?"

"Shall I present you with a picture of the church amidst these different sentiments? I consider it like a man, who, leaving his native country to travel, is met by a band of robbers, who wound him so severely that they leave him half dead. He sends for three physicians, resident in the neighbourhood. The first, after probing his wounds, pronounces them to be mortal, assuring him that God alone can restore him; the second, wishing to flatter him, declares he has sufficient strength to reach home, and insulting the first for opposing his opinion, threatens to be the ruin of him. The unfortunate patient, in this doubtful condition, as soon as he perceives the approach of the third, stretches out his hands to welcome him who is to decide the dispute. This physician, upon examining his wounds, and ascertaining the opinions already given, coincides with the second, and these coalesce against the first to turn him out with contempt, and they now form the strongest party."*

16. The controversy that existed respecting *morals* destroys the pretended unity of the Church of Rome. The Jesuits have inculcated doctrines respecting the *motives* that determine the moral conduct of men, the *rule* that guides, and the *end* in view, as to sap entirely the very foundation of morality. It would lead us into too great prolixity to give a full view of their morals. Indeed this would be showing, that although they recommend the pious to abstain from sin, yet if any one is not disposed to forsake his sins, he is not left without expedients and a casuistic reason, to continue in every kind of flagrant wickedness and yet get to heaven. It is true, some of the principles of the Jesuits have been condemned by the popes: still, however, the corruption of their morals has deeply infected the whole church. Let

* Panchini's Provincial Letters, letter i. pp. 39, 40. Eng. translation, New-York, 1724.

any one read with ordinary care Paschal's Provincial Letters, and he will there find proved by a Catholic, from the most authentic sources, all that is here asserted respecting the doctrine of the Jesuits in regard to morals. The Jansenists and other pious doctors of the Church of Rome have controverted the principles of the Jesuits, so as to lead to their condemnation and the suppression of their order. But the principles of this society were not suppressed with them. They still lived in the bosom of the Church of Rome. And that church gives but too good proofs of its corruption in reviving that corrupt association of men, who will not fail to follow the steps of their forefathers in immorality and corrupt principles.*

17. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of *penance* and the *eucharist*, is a subject of controversy in the Church of Rome. The Jesuits and others are of the opinion that the effects of the sacraments are produced by their intrinsic virtue and immediate operation upon the mind at the time they are administered, and that consequently no great preparation or inward purity is requisite for receiving them to edification and comfort. And hence, according to this doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all who confess their sins, and afterward admit them to the eucharist. But such sentiments are indignantly, and indeed with justice, rejected by all who have the progress of vital and practical religion at heart. These think that the clergy should examine carefully the tempers and actions of those who come to the sacraments, since their real benefits can only be extended to those who come with proper dispositions. Hence arose that famous dispute in the Church of Rome concerning *frequent communion*, which was carried on with such warmth in the fifteenth century between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnaud at the head of the latter, and was renewed again by the Jesuit Pichan, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greater part of the French bishops.†

18. The proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion forms another subject of controversy. One part of the Romish doctors think that youth ought to be instructed accurately in the doctrines and duties of religion. Others recommend a devout ignorance, and think a Christian is sufficiently instructed when he is taught to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the church. The former teach that nothing is so instructive to Christians as the Scriptures, and that they should therefore be translated into the vulgar tongue for the use of all. The latter exclude the common use of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, as dangerous and pernicious.‡

19. A variety of other controversies have disturbed the repose of the Church of Rome. We will mention a few, out of the many which might be named.

The debate concerning *the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary* agitated the Church of Rome to an alarming extent. In the year 1140 the canons of Lyons celebrated the festival of the conception, which was violently opposed by St. Bernard. The controversy at first was

* See Mosheim, cent. xvi, sec. iii, No. 7. Cent. xvii, sec. ii, No. 35, vol. iii, pp. 169, 513; and Paschal's Provincial Letters.

† Idem, cent. xvi, sec. iii, No. 36, vol. iii, p. 171. ‡ Idem, No. 37, vol. iii, p. 172.

carried on with moderation, but in after times it became violent. The Dominicans declared for Bernard, while the Franciscans maintained the new festival, and the doctrine on which it was founded. This controversy gave great trouble and perplexity to the popes, especially to Paul V., Gregory XV., and Alexander VII. The kingdom of Spain was thrown into complete disorder by this controversy about the beginning of the seventeenth century, so that solemn embassies were sent to Rome both by Philip and his successor, with a view to engage the pope to determine the controversy, or to terminate it by a public bull. But the pope uttered nothing except ambiguous words, and avoided a positive decision. For though he was awed on the one hand by the warm remonstrances of the Spanish court, which favoured the sentiments of the Franciscans, he was restrained on the other by the credit and influence of the Dominicans. So that all that could be obtained from the pontiff by the court of Spain was a declaration that the opinion of the Franciscans had a high degree of probability on its side, and that the Dominicans ought not to oppose it publicly. This declaration was accompanied by another, by which the Franciscans were prohibited in their turn from treating as erroneous the doctrine of the Dominicans. Thus the pope gave slender proofs of his infallibility, when, instead of answering their doubts, he evades giving an opinion.*

The bull *Unigenitus* produced much controversy. It was issued in 1713, and contained a condemnation of Quesnel's New Testament. The dissensions excited thereby in France were violent in the highest degree. The bull put an end to all attempts to reconcile Protestants and Catholics, and represented the doctrines of the Church of Rome in the same shocking light in which they had been viewed by the first reformers. This shows that all the attempts the Romish doctors have made, from time to time, to give an air of plausibility to their tenets, were so many snares insidiously laid to draw the Protestants into their communion: that the specious conditions proposed as terms of reconciliation were perfidious stratagems; and consequently there is no dependance to be laid on the promises and declarations of such a disingenuous set of men.† The archbishop of Paris made a noble defence against the despotic proceedings of the court of Rome. He and his brother *appellants*, who rejected the authority of the bull, were persecuted by the popes, the French monarch, and the Jesuits, from whom they received an uninterrupted series of injuries and affronts.

20. But it were endless to enumerate the controversies which divide the Church of Rome, as *her principles are necessarily dividing principles*.

Their *rule of faith* is the very essence of schism in itself. The canonical Scriptures are not safe in the hands of the people, unless interpreted by the church; and yet their church has never acted the part of interpreter, properly so called. Then the *doubtfulness* of the Apocrypha added to the word of God; and then written and unwritten traditions, and decrees of councils and decisions of popes, and the frequently contradictory writings of the ancient fathers, claiming a unanimous consent—all these tend to *uncertainty*, and then to *controversy*, and lastly to *schism*.

* Mosheim, cent. xii, part ii, sec. xix, vol. ii, p. 302. Cent. xvii, part ii, sec. xlviii, vol. iii, p. 540.

† Idem, cent. xviii, sec. viii, x, xi.

But *the doctrines* of the Church of Rome, such as the supremacy of the pope, adoration of saints and images, transubstantiation, &c., &c., tend directly to division. And this statement is confirmed by *facts*.

The Church of Rome, by excommunicating unjustly or unnecessarily the Greek and other churches, became the leading author of schism. In later days, previous to, and at, and since the Reformation, the unscriptural terms of communion imposed by Rome, prove her to be highly schismatical. And even now, and during these last two hundred years, she has persecuted Protestants, refused to reform herself according to Scripture, retains her absurd creed, and disregards gospel discipline to such a degree, that her former allies, who refused to see the light of the Protestant reform, have sunk into infidelity. France has almost forsaken her; Spain and Portugal are tottering; South America is in a very unstable state. Thus Rome, by her divisive doctrines, and uncertain rule of faith, and unchristian conduct, has divided the Christian world, and may be justly styled *chief schismatic* of the whole Christian world.

It is true, there have appeared in the Church of Rome many eminent men who have called for a reformation, but in vain. Yet in the estimation of the great body of their clergy, a moral corruption of *head and members*, and a system which secured this corruption, were, if we believe them, no subject of triumph to the enemy of God and man. As long as the authority of Rome was safe, the gates of hell had still the worst of the contest. Let the pope possess the *heads* of Christians, and Satan was welcome to their *hearts*. The absurd notion that the unity of the church of Christ depended on *unity* with the bishop of Rome, tied the hands of all Christians who, before the Reformation, wanted either the knowledge or the courage to examine the airy basis of that system. The *sword* and the *fagot*, too, stood in the way of approach to that delicate point; else the invectives so carefully restricted to *morals* would not always have left the doctrines untouched. Submit your understanding to Rome; confess that you cannot hope for salvation out of the pope's communion; acknowledge that immorality and wickedness do not detract from his supernatural privileges; and on these conditions you are at liberty to oppose the corruptions of the church.

Invariableness in doctrine they place as the criterion of their unity; but surely any set of men, who agreed on a system similar to that on which Roman unity depends, might equally boast of invariableness and unity. There cannot be much difference of opinion in a society which excludes every member who does not submit his own views to those of an individual placed at its head. The *unity of the Spirit* is preserved by walking worthy of the Christian calling, by lowliness, meekness, long-suffering, forbearance, love, and an endeavour to preserve unity by cultivating peace with all men. Eph. iv, 1-3. Such are the *means of unity* prescribed by the Holy Scriptures; but overlooked, rejected, or denounced by the Church of Rome.

It is now time to say something of the unity existing among Protestants. In reference to this point we present the following:—

21. *That exact unanimity in all opinions that respect religion should prevail among all men, is not necessary for salvation to individuals, to the peace and harmony of the church, or the conversion of the world.*

Every one who candidly and fully examines the subject will acknowledge this. Objects of faith and matters of opinion or speculation ought always to be distinguished. This is allowed by unprejudiced members of the Church of Rome, as well as others. And it is only when their strictures on the Reformation, or the defence of their church hurries them beyond the control of sound principle, that they are led to insist so strenuously on a unity which does not exist among themselves, nor among any people in the world.

Besides, it can be made to appear that many pious persons, in all ages, have embraced some heretical opinions; or have had very imperfect or incorrect views of many doctrines of the gospel; or have had no knowledge at all of other doctrines. And though every doctrine of the gospel is necessary, in order to form a complete system, it does not follow hence that every person who disbelieves some articles of the Christian faith, or has incorrect views of others, or embraces some false opinion, is in the way to misery. The natural tendency of his errors may be counteracted by the force of the truth, and the right opinions he has formed. It is only perverseness and obstinacy in the will, and wickedness in the heart and life, that send men to perdition. It appears to me, that for this sentiment we have plain, rational, and Scriptural evidence, as will be seen by the following reasons:

(1.) What shall we say concerning honest heathen who have no knowledge at all of Christianity? We certainly cannot consign them to perdition, for the Scripture declares, that "when the Gentiles which have not the law do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves," Rom ii, 14. So that "in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." And as they are accepted of God, so they are represented to be washed from their sins in the blood of Christ, from every nation, tongue, and people under heaven; and glorified with Christ, making part of the innumerable multitude which surround the throne of God, Rev. vii, 9-14.

(2.) Noah, Enoch, and many others, were favoured neither with a church nor written revelation; yet they were accepted with God. It is true God may have supplied the want of both, and no doubt did, as far as their salvation was concerned; yet it is not presuming too much to say that they, and those who lived in the age before an organized church was formed, were ignorant of many truths which God revealed to his church and people in future times.

(3.) The Jews, who were once the church of God, were certainly unacquainted with many truths that were revealed to Christians; yet their salvation was not thereby risked.

(4.) But should it be said that these truths were not clearly revealed, and they had not the opportunity of knowing them—be it so. Yet the apostles and first disciples of Christ were mistaken in many of their opinions, and indeed embraced many erroneous doctrines. They looked on Christ as a temporal deliverer. They also entertained many other incorrect views; so that our Lord found it necessary very frequently to rectify their errors. But these wrong views did not materially injure their souls. Christ insisted on something else of much more importance. He required them to forsake their sins and obey God. He also taught those who *hear* or *believe* in his words, that unless they did that

which he commanded them, they were like a person building on the sand.

(5.) The apostles themselves, and first Christians, after the Holy Ghost was given, were deficient in the belief of some articles of the Christian faith, without bringing on themselves any censure or guilt. The apostles would not preach to the Gentiles, and of course they had either wrong or very inadequate conceptions respecting an important branch of Christian faith, the calling of the Gentiles, so often spoken of by the prophets, and communicated to themselves by our Saviour in their commission, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." St. Peter himself was convinced only by miracle, and he found it necessary to give a formal detail of the miraculous interference of God in behalf of the Gentiles to convince and satisfy the Jewish Christians.

Nor are we to suppose that this error related to things obscurely revealed. For what is more clearly revealed in Scripture than the calling of the Gentiles? The case in hand shows us how difficult it is to emancipate the mind so far from preconceived notions as to leave it free to follow the truth without bias. This was the case with the apostles; still their unbelief on this point did not prevent them from receiving the saving faith of the gospel, nor did it prevent them from continuing Christians.

(6.) Nor were the primitive Christians free from error. Most of them believed that the world would come to an end at the close of the tenth century. And many of the Christian doctors and early ministers, while they received the truth so far as was necessary for their own salvation and that of others, did certainly embrace many erroneous opinions, and even heresies. We select the following erroneous sentiments of several of the ancient fathers as specimens, referring the reader to the volume and page of Du Pin where these sentiments are mentioned. Those who would consult the places, can find the references in the page where Du Pin is quoted.

St. Justin, who lived in the second century, embraced many opinions contrary to Scripture, several of which are viewed as heresies by the Church of Rome.*

Irenæus, as well as Justin, believed that souls are immortal only through grace, and that those of the wicked shall cease to be after they shall have been tormented a long time.†

Clement of Alexandria, among many other erroneous opinions, believed in the eternity of matter, and in the transmigration of souls.‡

Tertullian was guilty of several errors of considerable magnitude.§

Minutius Felix believed that the soul died with the body.||

Origen, with many other foolish notions, believed that the death of Christ was advantageous, not only to men, devils, and angels, but even to inanimate things. He also supposed that Christ died a kind of spiritual death in the other world.¶

St. Hilary believed that Christ felt no pain in his crucifixion; and that souls are corporeal substances.**

* See Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., vol. i, page 67: English translation, Dublin, 1723.

† Idem, page 75.

‡ Idem, page 81.

§ Idem, page 94.

|| Idem, page 101.

¶ Idem, page 111.

** Idem, page 200.

Optatus ascribed to free will the power of beginning a good action, and of advancing in the way of salvation without the grace of God.*

Jerome, when reproached for some of his own errors, gives examples of great men who were commendable on the whole, but who held remarkable errors. "St. Cyprian," says he, "took Tertullian for his tutor, as appears by his writings, and yet did not approve of the dreams of Montanus and Maxamilla, as he did. Apollinarius hath written very convincing books against Porphyry; and Eusebius wrote a most useful history of the church. The former erred concerning the mystery of the incarnation, and the latter defended the opinions of Arius."†

St. Augustine taught the same doctrine which modern predestinarians teach concerning predestination, grace, free will, &c. He also taught that children are infallibly damned, on account of original sin, unless they are regenerated by baptism.‡

Will any one say that the above-mentioned sentiments, or the greater part of them, and such like, are agreeable to Scripture? And will any one pronounce that these persons were not genuine Christians, who possessed that faith which purifies the heart, and works by love? We think not.

Admitting, then, that Protestants are in error in several points of doctrine; although it has been shown frequently, that both in doctrine and discipline they approach nearer the primitive church than the Catholic does; still this gives no Scriptural reason to exclude them from salvation, nor does it lead to perplexity in pointing out the way of salvation to any serious inquirer. Hence the anathemas of Rome, which condemn all Protestants, form a greater heresy in doctrine, and a greater transgression of morals, than all the errors and sins of Protestants put together.

22. Protestants possess to a good degree the unity of the Spirit. They receive and maintain the doctrines taught by Holy Scripture. They can justly challenge to themselves a threefold unity, as it respects the external bond of peace, besides the spiritual influences of the grace of God.

Protestants possess a *canonical* unity, by which they hold to the canonical Scriptures with undeviating firmness: and Romanists cannot show that the doctrines of orthodox Protestants materially differ from Holy Scripture.

An *ecclesiastical* unity; by which is meant, that the Protestants agree in the main with the church of God in its purest and best days. This can be shown from the writings of the earliest fathers.

They maintain a *symbolic* unity, both with the primitive church and one another. They, with the apostolic churches, adopt the apostles' creed, without the unscriptural additions of Pope Pius IV. and the Council of Trent. And the creeds of orthodox Protestants so far agree in all fundamental points, as to preserve a unity such as Rome cannot boast of; though not altogether such a one as the Scriptures call for in all respects.

With this external unity Protestants in some degree possess the spiritual unity of being of one mind and one heart, arising from a renewal of nature by the agency of God's Spirit.

* Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., vol. i, page 212.

† Idem, page 349.

‡ Idem, page 414.

As it regards the *different opinions*, or *variations* among Protestants, in reference to doctrine and discipline, it will be proper to make some remarks.

The Protestants have varied in search of that truth which Rome had buried under metaphysical distinctions and heaps of superstitions.

They have differed in consequence of the *habits of thinking* which they acquired in Roman Catholic schools.

The Protestants have varied because they would not imitate those tricks and sham miracles by which the Roman Church gives to her new decisions the appearance of unity with the preceding.

They have varied because they would not claim an infallibility never promised in Scripture; the exercise of which, assumed without divine authority, has corrupted the church, impeded the progress of Scriptural and scientific knowledge, and contributed a large share in maintaining despotism on the earth.

They varied because a greater evil arises from a neglect of careful examination than from the honest, though sometimes misguided, efforts of men in the pursuit of truth.

Besides, in the principal Protestant churches, there is as great an agreement among them, in every important point in doctrine and discipline, as was in the primitive church; and as near an agreement as is necessary to salvation and the acquisition of truth. Their differences are not principally about essentials, but about those things that are not essential. They agree in the *rule* of faith; and in their criterion respecting that rule: they hold communion generally with one another: they respect each other's opinions: they have a mutual intercourse, and derive mutual benefits from the labours and writings of each other. See their *oneness*, therefore, in faith; in circulating the Scriptures throughout the world; their oneness in sending the gospel to every corner of the earth; their oneness in deciding what is immoral or sinful; in short, their oneness in every important point of Scripture doctrine and practice.

Whatever errors they have fallen into, they did it in imitation of the primitive church, and in company with them. They have erred in some things, while they maintain incorrupt the faith as it is in Jesus. If they have erred, it was through zeal for the truth, in attempting to obey Christ.

Their errors and mistakes are such as befall honest men in the pursuit after truth; and, indeed, such as befall men in almost every department of truth. But by their investigations truth itself is more clearly seen, and their errors themselves stand open for detection and correction. The great Locke committed several errors in metaphysics; but who will infer hence that he did not promote the cause of truth? The same may be said, with more or less propriety, in reference to some in every branch of knowledge.

23. The unity among Protestants is altogether preferable to that which obtains in the Church of Rome.

Protestant unity is internal and essential, consisting of the unity of Christian doctrines, of faith, and pure religion. Roman Catholic unity is *external* and *ceremonial*, depending on a certain conformity of ceremonies, while the most grievous dissensions exist concerning the vitals of Christianity. The former is *Christian* and *free*, because no one is

compelled by threats or persecutions to embrace their doctrines ; but the latter is *hypocritical* and *forced*, because men are compelled to embrace doctrines and a system which they do not believe. The one is founded on the immoveable foundation of God's word, and is, therefore, stable and immoveable. The other depends on the mutable judgment of the pope and the unstable sands of tradition, and is, therefore, *unstable and uncertain*.

What shall we say to the great advantages arising from the *labours* and *example* of Protestants ? From their labours we derive vast advantages, in having clearer views of Scripture doctrines and morals. Science in general has received, through them, many important *accessions* ; which might be looked for in vain, had they remained under the papal yoke.

The example, too, of Protestants has been vastly beneficial to Rome. It has, at least in some things, improved her morals. It has prevented her from falling into a state of ignorance, superstition, and profligacy, far below that into which she had already fallen. The example of reformers has not only prevented the Church of Rome from erring farther, but has in some degree led to the rejection of that grossness which superstition engenders ; nay, her very superstitions have been refined.

May we not now ask the question, What are the trifling errors of Protestants compared to the enormities of Rome ? What are the slight differences among them, possessing as they do the truth of the gospel and the writings of able men, with whose sentiments their minds are deeply imbued, when they are compared with the *variations* of Roman Catholics, not only from the primitive church and Scripture, but also from common sense and sound morals ? And, after all, the triumphs of Romanists are without grounds. There have existed among them, as we have seen, variations more serious than those that have existed among Protestants. And the spirit of controversy, and division, and indeed *schism*, has divided them to an alarming degree. And this is not the account of Protestant authors, for we have their own narratives and the bulls of their popes to establish fully this point.

24. Roman Catholics sometimes urge an objection, which is in substance as follows : " That an inquiring heathen, deist, or infidel, introduced to four clergymen, one a Methodist, one an Episcopalian, the third a Presbyterian, and the fourth a Lutheran, would receive different spiritual instructions from each of these clergymen ; by which he would be led to reject Christianity altogether, or settle down on Unitarianism."

How a sincere inquirer may be perplexed in any thing wherein the salvation of his soul is concerned, by being introduced to the four clergymen, is more than we can discover. Will not all say, without hesitancy, the *Bible alone* is the true standard ? And what article in the apostles' creed will they differ in ? Not one. Wherein will any of these vary, in any matter of moment, from the doctrines and standards of the primitive church ? In nothing. They agree in every thing essential ; though none of them believes in the pope's infallibility, or in the efficacy of indulgences, prayers to saints, or for the dead. They will not teach him to believe in the efficacy of masses or purgatory ; nor in auricular confession, as practised at Rome ; nor will they direct

the inquirer to trust in relics, or have recourse to empty superstitions or charms, as means of salvation. They will instruct him to forsake his sins, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ alone for salvation, lead a new life, and he shall be saved through the grace of God. As far as the eucharist is concerned they will certainly have no perplexing dispute concerning it, nor the meaning of the words, *This is my body*. They will all say these words do not mean that the bread and wine are changed into the real body and blood, soul and divinity, of Jesus Christ, as the Roman Catholic would teach. They will not hem up the way of salvation with transubstantiation and all its absurdities and blasphemies.

It is true, when a theological distinction, or a mode of worship, or a certain form of discipline, is made an essential point, there will arise more or less difficulty. And it must be acknowledged, that some Protestants are yet somewhat tinctured with the dregs of popish superstition, in insisting too much on mere forms, rather than in setting their faces against all sin, and in pursuing to the utmost all things that tend to holiness of heart and life. But we see already a good degree of progress made in the way of pure truth, and a good prospect of deliverance from every injurious error.

A Unitarian would find much less to favour, or confirm him in his errors, among Protestants than among Romanists. And we cannot perceive what affinity exists between his doctrines and those of Protestants. But we can easily perceive how a person may be led into error in several respects, in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, which doctrine, as well as that of a supreme, unoriginated, self-existent Being, contains many things *above* reason;—if the person will associate it with the doctrine of transubstantiation, which contains so many absurdities as to contradict our very senses. It will be hard to convince deists or atheists by a person who believes in the creed of the Roman Church. Indeed, Unitarians, deists, and atheists can find, and always have found more in the Church of Rome to confirm them in their errors, and prevent their conversion, than they ever found among orthodox Protestants. The exultation, therefore, manifested by the Romanist, in introducing Unitarians, deists, and atheists, to the confusion of Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Lutherans, must be very short.

In the place of requiring the deist or atheist to acknowledge mere *authority* or *prescription*, they will introduce historical *facts*, and unquestionable historical evidence. Instead of confounding reason and contradicting the senses with the absurdities of popery, they will present arguments conformable to reason and to sense; they will, with Butler, lead him through the analogies that exist between revelation and nature; and by this means conduct him, in the exercise of every faculty of the soul, to the Saviour of sinful men. In the place of entertaining an inquirer with legends of false saints, with sham miracles, and with the fancied spells of relics, pilgrimages, exorcisms, &c., they will adduce argument and well authenticated documents; they will present him with the mass of evidence collected, arranged, and exhibited by our Grotius, and Leland, and Bull, and Watson, and Paley, and Butler, and Clarke, and a host of others,—champions for the common Christian cause, such as Rome cannot boast of, and whose

works will stand as irrefragable demonstrations of the truth of Christianity throughout all time. On the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the proper Godhead of Christ, where is there a single author among the Romanists who has met Unitarians and Socinians to equal advantage with Bishop Bull in his Latin treatise on these subjects?

It is therefore more than puerile; it is sophistical, to represent an inquirer so perplexed with the answers he receives from the four Protestant clergymen alluded to above, as to turn with disgust to the Unitarian, and from him to the deist or atheist. Indeed, such an inquirer, thus duped, must be wanting in information of almost every kind, but grievously wanting in common sense. To such a one the charge of folly by the psalmist would be truly applicable: "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God."

25. We have now to bring this discussion of unity to a conclusion, by a few observations.

It was the last prayer of our Saviour, in reference to the apostles and his disciples in all future time, that they might be one. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for those also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." Here is inculcated a oneness of mind and heart with the holy will and love of our heavenly Father. There is an outward, visible unity, and there is an inward, spiritual unity. Both were combined in the primitive church under the first effusion of the Holy Spirit. The visible unity is, however, chiefly material, either as a means toward, or as a manifestation of, that spiritual unity which the church of Christ inherits from her Master.

The perfect unity of the primitive church did not long continue. Soon an outward unity was witnessed, without the perfect and inward spiritual unity. The church at length became so leavened with this corruption, that the greater part of the whole lump became corrupt, and its outward unity mainly produced bondage, will worship, and idolatry.

At the Reformation, these evils of the visible unity were greater than the benefits. Even the ancient Christians maintained an external unity, and praised it at the expense of truth and righteousness. Hence the outward unity of the church was broke by the bright revival of divine truth, drawn fresh from the Scriptures, at the time of the Reformation. Thus the outward unity, because it did not answer the proper end, was suspended. The great doctrine of the word of God, salvation by grace through faith unto holiness and obedience, was proclaimed abroad; multitudes, with one heart and one mind; glorified God in obeying his truth, and yielded themselves to God under its holy and heavenly influences, filling their hearts with supreme love to God, and unfeigned love to man. Nevertheless, from a variety of causes, much remains to be done, in order to restore fully that unity which Christ prayed for, which Paul described, and which is necessary among Christians for the conversion of the world.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH—SUBJECT CONTINUED.

VI. SANCTITY OF THE CHURCH. 1. This belongs to the church : 2. Defects of the Church of Rome on this point.—**VII. CATHOLIC OR UNIVERSAL.** 1. Import of the word catholic : 2. Its use in the apostles' creed : 3. Not peculiar to the Church of Rome : 4. Absurdity of applying to her in its sense of universal : 5. Or its sense of orthodox : 6. She is not catholic as to place, time, or faith : 7. Her arrogance in this assumption.—**VIII. NOTE OF APOSTOLICITY OR SUCCESSION.** 1. Roman Catholic views of this. Dens, Bailly, and Lieberman cited. They omit moral character : 2. *First*, Of succession in general—Three kinds of it, viz., of persons and places, of doctrines, of morals and practice : 3. Mere local or personal succession no mark of the true church : 4. Scripture proof of this : 5. Ecclesiastical history : 6. The fathers : 7. *Secondly*, This succession does not exist exclusively in the Church of Rome. The apostles were bishops of no particular city or church : 8. The power of Peter did not descend to the popes : 9. The Church of Rome defective in apostolic character : 10. Local or personal succession does not exist in the popes. Five arguments on this point : 11. Papal succession has been interrupted. Seven ways instanced in which this was done : 12. The bishops of Rome not the true successors of the apostles. Proved by eight arguments : 13. *Thirdly*, There has been a succession of Christianity independently of the Church of Rome : 14. Scripture has been preserved without it : 15. And the records of Christianity : 16. The transmission of the ministry : 17. The preservation of doctrines : 18. And morality : 19. And church polity : 20. Christianity independent of her : 21. *Fourthly*, The Protestant succession valid.—**IX. ANTIQUITY AS A NOTE OF THE TRUE CHURCH.** 1. True idea of antiquity : 2. No true mark : 3. Bellarmine's traits of novelty and antiquity confuted. Council of Trent's concessions : 4. The circumstances of time, place, and of the Roman errors can be traced out.—**X. PERPETUAL OR UNINTERRUPTED DURATION.** 1. This note considered : 2. Obj. from Daniel ii, 44, considered : 3. Another objection answered : 4. "*Where was your church before Luther?*" answered : 5. How the church was preserved.—**XI. NOTE OF AMPLITUDE.** 1. The true church small : 2. The number of those in error and sin often exceeds the righteous : 3. Numbers in the Church of Rome.—**XII. AGREEMENT WITH THE ANCIENT CHURCH.** 1. Doctrine of the ancient church : 2. Agreement in Tertullian's time : 3. Church of Rome at variance with Scripture in doctrine. Divines quoted.—**XIII. EFFICACY OF DOCTRINE.**—**XIV. MIRACLES.** 1. Not always a mark of the true church : 2. Must be accompanied with the truth : 3. Some of their miracles are false. Blood of Januarius. Veronica. Dennis : 4. Some are absurd and puerile : 5. Some are brought to support idolatry, superstition, &c. : 6. Some true miracles may have been wrought among them, and why : 7. Want of miracles among Protestants considered : 8. Testimony of Romanists against their miracles.—**XV. OTHER NOTES OF THE CHURCH CONSIDERED.**—**XVI. OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.** 1. Her power in making new articles of religion : 2. This considered : 3. Her power in ceremonies.—**XVII. INFALLIBILITY.**

VI. Sanctity, or holiness of the church.

1. That the church of Christ ought to be holy is clearly taught by Holy Scripture. "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it," Eph. v, 25. Hence Christians are called, "a holy nation," 1 Peter ii, 9. And this is not merely an external sanctity, but an inward purity of heart, producing holiness of the life or conduct. Acts xv, 9 ; Eph. i, 4.

Dens defines sanctity thus : "It imports that not only Christ, the head and author of the church, is holy, but also the sanctity of men in the church, sanctity of doctrines, sacraments, sacrifice, laws, &c., confirmed by miracles ; which sanctity is nowhere to be found but in the Church of Rome."* Our author farther maintains, that the greater number of Romanists are truly holy persons.

* Dens, de Eccles., No. 76, vol. ii, p. 309.

We readily agree that the doctrines of the catholic church, properly so called, are holy: but what has this to do with the doctrines of the Church of Rome, which have varied so much from the purity of the apostolical and primitive church? The following list of *errors, sins, and paradoxes*, shows that purity of doctrines and moral precepts is much contaminated; and the lives of the clergy and laity of the Church of Rome will furnish very slight grounds for the holiness which the Scriptures approve, teach, and enforce.

2. We have already exposed many errors of the Church of Rome, from which it has appeared, that she has much corrupted the faith of the ancient catholic church of Christ. Almost every article of the apostles' creed is vitiated by the additions or perversions of the papal church.

The first article, *I believe in God*, is vitiated when the Church of Rome says, that "faith is to be placed in the saints;"* when she says, that "the mystery of the Trinity cannot be proved but by human traditions;" when she paints the Trinity in the form of an old man, having three faces.

The mediatorship of Christ is infringed upon by the Church of Rome when she makes mediators of the saints; and when she joins the merits of human works to the merits of Christ. The prophetic office of Christ is invaded when traditions and papal decrees are added to the canonical Scriptures. The sacrifice of the mass is injurious to the priesthood of Christ.

It were easy to show that almost every doctrine of the gospel of Christ has either been corrupted by the glosses and additions of the Church of Rome; or they have been rendered *void* by their traditions.

3. The moral principles taught by the Church of Rome favour the commission of sin.

Against the first commandment, *secret atheism*, idolatry, apostacy from the faith, and heresies reign in the Church of Rome to an alarming extent.

The second commandment is violated by their use of images.

The third is violated by the abuses of the divine name in various exercises and adjurations; by perjuries, by precept and example; by transferring the honour due to the divine name to creatures.

The fourth is violated by a profanation of the sabbath, the multitude of holy days, and other observances by which the day of rest and worship is in a good degree abrogated.

The fifth commandment is encroached by the contempt of parents, by children chosen to celibacy and the various monastic orders, either without, or contrary to the consent of their parents. *Contempt of the magistrate*, by exempting clergy from their jurisdiction, or claiming religious privileges to the prejudice of the civil authorities. *Sedition* against the magistrate, by depriving kings of their kingdoms, and absolving subjects, &c.†

The sixth commandment is violated by the persecutions of the Church of Rome, by the warlike character of their church, and their want of observing the principles and spirit of peace.

The seventh commandment is transgressed by the encouragement

* Concil. Trid., sess. 25, de Invocatione.

† See Gerhard, de Ecclesia, sec. 351, p. 424.

which the popes give to houses of prostitution. 'The concubinage of the clergy is known to all, and cannot be denied by any, with any modesty.* Marriage contracts are often violated and dissolved, without Scripture authority.

The eighth commandment is violated by their encouragement of *frauds and thefts*.†

The ninth commandment is broken, 1. By public and notorious falsehoods, such as the grant of Constantine and the legends of saints. 2. The introduction of spurious writings in the place of the genuine. 3. The corruption of genuine writings. 4. By slandering those whom they call heretics, as Luther and others.

The sin of concupiscence, which violates the tenth commandment, is considered a venial offence.

4. 'The state of morals in the Church of Rome proves that sanctity belongs to her in a very limited degree.

Many popes were men of the most abandoned lives. Some were magicians; some were noted for sedition, war, and slaughter; for profligacy of manners, for avarice and simony.‡ And this is the account of their own historians, and not the misrepresentations of Protestants.

The cardinals were also noted for pride, luxury, avarice, and other crimes.§

The morals of the bishops, priests, and other clergy were equally depraved.||

The monks receded not only from the rule of Christ's word, but also from the rules of their fraternities, as Roman Catholic authors testify.¶

The Jesuits' morality may be seen from their own Catechism by a Romanist; from the celebrated Provincial Letters.**

The morals of the people correspond to those of the clergy. This is not marvellous, seeing they are deprived of the Scriptures, are not instructed in the principles of the word of God, and are the dupes of ignorance and superstition.††

The Church of Rome, we must conclude, is notably deficient in holiness, whether in her doctrines, moral rules, or the actions of her members, whether clergy or laity. Indeed, she teaches in form, and practices accordingly, as we have shown, that the commission of notorious and scandalous mortal sins cannot deprive the clergy of one particle of their authority or render their ministrations less effectual or valid; and though her private members may be deformed by every sort of vice, they are still *good Catholics*—they are still of the *faithful*—and cannot lose their membership, though they may live and die in the practice and love of every sin. Such then is their sanctity. Whether it is such as purifies the heart, and reforms the life, any person can judge.

VII. *The title CATHOLIC as a note of the true church.*

1. The word *catholic*, if we regard its Greek etymology, signifies, *universal or general*. And it is taken in a good or bad sense, according to the subject to which it is applied. We read of *catholicons*, or *catholic*

* See several Roman Catholic authors, quoted by Gerhard, de Ecclesia, who confess this, sec. 251, p. 425.

† See several quotations on this in Gerhard, de Eccl. p. 426.

‡ See Gerhard, de Eccles., sec. 263, p. 438.

§ Idem, sec. 264, p. 439. || Idem, sec. 265, p. 440. ¶ Idem, sec. 226, p. 442.

** See also Gerhard, sec. 267.

†† Idem, sec. 268, p. 444.

remedies, for such as are good, against all or the greater number of diseases. So we read of *catholic*, or epidemic *diseases*, such as run through whole countries.

The sense of the word, as attributed to the church, is double. 1. Either it signifies *universal* or œcumenical; and so it is taken in the creed, and is opposed to the synagogue of the Jews, which was confined to a certain time, to certain persons and places; whereas the catholic church of Christ is illimitable, admitting into it believers of all sorts, in all places, and at all times. The Christian church consists of "every kindred, tongue, and people," Rev. v, 9. The catholic church is the universal church spread over the world: and the catholic faith is the universal faith; that *form of doctrines* which the apostles *delivered** to the whole church. Hence the church is called *catholic*. 2. The word means, *orthodox*, in all important points, because it preserves the true faith, which we learn from the New Testament, and at this distance of time we can learn it with certainty nowhere else. Every church or society of Christians that preserves this catholic or universal faith, accompanied with true charity, and its fruits, or obedience to God, is a part of the catholic or universal church. And because the parts are of the same nature with the whole, it has been usual to call each single church, thus qualified, a catholic church. And in this sense, churches that differ widely in several opinions and customs, may, nevertheless, be truly catholic churches.

The word *catholic*, as applied to the church, is used by the fathers, for the most part, in reference to the orthodoxy of the church. Cyril adviseth, "When thou comest into any city, inquire where is the Church Catholic. For that is the proper name of the holy church, which is the mother of us all: and she is so termed because she catholicly and perfectly teaches all doctrines which men are bound to know."† And Pacianus says, "Christian is my name, and Catholic my surname: by the one I am known from infidels; by the other from heretics and schismatics."‡ St. Augustine saith, "Although every heresy would seem to be, and affecteth to be called the catholic church, yet, when heretics are asked by pagans, *Where is the place where Catholics meet?* none of them dares point out to his own house or church."§ And again: "The very title of the Catholic Church holdeth me, which name among so many heresies, she alone holdeth." Theodosius, the emperor, made a decree, that that church alone should be called catholic which equally worshipped and glorified the three persons in the blessed Trinity.||

2. The name catholic is first found in the apostles' creed, as follows: "I believe in one holy, catholic, and apostolic church." Some, however, doubt, whether the appellation catholic was adopted by the apostles and inserted by them in the creed, even allowing that the creed was composed by them, which is very doubtful at best. The doubt increases when we learn that the word catholic is not found in Scripture applied to the church. Besides, Irenæus¶ and Turtullian,** when reciting the creed, make no use of the word catholic.

* Rom. vi, 17.

† Catech. Mystag., c. 8.

‡ Epist. ad Sympron.

§ Liber contra Fundan., c. 4.

|| Sozomen. H. E., 7, 4.

¶ Lib. i, c. 2, p. 34, and lib. iii, c. 6, p. 172.

** De Præscrip. adv. Hæres., et lib. de Velan. Virg.

It is, however, allowed, that the word used in the sense of *universality* may be employed to mean the same which Scripture expresses with other words; for the gospel was to be preached in *the whole world, to every creature, &c.* In this import of the word, then, the sense of Scripture will justify its use, as applied to all Christians of orthodox character.

In progress of time, when heresies commenced to show themselves in the church, the word catholic began to be used for *consent in doctrine*; that is, in that confession of faith which the apostles preached by word of mouth, but which afterward, by the will of God, was left by them in the Holy Scriptures. And when heretics, on account of the multitude of their followers, appropriated the name of catholic to their congregations, the word catholic was explained by the word *apostolic*. Thus, in the Nicene Creed, in the year 325, the article of the creed concerning the church was expounded by these words: *I believe one holy, catholic, and apostolic church*; that it might be understood that that was the true church which was built, in every part of the globe, on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and which sincerely and faithfully held the doctrines taught by the apostles. In the Council of Ephesus, in 434, the words catholic and apostolic are joined together, and the one is explained by the other; for thus the fathers of the council speak: "This is the catholic and apostolic faith, which all the orthodox bishops of the east and west approve of." They also add, "The holy and apostolic church anathematize those who determine otherwise."* In the last sentence the appellation catholic is omitted, and therefore explained by the word apostolic.

The following reasons will show that the appellation catholic does not apply properly to the Church of Rome, in the sense in which she affects to use it:

3. From the name alone no firm argument can be deduced why the Church of Rome is the true orthodox church of Christ.

This is easily learned from Scripture. The Jews called themselves "the sons of God," and "the seed of Abraham," (John viii, 33,) yet they were not properly the spiritual seed of Abraham, nor the true sons of God. False teachers called themselves prophets and ministers of Christ; yet they were still false prophets and false Christs. Matt. vii, 15; xxiv, 24. False apostles called themselves ministers of righteousness, and transformed themselves into the apostles of Christ, when they did not possess the true characters of ministers or apostles. 2 Cor. i, 4, 12. Of the church of Smyrna it is said, "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan," Rev. ii, 9. Of the church in Sardis it is declared, "I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest and art dead," Rev. iii, 1. The apostle says there are many who are called gods, but that there was only one true God. 1 Cor. viii, 5. Simon Magus was called *the great power of God*, (Acts viii, 10,) and Diana was called *a great goddess*, (Acts ix, 27;) yet the one was a great impostor, and the other was a detestable idol.

From the sayings of the fathers we have many proofs that they considered the name of Christian as the smallest part of his true character.

* *Hæc est catholica et apostolica fides. quam probant omnes tam orientis quam occidentis episcopi orthodoxi. . . . Item. Qui contrarium statuunt, eos anathematizat sancta et apostolica ecclesia.*

Justin Martyr says, "The addition of a name decides nothing to be good or bad, apart from those deeds which are connected with the name."* Augustine says, "How you glory that you are a Christian? You have the name, but you have not the character. The name should follow the act. If any one should call thee a pagan, show by your deeds that you are a Christian: for if you do not show by your acts that you are a Christian, though all may call thee a Christian, what will it profit thee unless the thing itself is connected with the name."† He farther says, "How many are called physicians who cannot heal? How many are called vigilant who sleep during the night."‡

Between the name and the thing there is no certain connection. Names are not always given by an unbiased judgment. Things sometimes retain those names by which they were formerly called, although that very thing on account of which they have received the name is perished. Thus the Jews, on account of their connection with Abraham, called themselves the *seed of Abraham*; though they were then destitute of the very thing that would authorize them to assume that name. In the primitive church certain heretics called themselves *apostolic, angelic, cathari, Encratites, Gnostics, &c.*, which appellations possess an equal or greater splendour than the name Catholic.§

4. The Church of Rome cannot, without absurdity or impiety, be called the Catholic Church; because she is no more the *universal* church than the Roman jurisdiction is the whole world. However, she, who is one of the most corrupted parts of the catholic church, both in faith and love, hath presumed to call herself the whole Catholic Church, the universal church, which she no more is than one diseased limb, though perhaps the larger for being diseased, is the whole body of a man. By attempting to exclude others they take the most direct way to exclude themselves, unless God may impute their uncharitable way of thinking or acting to excusable ignorance or mistake. The Roman Church is at best but a great branch, and such a one as we can prove is much withered; and St. Paul teacheth, that "it may be cut off: if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he spare not thee. Behold, therefore, the goodness and severity of God; on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou shalt be cut off," Rom. xi, 21, 22.

5. The Church of Rome cannot be termed catholic in the sense of *orthodox*: for although other heretics were so termed, though they held some *one* error or other against the catholic or orthodox faith, the Church of Rome containeth *many* errors, and those most grievous and pernicious. If any Protestant, therefore, term the Church of Rome *catholic*, it is only by way of irony or sarcasm; like that of the Lacedemonians, whereby they styled Alexander a god, *Quia vult Alexander esse deus, sit deus, Because Alexander is resolved to be a god, let him be*

* Ονοματος προσωπια ητε αγαθον ητε κακον κρινεται ανευ των υποκλιπτωντων τω ονοματι πραξεων.—*Just. Mart.*, apol. ii.

† Quomodo gloriaris te esse Christianum? Nomen habes, et factum non habes. Si autem nomen secutum fuerit opus. Dicat te quispiam paganum, tu factis ostende te Christianum. Nam si factis non ostendis te Christianum omnes te Christianum vocent quid tibi prodest nomen ubi res non invenitur.—*August.*, *Tract.* 5, *in Epist. Johan.*

‡ Quam multi vocantur medici, qui curare non norunt? Quam multi vocantur vigiles, qui tota nocte dormiunt?—*August.*, *Tract.* 4, *in Johan.*

§ Heretics applied the name to themselves. Of this see many proofs by quotations from the fathers, in Gerhard, de Eccles., sec. 154, page 324.

a god. Or like the declaration of St. Bernard,* whereby he styles those heretics *apostolics*, who challenge to themselves that title. "These indeed call themselves apostolics, and yet they are not able to show any sign or token of their apostleship." So papists call themselves Catholics, and yet they cannot show the true notes of catholic, or orthodox faith. Their grievous errors deprive them of the significant use of the name Catholic.

6. Indeed, the Church of Rome, neither as to place, time, or faith, is properly called catholic. 1. The catholic church embraces the whole number of those who are and will be saved, (Heb. xii, 13,) of whom some reign in heaven, and some are yet on the earth. But these were not all in communion with the Roman Church; nay, many of these lived and died who knew nothing of the idolatry and superstition of the Church of Rome. 2. The true catholic church embraces the catholic faith, agreeing with the doctrines of prophets and apostles. Eph. ii, 20. But the Roman Church departs from the true catholic faith in many important points. 3. The term *Roman*, affixed to catholic, shows that the Church of Rome was properly, at first, confined to the city of Rome, and afterward to the Roman states; it cannot properly, therefore, be called catholic, because a particular is not a universal, a species is not a genus, a member is not the body. 4. Their right name is more properly papists, because they follow the pope. Thus they derive their real name from him who sitteth in, or rather usurps the throne of God. 5. A variety of sectarian names and titles is also applicable to them, such as Franciscans, from Francis, Augustines, from Augustine, &c.

7. There is great arrogance in the Church of Rome in confining the name Catholic to themselves; and there is much inconsistency in Protestants in conceding the use of this name to them, unless by proper qualifying terms. No well informed Protestant, nay, no Protestant at all, ever supposes that the *catholic* church, in which he expresses his *belief*, in reciting the creed, is any other than the *universal* church of Christ, and most certainly not the Church of Rome. And if, in the ordinary course of life, Protestants speak of the *Catholic chapel*, the *Catholic* question, or the like, they use that term, not in reference to its ecclesiastical sense, but as a synonyme for *Roman Catholic*. The advantage, however, which popish writers take of this indifference, the additional claim to exclusive catholicity which they affect to establish on this inadvertence, or by perverting the usual sense of it, should be a caution to Protestants never to use the word but with a sufficient explanatory accompaniment. Papist is the correct generic term. And the use made of the word catholic, in order to pervert unwary Protestants, is a reason why more precision should be observed in its use. With the uninformed and unsuspecting Protestant, for instance, it is argued, "You believe in the holy catholic church, according to your own creed; now ours is the Catholic Church, as both you and we call it; *you*, therefore, *believe* in ours, as the true holy catholic church: that your practice might be consistent with your faith, you should therefore leave the Protestant, and come over to the church in which you yourself profess to believe." This artifice is used, and has staggered some: and the design is to confound, ensnare, and lead captive. Pro-

* In Cant., Serm. 66.

testants may, therefore, without just cause of offence, use the words popery, papal, and papist, because the word catholic, without an appellative, is too vague, and has been used to deceive. Till this practice therefore is given up, and the word catholic relinquished as belonging to the Church of Rome, Protestants may, without cause of offence, but defensively, call those papists who adhere to Rome, their system popery, and their doctrines and acts, papal or popish. This is the clearest distinction, and ought not to give offence, on account of its derivation from their spiritual father, the pope of Rome, and because it is not a name which Protestants have invented, but received from Romanists themselves.

VIII. *Concerning the note of the church called APOSTOLICITY.*

1. The apostolic mark of the true church is thus defined by Dens : "The church is called apostolical, 1. On account of the doctrine received from the apostles, which the Church of Rome hath always retained, and will retain the same, so that from the time of the apostles to the present, it cannot in any one thing be found when, where, and by whom any thing was changed, in reference to doctrine. 2. Because it was propagated by the apostles. 3. Because it hath a legitimate and uninterrupted succession of bishops, especially in the very seat of Peter. 4. Because it hath indivulsively adhered to the chair of Peter, or to the Roman seat founded by Peter."*

Bailly defines the apostolicity of the church thus : "The church is called apostolical in a twofold sense, on account of the *doctrine*, and on account of the *ministry*. The society is apostolical on account of *doctrine*, which hath preserved the faith delivered by the apostles, polluted by no error. It is apostolical on account of the *ministry*, whose pastoral order, commenced by the apostles, hath succeeded to our time without intermission."† "That the church shall be called apostolical," says Lieberman, "it is required that she should have the succession of doctrine and authority from the apostles."‡ Thus they contend that by an uninterrupted line of succession from the apostles, their bishops have derived their authority, in consequence of which their ministrations alone are valid, to the exclusion of all those who cannot trace their origin without interruption to this source. They confine this succession to doctrines and the ministry ; studiously avoiding *moral character*, which they are not disposed to meddle with. They also overlook those ministerial qualifications spoken of by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus. We will present what we have to say on this point under the four following heads, viz. :

First. An examination of succession in general, and whether it is a mark of the true church.

Secondly. Whether this succession is exclusively in the Church of Rome.

Thirdly. Whether there has been a succession of true Christianity independently of the Church of Rome.

Fourthly. And whether Protestants possess this succession.

* Ecclesia dicitur apostolica, 1. Ratione doctrinæ ab apostolis acceptæ, &c.—*Dens, de Eccles.*, No. 78, tom. ii, p. 402.

† Bailly, de Apostolice Ecclesiæ, tom. ii, c. v, p. 356.

‡ Ut ecclesia possit dici apostolica, requiritur, ut doctrinæ et auctaritatis successionem ab apostolis habeat.—*Lieb, de Nota Apostolice Ecclesiæ*, tom. ii, p. 291.

2. We shall first examine into succession in general, and whether that claimed by the Church of Rome is a note of the true church.

Succession is threefold, viz.: one of *persons and places*, another of *doctrine*, and a third of *morals and practice*. That of persons and places may be called *external*, that of doctrine *internal*, and that of morals and practice *mixed*, or internal and external combined. The succession of places and persons is a certain external and mutable accident of the church, nor is it of any avail without the succession of doctrine and the observance of the moral precepts of the gospel.

The Church of Rome acknowledges that the doctrines taught by the apostles form a necessary element of the succession; and in this Protestants and they are agreed; but they differ inasmuch as Protestants maintain that the Church of Rome is not apostolical in doctrine; while the Romanists, on the other hand, assert that they only teach the doctrines which the apostles taught. This is now stated, but it will be considered again in its place, and made use of in argument.

3. In proof that *local* or mere *personal* succession is not a mark of the true church, we prove, from the consideration that this was not, or could not always be a mark of the true church. Such a mark did not exist before there were any successors in the time of Christ and his apostles. To whom did Christ succeed? To whom did the apostles succeed? The Epistle to the Hebrews teaches that Christ succeeded Melchisedec, though there was no formal succession of persons and places connecting them. Steven, when accused of false doctrine, referred to a succession of doctrine not at all answering to that of Rome. The apostles were the true successors of Aaron and the prophets, because they preserved the true doctrines and faith, though they did not immediately or locally succeed them. The Jews could boast that they had a succession from Abraham and Moses; yet they were not in possession of pure doctrines, inasmuch as they had corrupted them by their addition of tradition in reference to the rule, and in regard to their practice they were far from being disciples of Abraham and Moses.

4. The Scripture assures us that there may be a succession of persons and place where there does not exist the true succession of the apostles. There are many apostolical *predictions* which assert this. Paul thus addresses the presbyters or bishops of the Ephesine church: "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them," Acts xx, 29, 30. Here it is manifestly predicted that false prophets and the vilest seducers should succeed the orthodox pastors. In his First Epistle to Timothy, Paul says, "In the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats," 1 Tim. iv, 1-3. So also Peter: "There were also false prophets among the people, as there will be false teachers among you," &c, 2 Pet. ii, 1. In like manner antichrist is predicted of as "sitting in the temple of God," 2 Thess. ii, 4.

5. Ecclesiastical history abounds with examples confirming the same doctrine. In the church of Antioch, planted by the apostles, Paul of Samosata, the heresiarch, succeeded orthodox bishops: so also did

Peter Gnaphæus, the Eutychean, Macarius, the Monothelite, and others. Georgius and Lucius, Arians; Dioscorus, a Eutychean; Cyrus, a Monothelite; were bishops of the church of Alexandria, planted by the apostles. In the church of Constantinople, Macedonius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, were bishops. In the church of the city of Rome many heretics occupied the chair of St. Peter.

6. The ancient fathers place no stress on a mere local and personal succession, apart from the succession of pure doctrines and correct moral principles and conduct.

The following quotations amply sustain the Protestant side of this question :

Irenæus declares as follows : "It is proper to submit to those presbyters in the church who have the succession from the apostles, as we have shown ; who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the undoubted gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father. But others who are separate from the principal succession are everywhere to be held as suspected, either as heretics and of bad principles, or as schismatic, and proud, and pleasing themselves, or as hypocrites, who act on account of gain or vain glory. But all these depart from the truth. And indeed heretics, who offer on the altar of God strange fire, that is, strange doctrines, will be burned with celestial fire, like Nadab and Abihu." Here Irenæus acknowledges those only as the successors of the apostles who, with the succession of the Ephesine presbyterate or episcopate, possessed the undoubted gift of truth ; and he teaches, that those had departed from the principal succession who introduced new or strange doctrines, just as Nadab and Abihu, though the successors of Aaron, were punished with fire from heaven because they offered strange fire to the Lord.*

He furthermore says : "It is necessary to adhere to those who preserve the doctrine of the apostles, and, with the order of presbyters, maintain sound speech and perseverance therein, without offence."†

Tertullian says : "If heretics would feign such a succession of bishops, their very doctrine, compared with the apostolic, would declare, from its diversity and quantity, that it did not belong to any apostle as its author, nor any apostolic man ; because, as the apostles did not teach differently among themselves, so also apostolic men did not utter things different from the apostles themselves, unless those who dissented from the apostles, and preached differently."‡ He then con-

* Eis, qui in ecclesia sunt, presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, sicut ostendimus, qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum patris acceperunt. Reliquos verò, qui absistunt a principali successione, et quocumque loco colliguntur suspectos habere, vel quasi hæreticos et malæ sententiæ, vel quasi scindentes et elatos et sibi placentes, aut rursus ut hypocritas, quæstus gratiâ et vanæ gloriæ hoc operantes. Omnes autem hi decidunt a veritate. Et hæretici quidem alienum ignem offerentes ad altare Dei, hoc est, alienas doctrinas a cœlesti igne comburentur, quemadmodum Nadab et Abihu.—*Irenæus*, lib. iv, c. 43.

† Adhærere oportet iis, qui et apostolorum doctrinam custodiunt et cum presbyterii ordine sermonem sanum et conservationem sine offensa præstant.—*Idem*, lib. iv, c. 44.

‡ Si maxime talem episcoporum successionem confinxerint hæretici, ipsa doctrina eorum cum apostolicâ comparata ex diversitate et quantitate sua pronuntiabit, non esse alicujus apostoli autoris, neque apostolici, quia sicut apostoli non diversa inter se docuissent, ita et apostolici viri non contraria apostolis edidissent, nisi illi, qui ab apostolis desciverunt, et aliter prædicaverunt.—*Tertul. Lib. Præscrip. adv. Hæres.*

cludes thus: "There also the adulteration of Scripture and of interpretation is found, where diversity of doctrine exists."* We say the very same things concerning the dogmas of the Church of Rome, that a comparison of them with the doctrines of the apostles will show that they originated neither with apostles nor apostolic men. Our author utters the following sentiments on the same subject: "Those churches are the descendants of the apostles' churches which preserve the faith and seeds of their doctrines. . . Although some churches cannot trace their origin to apostles nor apostolic men, because they existed much later, yet, as they agreed in the same faith, they were not the less deputed apostolical on account of their agreement in doctrine. . . If a bishop, if a deacon, if a widow, if a virgin, if a teacher, if even a martyr, hath deviated from the rule, do heresies, therefore, obtain the nature of truth? Do we prove the faith from the persons, or the persons from their faith?"† Romanists prove their faith from persons; that is, from the personal succession of their prelates; but Protestants, with Tertullian, maintain that the persons are to be approved of by their faith.

Eusebius, after enumerating the succession of Roman bishops, says: "that they retained the power of apostolic preaching, and the same preaching of divine faith, whole and unmixed, which the apostles delivered."‡

Jerome affirms: "It is not easy to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to occupy the chair of those who governed with Christ, because it is said, 'They are not the children of saints who occupy the places of the saints, but those who do the same acts.' "§

Augustine says: "Those who dissent from the Scriptures are not the church, although they are found in every place in which the church exists."|| Again: "We do not prove our church either from the succession of bishops, or from the authority of councils, or from the frequency of miracles, or from visions or dreams. Whatever exist in the Catholic Church are to be thus proved; not that they prove her to be true because they exist in her. When our Lord Jesus Christ himself arose, he sends his disciples to the Scriptures of the law and the prophets."¶ Furthermore, he says: "Those who sit in the seat are to be heard; for, in sitting in that seat, they teach the law of God; there-

* Illic et Scripturarum et expositionum adulteratio deputanda est, ubi diversitas invenitur doctrinæ.—*Tertul. Lib. Præscrip. adv. Hæres.*

† Illæ ecclesiæ sunt soboles apostolicarum ecclesiarum, quæ conservant traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ. . . Licet ecclesiæ quædam nullum ex apostolis vel apostolicis autorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus apostolicæ deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinæ. . . Si episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, si virgo, si doctor, si etiam martyr lapsus a regula fuerit, num ideo hæreses veritatem videbuntur obtinere? Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas?—*Idem.*

‡ *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. v, c. 6.

§ Non est facile stare in loco Petri et Pauli et tenere cathedram regnantium cum Christo, quia hinc dicitur, Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loco sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera suorum.—*Hieron., Epis. 1., ad Heliod.*

|| Quicumque a Scripturis sanctis dissentiant, etiamsi in omnibus locis inveniantur, in quibus ecclesia designata est, non sunt ecclesia.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.*, c. 4.

¶ Nolumus nos ecclesiam nostram probare vel ex successione episcoporum, vel ex autoritate conciliorum, vel ex miraculorum frequentia, vel ex visis et somniis. Quæcumque talia in Catholica fiunt, id eo probanda, quia in ea fiunt, non itaque eam probant. Ipse Dominus Jesus cum resurrexisset, suos discipulos ad Scripturas remittit legis et prophetarum.—*Idem*, c. 16.

fore, by them God teaches. But if they teach their own doctrines, you are neither to obey or hear them.”*

Ambrose has the following remarkable declaration : “ They do not possess the inheritance of Peter who do not possess the faith of Peter.”†

Romanists, however, refer us to the fathers as using this argument of succession as a true mark of the church. To their allegation on this point we premise the following things : 1. The point must be settled by the canonical Scriptures alone ; and nothing can be proved by the fathers beyond probability. 2. The fathers attach a succession of faith, and doctrine, and good moral character, to a personal and local succession ; which they consider of no avail of itself, as we have shown above. 3. When they make mention of succession, they adduce it, not as a firm and undeniable argument, but as an illustration of an argument. They convince heretics from Scripture, in the first place, and establish their position ; and, finally, they produce the succession of bishops, because the bishops received their doctrine from the apostles, and propagated it by a continued series of successors. 4. The state of these churches, for which the fathers challenge this succession, is very different from their present state. Formerly they preserved the faith and doctrines of the gospel ; but now they have departed from them, as a comparison of their doctrines with the apostolic Scriptures will show. 5. The fathers use this argument against those heretics who denied or adulterated the Scriptures. It was, therefore, necessary to have recourse to the succession of those bishops in the churches planted by the apostles, and demonstrate against the heretics what Scriptures the apostles delivered to the churches, what faith and doctrine they committed to their successors, &c. 6. The fathers did not challenge for the Church of Rome a succession of bishops, as though they would acknowledge her alone to be planted by the apostles ; or that she alone had preserved the apostolic doctrines ; or that she alone had a certain monarchical dominion over other churches. It was because this church was notable on account of the dignity and pre-eminence of the city, as the seat of the Roman empire ; on account of the number of its martyrs, and the virtues and constancy of its bishops. When, in the East, heresies sprang up, and disturbed the flourishing churches of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, &c., the Roman Church was more peaceful and more constant in preserving the orthodox faith. Let modern Romanists demonstrate that they possess the same doctrines which the ancient bishops of Rome did, and then their argument from succession will have some weight.‡

Thirdly. We shall now particularly inquire whether this succession exists in the Church of Rome in the exclusive sense for which she contends. On this point the following arguments are given :

* Qui sedent in cathedra, audiendi sunt, nam sedendo in cathedra, legem Dei docent. Ergo per illos Deus docet. Si vero sua illi doceant, tum nolite audire, nolite facere.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.*, tract. 46, in Joh.

† Non habent hæreditatem Petri, qui fidem Petri non habent.—*Ambros. de Pœnit.*, lib. 1, c. 6.

‡ Several quotations from Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, are adduced by them to prove their views of succession ; but the quotations already adduced, and the remarks given, present the true sense of the fathers, with which we content ourselves. The curious reader will find a number of quotations on the Roman side quoted and considered by Gerhard, de Eccles., sec. 195, p. 363.

7. The power of binding and loosing was not bestowed on the apostles as bishops of any particular church. The whole world was given them for their field of labour. The principal distinction was between Jews and Gentiles, and this was only of short duration. And though we learn that some of them, at least for a time, devoted themselves to the service of some particular church, yet they do not appear to have settled themselves down as the bishops of any one place.

It is, however, said, that James, an apostle, was the first bishop of Jerusalem. This is very uncertain. It is agreed that the first bishop of Jerusalem was James, and that he was surnamed the Just; but it is not agreed that this James was an apostle. Eusebius, Hegesippus. Epiphanius, Jerome, Gregory of Nysse, and Chrysostom, have been numbered among those who held that this James was one of the seventy disciples. To suppose that an apostle, who, with his fellows, was bound, by his Lord's last commission, "to go throughout all the world, and teach all nations," should be confined to the charge of a particular flock, is to suppose him voluntarily to resign his apostleship, or to be deprived of it, and thus undergo a real degradation. For besides the difference in respect to extent between these two missions, the department of an apostle was chiefly among infidels, whom he was commanded *μαθητεῖν* to *disciple*, or convert to the Christian faith: the department of a primitive bishop was chiefly among believers, whom he was appointed *διδασκεῖν* to *teach*, or *instruct*.

Nor was there any power bestowed on Peter that was not equally bestowed on the other apostles. For granting that Christ has built his church on St. Peter, this is no more than what belongs to the other apostles also. Is it not elsewhere written, that "we are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone?" Eph. ii, 20. Is it not also written, that "the New Jerusalem has twelve foundations, whereon the twelve apostles of the Lamb are written?" Rev. xxi, 14. Besides, the power of binding and loosing was equally intrusted to them all. Matt. xviii, 18; John xx, 21-23.

8. The powers peculiarly bestowed on Peter cannot be proved to descend to those who pretend to be his successors. They were not promised to the bishops of Rome in what Christ said to Peter when he bestowed these powers on him; nor is there mention of them in any other place of Scripture, that they were to descend to his successors in the bishopric of a church which did not then exist. That the popes of Rome are the legitimate successors of St. Peter is founded on no Scripture warrant, but entirely grounded on unauthorized assumption.

Indeed, these powers were such as to be incapable of descending to any successor. No person can succeed Peter in the exercise of the keys; that is, in opening the door of faith, or first preaching the gospel, in the first place to the Jews, and afterward to the Gentiles. The nature of this work precludes the possibility of a successor. The same may be said of his apostleship; for as to his being bishop, he never was one in Rome, Antioch, or any other place.

9. The Church of Rome is defective in apostolic character, because she does not hold to the *doctrines* of the apostles. She is not the true successor of the apostles, because she repudiates their doctrines, and

introduces new doctrines, utterly unknown to them, such as ~~traditions~~ the merit of works, indulgences, the mass, &c.

10. And in regard to personal and local succession, we are ~~prepared~~ to show that it does not Scripturally exist, either in the ~~popes or bishops~~ of Rome.

A regular uninterrupted succession of *popes* cannot be traced up ~~in~~ the Church of Rome. Both the *origin* and *progress* of this ~~succession~~ are doubtful and uncertain. The truth of this statement will be ~~manifest~~ if we consider the succession of several churches; for instance, of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome.

(1.) The advocates of succession have been pleased to assign to the apostles themselves fixed diocesses; but they have done this without authority either from Scripture or the earliest antiquity. Certainly our Lord did not act the part of metropolitan-general, by assigning to each his diocess. This has been already shown. Nor do the Scriptures give us information of any diocesan division, properly so called, among the apostles themselves. Eusebius, who collects and furnishes the history of the first ages of the church, refers us to the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of St. Paul and Peter as the principal sources of information on this point. He informs us that they went throughout the world publishing the Christian faith. He does not tell us particularly where they preached, nor the methods which they adopted to settle the various churches which they planted, except to refer us to the writings of the New Testament. The strong presumption is, that the apostles were far from being uniform in their plans of operation, but that they varied their methods according to the manners and circumstances of the people. The account of the immediate successors of the apostles is equally defective. Respecting these Eusebius says, "Which of these were judged suitable to feed the churches established by these apostles it is not easy to say, any farther than may be gathered from the writings of Paul."* Let us examine the successions of some of the prominent churches.

(2.) The church of Alexandria has been generally represented as founded by St. Mark, and yet Eusebius speaks of it in no very strong terms, using the words, *they also say*, in reference thereto. Others after him affirm positively that he was there. Yet among these there is not a perfect agreement. Some contend, that he was there with Peter; others, that he was there alone, being sent by St. Peter; others, that he was there only once; and others, that he returned again after his third visit. As to the *time* of his arrival, the *period* of his ministry, and the year in which this church was founded, all its records are silent; and the famous Clement throws no light on this subject. Of the immediate successors of Mark the accounts are equally defective. This shows that the doctrine of apostolic succession, as contended for in modern times, was not thought of by the earliest Christian writers.

(3.) The line of succession in Antioch is involved in equal difficulties. Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Pope Leo, Innocent, Gelasius, and Gregory the Great, say, this church was founded by St. Peter. But we learn from superior authority, that "they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution of Stephen, travelled as far as Antioch, preaching the word to the Jews only," Acts xi, 19. Here the founda-

* Euseb. Eccl. Hist., book iii, chap. 4.

tion of the church was laid. Then the church of Jerusalem sent Barnabas, and not Peter, to Antioch. Next, Barnabas obtained the assistance of Paul, for he "departed to Tarsus to seek Saul; and when he had found him he brought him to Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch," Acts xi, 25, 26. The church at Antioch was not therefore founded by any apostle, much less by Peter. It was founded by private Christians, as is clear from the history of the transactions concerning it in the Acts.

If we turn from the apostles to their successors in this church, we shall find little ground on which to build the doctrine of Romish succession. Baronias tells us that the apostles left two bishops behind them here, one for the Jews, and the other for the Gentiles. These were Ignatius and Euodias. Eusebius says that Euodias was the first bishop of Antioch, and that Ignatius succeeded him. But Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the author of the Constitutions, declare that both Peter and Paul laid there hands on Ignatius: but it appears that Peter was dead before Ignatius was bishop of that place.

(4.) The succession of the Church of Rome is involved in greater confusion, if possible, than those of Alexandria or Antioch. According to some, this church was founded by St. Peter; others say by St. Paul: others insert both; and others assert it was neither. Of this latter opinion was the learned Salmasius, and it is supported by more authority than any other. 1. Had Peter first preached the gospel at Rome, it is not likely that such an event would have been unnoticed in the Acts, where the labours of Peter are particularly detailed, with those of Paul. 2. It is very unlikely that both had founded the Church of Rome; for Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans about A. D. 58, which was about five years before he was there personally. 3. It is highly probable that no *apostle* founded the church at Rome, but that the gospel was first preached there by some of those persons who were converted at Jerusalem, on the day of pentecost; for there were then at Jerusalem, not only *devout men*, proselytes to the Jewish religion, *from every nation under heaven*, (Acts ii, 5,) but there were *strangers of Rome* also present, verse 10. These on their return, like the *dispersed* who preached at Antioch, would naturally declare the wonders they had witnessed, and proclaim that truth by which they themselves had received salvation, as was the *general custom* in the days of the apostles. It is therefore more than probable that it was by those Romans who were converted at the day of pentecost that Christianity was first proclaimed at Rome.

That Peter erected his throne at Rome, and presided there twenty-five years, is altogether improbable. It is much more likely that, according to Origen* and Eusebius,† that Peter came to Rome at the close of his life. If Peter was there, Paul was there also; and it will be hard from this to say which of them was bishop, even on the supposition that any of the apostles were bishops, the contrary of which is susceptible of much proof. Paul was there first; but this does not determine who was bishop. To accommodate this some have made both bishops, which destroys the unity of the episcopate.

* In Genesin.

† Eccl. Hist., book iii, chap. 1.

The continuation of this succession is attended with still greater difficulties. Tertullian* places Clement after Peter. Jerome† does the same. And this opinion is supported by the canon law. But Optatus‡ places Linus after Peter, and makes Clement third. Augustine§ does the same. Irenæus|| places Linus after Peter, then Cletus, and in the fourth place, Clement. Others arrange them in a different manner.

(5.) If the successors of the apostles, by the confession of Eusebius, are difficult to be discovered, what becomes of those large diagrams made of the apostolical churches, with every man's name set down in its order, as if the maker were interpreter to the apostles? Placing these tables in their most favourable light, Eusebius is the principal author on whom their credit depends; and his account appears to have been made up chiefly from reports or traditions collected at a distance of three hundred years from the times of the apostles. His veracity cannot be questioned, so far as he was able to procure information. Of this he has given proof by leaving vacancies in his conjectural lists, when he had no light to guide him. Others, however, as Nicephorus, Callistus, and Simon the Metaphrast, and other historical tinkers, have taken care to fill all the vacancies left by Eusebius.

11. Papal succession, according to their own interpretation of the thing, has been frequently *interrupted*.

(1.) According to the popish doctrine of *intention*, it is impossible to ascertain who are truly ordained and who are not. Is it possible then, according to this system, to trace out a succession with any certainty, which is liable to so many uncertainties in the very act of consecration or appointment?

(2.) The succession of popes was interrupted by repeated *vacations*. According to the Roman Catholic Platina, the Roman seat, after John III., was vacant ten months and three days; after Pelagius II., six months and twenty-eight days; after Gregory, five months and nineteen days; after Fabian, eleven months and twenty-six days; after Boniface III., six months and twenty-five days; after Severinus, four months and twenty-nine days; after Martin I., fourteen months; after Vitalianus, four months and fifteen days; after Paul, one year and one month; after Nicholas I., eight years, seven months, and nine days, &c., &c.

(3.) It was interrupted by various *schisms* among the popes themselves. Some have numbered *twenty-eight* schisms which happened in the Roman seat alone; among which the twenty-seventh was the greatest, and lasted thirty years, between Urban VI. and Clement VI. There were, at the same time, popes at Rome and in France who excommunicated and cursed each other in a shocking manner. During this period there was either no true pope, or, which is the same thing, no certain one. To trace succession through all these popes and anti-popes, through poison, excommunication, &c., would be a difficult task indeed. The Council of Basil pronounced Eugenius a schismatic, who, nevertheless, obtained the popedom, and from him there descended other popes to this day, who were successors of this schismatic, and therefore, according to their own canons, had no right to ordain in the church.

* Præscrip. adv. Hær.

† Lib. ii, Adverm. Parmen.

‡ In cap. 25, Isa.

§ Epist. 165.

|| Lib. iii, c. 3.

(4.) It has also frequently happened that popes have been *heretics* Zepherinus was a Montanist ;* Marcellinus an idolater ;† Liberius was an Arian ; Anastasius was a Nestorian ; Vigilius an Eutychian ; Honorius was a Monothelite ; Sylvester was a Magian ; John XX. taught that the souls of the pious, when freed from the body, would not see God before the day of judgment ; John XXIII. believed that the soul died with the body, as the Council of Constance says respecting him. Now, according to their own showing, a heretic cannot properly transmit episcopal or priestly power to another ; and therefore, the succession contended for must as frequently have ceased as there have been heretical popes in the world.

(5.) Decrees of councils rendering all those ordinations null, where any *Simonaical* contract was the condition of them, makes it impossible to say, whether there are any lawful successors of the apostles, according to the principles of the Church of Rome. Now as it is undeniable that the popedom itself has been obtained by bribery as well as by other unfair means, such a succession as contended for must have been frequently interrupted.

(6.) Men of the most infamous *moral character* might be adduced, guilty of almost every mortal sin, who have filled St. Peter's chair. Is it credible ? is it possible that such monsters of wickedness could transmit the sacred truths of God with fidelity, or that he would choose them to be his ministers in holy things ? Their ministry cannot profit man, and is not therefore valid in the sight of God.

(7.) The succession has been broken by *illegitimate occupancy*. The most unrighteous means have been used to ascend the papal throne : murder, incest, bribery, force, fraud, magic arts have been employed in their turn for the purpose. Can any one suppose that the Almighty ever will sanction such nefarious proceedings in promoting his own holy cause ? Does he need the services of such, or does he sanction them by making them the chosen instruments of saving a ruined world ?

From the foregoing we perceive that the succession contended for has frequently been interrupted in the persons of the popes of Rome.

12. The bishops of the Church of Rome are not the true successors of the apostles, any more than the popes themselves.

(1.) Because they propagate new doctrines, unknown to the apostolic and primitive church. The authority of the Council of Trent among them is most sacred, by which they have established antichristian doctrines, as we have often shown.

(2.) Because they confess that they receive all their power, jurisdiction, and dignity from the pope, whom they acknowledge to be universal bishop and supreme head of the church.

(3.) They are unlawfully appointed, as they are not chosen by the body of presbyters, and without the consent or approbation of the people.

(4.) Often persons utterly unqualified have been placed in the bishop's office ; and the bishops themselves have ordained presbyters and others altogether ineligible to the ministerial office.‡

(5.) They perform a very small part of the episcopal functions.

* Tertul. adv. Prax.

† Damasus in Pontif.

‡ See several pertinent quotations from Roman Catholic authors on this point in Garard, de Eccles., sec. 198.

Very few of them preach, or engage in those spiritual duties which belonged to the primitive bishop.

(6.) They are, for the most part, employed in political and secular affairs. They have left the service of the sanctuary for the court, and pursuits which belong to laymen.

(7.) Many of them live profane lives, practise an impure celibacy, and are infamous for public scandalous sins. The orator of the duke of Bavaria, in the Council of Trent, utters this testimony, that the bishops were addicted to gluttony and whoredom. The character of the bishops of the Council of Trent is well known to be destitute of moral purity. Men of bad moral character, therefore, cannot be the true successors of the apostles.

(8.) They bind themselves by a wicked and unlawful oath to submit to the pope, so that they cannot speak the truth, or act according to the rules of right, if it would be prejudicial to the interests of the pope. This is manifest, from the oath which they take to the pope on their ordination as bishops, which we have quoted in the chapter respecting the standards of the Church of Rome, to which the reader is referred. The bishop promises to be faithful and obedient to the pope and his successors—to neither advise or consent, or do any thing, by which any injury should be offered to them on any pretence whatever—to preserve, defend, increase, and advance the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the pope—to persecute and oppose to his utmost all Protestants, &c. The apostles surely swore no such oath of obedience to Peter, but on the contrary freely admonished him. Therefore, the bishops of the Church of Rome are not the true followers of the apostles.

13. What claims can the Church of Rome challenge to herself that may not with equal propriety be claimed for the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Syria? Hence we will be led to show,

Secondly, that there has been independently of the Church of Rome a succession or transmission of Christianity through a purer channel, and in a purer state, than that which she inculcates. Of this, we will furnish the following proofs :

14. First. The truth of Scripture has been preserved, and therefore the truth of Christianity, without the instrumentality of the Church of Rome, or that dependance upon her, which she arrogates to herself. The originals, and ancient versions, have come down to us independently of the Church of Rome. And in regard to modern translations, others have acted with more fidelity, and to a greater extent than she. In circulating the Scriptures she is left entirely behind ; and surely this is one principal way of transmitting pure religion to posterity.

15. Secondly. In handing down purer records of the truth, at best we can ascribe to her the preservation of but a part of the history of the church. We cannot allow the Church of Rome any of the credit of preserving or producing the writings of the Greek fathers, unless in a very small degree. We must also deprive her of most of the writings of the Latin fathers of the first six centuries ; for we cannot allow her any except the writings of those who filled the Roman see, and those who were immediately under its authority, viz., the city of Rome and its suburbicary territories. Now if, in addition to the whole of the Greek fathers, and many of the Latin, we subtract from her just

meed of praise, what arises from the discredit that the truth of ancient documents have received from her forgeries and mutilations, and her giving credit to false decretals, &c., we shall find that her boasting should be very much chastened, and her claims very much lowered. The decisions of the first six general councils, of which the Church of Rome formed a small part, prove how little reason Rome has to arrogate to itself the credit of preserving and transmitting the records of our common Christianity.

16. Thirdly. Besides, however much she may boast of having preserved the succession in the gospel ministry, or, as she phrases it, in the priesthood, we can trace a more regular and pure succession of ministers than she can boast of. Admitting, for the sake of the argument, that a regular line of succession from the apostles is necessary; even then this is preserved more directly through the oriental churches, to say nothing of the Syrian churches which Buchanan found in the East, than through the medium of the Church of Rome.

17. Fourthly. Let us now come to *doctrines*. As far as these have been preserved apart from the Scriptures, we can easily find them without going to Rome in search of them. Instance in the apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds, to say nothing of the various other symbols and documents, in the preservation of which we are indebted to Rome in a very small degree.

18. Fifthly. In regard to *morality*. Whether we respect its theory or practice, we can find not only all its precepts, but all kinds of examples of it, in churches and individuals who were never in subjection to the pope, nor members of the Church of Rome.

19. Sixthly. In reference to church polity or government, she is certainly more faulty than almost any other church in the world. If, therefore, we are to look for a pure, a primitive, and Scriptural form of church government, we can find it in several other churches, much nearer the Scripture standard than that which the Church of Rome has adopted.

20. Finally. Were the records of the Romish Church blotted out of being, and her entire priesthood annihilated, the truth of Christianity, and the authority of the Christian ministry, would be supported by the same broad and firm basis on which they are now founded.

21. Are the ministers of Protestant churches the successors of the apostles? This is our fourth inquiry in the treatment of succession. On this a few remarks will be given here, as its complete discussion will be reserved for the chapter which will treat on the validity of the mission of Protestants. That they hold to the true doctrines of Scripture we have abundant proof. If, however, a local succession from the apostles is insisted on, we answer,

First. Succession may be said to be ordinary or extraordinary. Ordinary succession is when ministers succeed in the place of their predecessors, whether they teach orthodoxy or heresy. Acts xx, 29. But God in governing his church does not always make use of the ordinary succession, but sometimes in an extraordinary manner raises up true teachers, by whom he reforms the corrupt state of the church, and admonishes the regular teachers. Thus when Eli and his sons shamefully departed from God, the ordinary succession of priests was interrupted, and the priesthood was transferred to another family.

1 Sam. ii, 30. When, in the time of King Ahaz, the temple was polluted, and its doors shut, and the high priest Urias propagated an idolatrous worship, God raised up prophets by whom he restored the divine worship to its ancient purity. 2 Kings xvi, 10 ; 2 Chron. xxviii, 24. The same thing took place at other times among the people of Israel, so that the Levitical priests, to whom the ordinary succession belonged, were corrected by prophets extraordinarily called and sent, and the true doctrine was purged through their means from the contagion of idolatry. Thus Amos was divinely called to be a prophet. And the Lord threatens the priests of Israel, that on account of their idolatry, he would deprive them of their office and put others in their place. Ezek. xlv, 12 ; Hos. iv, 6.

Nor can it be maintained, as is alleged by the Church of Rome, "that under the Jewish dispensation, the ordinary succession might be interrupted, not having purity of doctrine perpetually joined thereto ; but that the case was different in the Christian economy, which has promises of perpetual succession attached to the popes of Rome." But the Scriptures amply testify against this doctrine. There are extant mournful predictions concerning a very general apostacy ; (2 Thess. ii, 3 ;) of a great number of false prophets ; (Matt. xxiv, 5 ;) of wolves succeeding to the place of the apostles ; (Acts xx, 29 ;) of the church fleeing to the wilderness. Rev. xii, 6. In the Christian church it is foretold that God will raise up *two witnesses* ; (Rev. xi, 3 ;) that is, a few faithful teachers who will restore the primitive doctrines and worship, so that the gates of hell shall not destroy the church. Just as under the Old Testament, God raised up prophets extraordinarily sent, when those who were in the ordinary succession neglected their office, and permitted idolatry to advance : so, also in the Christian dispensation, by John the Baptist, and the apostles, God restored the church to the standard of truth by the rejection of errors and superstition, when the scribes and Pharisees, who sat in Moses' seat, neglected their duty and corrupted the worship of God. In like manner, by the ministry of Luther and his associates, God restored the true doctrines and worship of the church.

We have now gone over the notes of the true church which are most insisted on, viz., *unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity*. Most Roman Catholic divines content themselves with discussing these in form, and incidentally introduce others, such as *antiquity, power of working miracles, &c.* We find it most convenient to consider these marks in this place, and shall therefore proceed to their examination.

IX. *ANTIQUITY as a note of the church.*

Romanists say their church is the most ancient, and on that account it has special claims of being the true church.

1. By divine precept we are commanded to examine, when antiquity is quoted as a mark of the true church, whether it is that true and prime antiquity which hath its origin in divine revelation. The following text will show that the bad example of ancestors is not to be followed, though it has the plea of antiquity : " But I said unto their children in the wilderness, Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols : I am the Lord your God ; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them," Ezek. xx, 18, 19. The Jews object to the doctrine

of Christ its novelty: "What is this new doctrine?" Mark i, 27. The Athenians said to Paul, "We would know what this new doctrine is," Acts xvii, 19. The novelty alluded to was only apparent, and not real: it only seemed to be new to those who were nurtured in ancient errors. The Pharisees, on the question concerning divorce, appeal to antiquity, because, throughout many ages, these divorces were customary among the Jews; but Christ refers them to the true and prime antiquity described in the Scriptures, and defined in the words following: "From the beginning it was not so." From thence we learn that no support is derived from long established custom, or apparent antiquity, or prescription, for the purpose of establishing any thing in religion; as the Scriptures alone form the standard in this matter.

2. What does not apply to the church in all ages cannot be a certain mark of the true church. But there was a time when the church was not ancient; therefore antiquity must have some test to fix on its value. The church of the Old Testament began with Adam; that of the New originated with Christ and his apostles. Therefore the time was when the church was new, and might be and was charged with being a novelty. The Jesuits in modern times boast that they have founded many new churches in places where Christianity was before unknown. These are not ancient, but new churches; will they say that they are therefore false churches? If they say that on account of their agreement with the ancient catholic church, they are ancient, we say that Protestant churches agree with the ancient catholic and apostolic church, which we are prepared to prove. Let them therefore cease to charge us with novelty. We would moreover inquire, In what do the true but newly formed churches agree with the ancient catholic church? Certainly not in antiquity of *time*, but in agreement of doctrine and true Scriptural character. Hence it follows that the *truth* of doctrine, and not antiquity merely, is the true mark of the true church.

3. It is argued by Bellarmine that the Church of Rome is that which Christ instituted, because, "In every notable change in religion these six things can be discerned:—1. Its *author*. 2. Some *new doctrine*. 3. The *time* in which it began. 4. Who opposed it. 5. The *place*. 6. Who were the persons who promoted the change." The following observations are thrown in as a general answer:

(1.) It is not true, that unless all these things appear, that no change took place in the church. When Josiah reformed the Jewish church, the priests of Baal might have said to him, had they been instructed by the Jesuits, that he had no authority to become reformer, because the six circumstances could not be pointed out with certainty. The Jewish church in the time of John the Baptist and of Christ was much changed from its primitive purity; nevertheless, there was no mention of the circumstances alluded to as necessary to be pointed out, before any reformation could take place. The churches of Galatia and Corinth had deviated; yet we do not find Bellarmine's circumstances called for before their errors should be corrected. The modern Grecian churches have departed much from the faith and morals of the ancient churches founded by the apostles, yet who can trace out all those circumstances of mutation?

(2.) Roman Catholics themselves are sometimes compelled to acknowledge that many serious deviations from primitive purity have

taken place. The Council of Trent in the session on reformation says, "That the ancient ecclesiastical discipline was very much neglected, that the morals of the clergy and Christian people were depraved, and the ancient canons by the injury of the times were almost in disuse."* The council also declares: "That in the celebration of mass, whether through the viciousness of the times, or the wickedness and unfaithfulness of men, many things, contrary and foreign to the dignity of so great a sacrifice, seem to have crept in; partly by avarice and the service of idols, and partly by irreverence, which can scarcely be separated from impiety; superstition, the false imitator of true piety hath also done a part."† Again, the council, in its last session on indulgences, confesses, "That from the same and like causes, from avarice, superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or some other way, various and innumerable abuses had crept in; that there were abuses also in indulgences."‡ The president of the council, in proroguing the eleventh session, says that innumerable abuses crept into the administration of the sacraments.§ Adrian VI. says, "We know that in this holy seat, for many years, many things are detestable, abuses in spirituals, excesses in mandates, and all things changed through mere persuasion."|| The cardinals, chosen by Paul III., in a council concerning the reformation of the church, whose proceedings were afterward published by Vergerius, declare as follows: "That the church of God was afflicted with abuses as with contagious or deadly diseases, especially the court of Rome, by which it comes to pass, that by the gradual increase of these diseases, the church is threatened with ruin." Other authors might be quoted to the same purpose. Well did Alphonsus de Castro say respecting the Agnoetæ, "Who was the author of this heresy, or when it began, no one can say."¶

(3.) Christ, in the parable of the good seed and the tares, informs us that the bad seed was sown by an enemy while the husbandmen slept. In like manner, the seeds of error grew up in the church, so that neither the time nor authors can be clearly ascertained. This happened in the Church of Rome, for when the bishops became involved in secular affairs, and lived at ease, and careless of their flocks, a large crop of tares grew up in the church.

Indeed, according to the well known process of corruption, it is

* Collapsam esse admodum disciplinam ecclesiasticam, depravatosque in clero et populo Christiano mores ac antiquos canones injuria temporum pene in consuetudinem abiisse.—*Con. Trid. Sess. de Reform.*, c. 1.

† Multa in missæ celebratione sive temporum vitio, sive hominum injuria et improbitate irrexisse videre a tanti sacrificii dignitate abhorreretur atque aliena, quorum partem avaritia, idolorum servitus, partem irreverentia, quæ ab impietate vix sejuncta esse potest, partem superstitione, veræ pietatis falsa imitatrix invenerit.—*Idem, sess. 22, de Obscrv. et Evit. in Celeb. Missa.*

‡ Varios abusus ex iisdem causis et consimilibus ex avaritia, plurimos ex superstitione, ignorantia, irreverentia, aut aliunde quomodocunque, sed abusus etiam in indulgentiis irrexisse.—*Idem, Sess. ult. de Indulg.*

§ Innumerabiles abusus in ministerio sacramentorum irrexisse.

|| Simus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annus multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in persuasum mutata.—*Adrian VI. in Instruc. Legat. ad Comit. Norimb.*

¶ Agnoetæ Deo Ignorantiam tribuebant, quis fuerit ejus hæresis autor, aut quando cæperit, apud neminem reperire potui.—*Alphon. de Castro, lib. v, advers. Hæres.*

frequently difficult to fix upon persons and places. And both Livy and Sallust thus represent the progress of corruption in the Roman state.

(4.) We reply to Roman Catholics, that it is useless to dispute at what time, in what manner, or by whom error originated; but the inquiry should be, in what manner can these corruptions of the word of God be removed, and a proper remedy applied. The physician would act absurdly who refused to apply the proper remedy because he could not trace accurately the disease to its origin, through all the steps of its progress. It is equally inconsistent for the church to deny that they are in error because every step in the progress of error cannot be traced out.

(5.) It can be shown from indubitable sources that the Church of Rome is in error, and therefore her plea respecting the difficulties or circumstances alluded to is of little account. She has erred both from Scripture and the primitive Church of Rome, as has been shown in many instances.

From the foregoing considerations it is plain that though the authors, or opposers, the time, place, and other circumstances of error may not be traced out, that nevertheless, it may exist to a very great degree. We will next show,

4. That in the case of the Church of Rome these circumstances can be made particularly to appear in most of the erroneous doctrines of her system. The doctors of the Church of Rome vehemently deny that any of these six circumstances can be shown to exist in their church. We shall examine each one separately.

(1.) They say, "Protestants cannot object to us the *author* of our sect, nor call us after the name of any particular man." To this we answer, that the apostle points out the author of the papal apostacy: "Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders," 2 Thess. ii, 9. "In the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," 1 Tim. iv, 1. Here the primary author of these errors and sins which the apostle foresaw would infest the church was Satan. The secondary authors of the apostacy were the Roman popes, who degenerated from bishops and became popes, and called themselves universal bishops, and wished to be so called. To these secondary authors of this apostacy may be added those various heretics from whom the Romanists received many of their errors, especially the Pelagians.

(2.) As to the *origin* of the alleged errors, this too can be traced out with sufficient clearness. The seeds of many errors, such as the merit of works, satisfaction, &c., are to be found among the ancient fathers, who brought them with them from the different religious systems which they had maintained previous to their conversion. But these were only occasionally introduced by them, and held no important place in their writings. Those who have carefully examined the events of history will learn that many things unheard of by the apostles were disputed and introduced by the fathers, and in progress of time what was at first considered as probable was received as certain by the canonists and scholiasts. What at first was doubtful was received afterward as an opinion; opinions became errors; and errors were established and be-

came heresies.* Zosimus, about 420, claimed a certain prerogative over others. Hyginus instituted chrism. Innocent III. ordained transubstantiation, &c.

(3.) They say, that we cannot point out the *time* of their defection, and therefore no such defection took place. To this we answer, that a comparing of the apostolic and papal doctrines will show that an apostacy has taken place. Besides, this apostacy was not in one point, or at one time, but by degrees. And though we may not be able to trace out the precise time in which every error of their church was established, we can point out the time when it *did not exist* in the church, and also show when it did exist. And in the controverted points, we can fix on the time when most of them originated, and how long they were in progress previous to their complete establishment.

(4.) The *place* of defection is sufficiently defined by designating the persons who were actors in the affair.

(5.) We can also show that many of the errors of the Church of Rome met with warm opposers. Irenæus reprehended and opposed Victor in claiming authority over other churches.† Augustine‡ opposed the multitude of ceremonies. The sixth Council of Carthage opposed the primacy of the pope. The Waldenses condemned many doctrines of the Church of Rome.

(6.) Obj. "It cannot be shown that the Church of Rome separated herself from a majority of the church, so that those who adhered to the Roman see were fewest, and other Christians were the most numerous." Answer. The Church of Rome, by the reception of the papal dogmas, separated herself from the catholic church, which is by far the greater number, because it comprehends the faithful of all times and places.

X. *Of PERPETUAL or UNINTERRUPTED DURATION as a note of the church.*

1. That the church of Christ hath continued without interruption, and will continue in existence to the end of the world, is without controversy. But that a church is the true church of Christ, merely because it hath preserved an ecclesiastical organization and a profession of religion from the time of the apostles, we cannot believe.

The synagogue of Satan may challenge to itself an uninterrupted duration from the origin of sin, and will continue to the end of the world. In the oriental churches the Nestorians, Eutychians, Arians, and others boast of their continuance from the apostles. The followers of Ebion and Cerinthus trace their origin to the times of the apostles. The Photinians, Mohammedans, and Gentiles can trace up their pedigree to the apostolic times, notwithstanding their heresies, blasphemies, and idolatries.

The divine promise is, that the church shall endure for ever. But this promise does not refer to any particular church, but to the catholic or universal church of the pious, which is built on the apostles, and against which the gates of hell, that is, error and sin, shall not prevail. The Scripture says, that the church shall be eternal, but it does not

* See Exam. Conc. Trid. D. Chemnic. cap. de origine et progressu erroris in singulis controversiis articulis.

† Euseb., lib. v, c. 24.

‡ Epist. ad Januar.

say that it shall be tied to any certain place. Many churches, as that of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, formerly suffered great interruptions, nevertheless they did not cease to be true churches of Christ. In the church of Constantinople, Gregory and Nectarius, orthodox bishops, succeeded Macedonius the heretic. In the church of Alexandria, Flavianus, and other pious bishops, succeeded Nestorius the heretic. The ancient Roman Church, approaching the times of the apostles, suffered great vicissitudes, as well from the Gentiles as the heretics. The first bishops were forced to fly to the desert; in after times Marcellinus sacrificed to idols, Liberius became an Arian, Honorius a Monothelite, &c.

2. Bellarmine uses several arguments to prove the perpetuity of their church. He says: "The church is called catholic, because it always was and always will be, according to Daniel ii, 44, 'My kingdom shall stand for ever.'" We answer, that the true catholic church shall remain for ever, we readily admit; but it cannot be inferred that the Roman Church is the true church, to which the promises are made of perpetual duration, because the Roman Church is a particular church, and therefore can fail, though the true church may remain. And although the true church will remain for ever, it cannot be inferred that every assembly which hath continued without interruption is the true and catholic church, because the synagogue of Satan hath been of long continuance. The tares were mixed with the good seed unto the end of the world: we concede, therefore, that the catholic church shall remain for ever; but we deny that any such promise was made concerning any particular church, such as the Roman.

3. Bellarmine uses the following argument to prove that the Church of Rome alone was the true church: "Before the time of Luther there were in the world only these religions: paganism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, the religion of the Greeks, Nestorianism, the heresy of the Hussites, and the Roman Church. But it is certain that the true church of Christ was found in none of these; therefore it was in the Roman Church, otherwise true religion perished from the earth, which cannot be." We answer: 1. In the same manner the Pharisees and Jewish priests might have argued against Christ and his apostles; for before their time there were no religions in the world except paganism and Judaism. But it is certain the church did not exist in paganism; therefore the Jewish church is the true church, and it was wrong in Christ and his apostles to separate from it; which is absurd. 2. It is allowed that the true church during the papacy was not so visible and so free from error as it now is, since the true gospel has been proclaimed by Protestants; but it cannot be inferred that the church of God in the dark ages perished from the earth. It was hid in the wilderness, where God prepared a place for it. Rev. xii, 6.

4. It is sometimes asked, "Where was your religion before Luther, who commenced his career in the year 1517?" We reply, that the doctrines of Protestants are truly apostolical, because they agree with the Scriptures. But if the inquiry is concerning the continuation of this doctrine through the successive ages of Christianity, from the time of the apostles to the Reformation, we answer, that it is not absolutely necessary to show how each doctrine has been preserved, but that it is

true and orthodox, and agreeing with Scripture. We prove this assertion by the following reasons :

(1.) By the example of the Israelitish church in the days of Elias. For when the worshippers of Baal occupied the public ministry of the whole church, Elias judged there was no true worshipper of God remaining but himself alone. Yet the divine answer was, that there were seven thousand. Now, though the regular ministry and the professors of religion had generally deviated from the true religion, God did not leave himself without witness, because there were seven thousand true worshippers of God, though they were not formally associated in visible church fellowship.

(2.) By the example of the same church in the time of Christ and his apostles. The Jewish priests and Pharisees could, with our Jesuits, reason thus : Before Christ and his apostles there were only two religions, the pagan and Jewish. The pagan is confessedly false. If the Jewish was corrupt or degenerated in any serious degree, the consequence would be, either that the true faith perished, or that the place should be pointed out where it was preserved. All that Romanists, therefore, can urge against us could be brought against Christ and his apostles. And whatever can be pleaded in their favour, the same can be urged in behalf of Protestants.

(3.) As, therefore, in the Israelitish church, notwithstanding their corrupt public ministry, sons and daughters were born to God, though it might not be generally or much known who they were ; in like manner, under popery, a true church was preserved, although its members may have remained in obscurity. Accordingly, the church, as was formerly stated, is represented as having fled to the wilderness, where a place is prepared for her reception.

(4.) It is predicted that antichrist should sit in the temple of God, that is, should exercise dominion in the church of God. Therefore antichrist and the temple of God, that is, the papacy and the church, should exist at the same time ; the papacy occupied the church, and the church was in subjection to the papacy. If the church had failed, antichrist could not have sat in the temple of God. Thus the true church existed under the papacy, though its glory was much obscured. If, however, it cannot be shown accurately where and among whom the true church was preserved during the reign of popery, that would argue a defect in historical narrative, though it would not prejudice the truth of the divine oracles in any respect.

5. We will now show how and among whom true religion, and consequently the true church, was preserved during the darkness of popery.

(1.) It is certain that in the midst of popish darkness, by the singular beneficence of God, the Holy Scriptures were preserved, so that portions of them were publicly read and expounded to the people, and entire books were perused in the schools. As often, therefore, as the word was read and expounded, so often was the confession of the true church publicly proclaimed ; because the true church embraces the doctrines contained in Scripture ; nor can it be doubted but God, through this medium, according to his infallible promise, (Isa. lv, 10, 11,) made it efficacious to the conversion of men. Although false explanations, contrary to the word of God, were mixed with the preaching, yet the text itself was preserved, which the pious received as the rule

of faith and morals, as *the ears of the hearers were more faithful than the lips of the teachers*. So Christ commanded to observe and do what the scribes and Pharisees, who sat in the seat of Moses, taught; while he warned them against the leaven of the Pharisees, or their false doctrine. Matt. xvi, 11; xxiii, 2. The people were bound to hear what they heard from the acknowledged standards of the Jewish church, as fixed on by the ministry of Moses; but the additions and perversions of the scribes and Pharisees themselves were to be rejected by all. They were the authorized public teachers of religion, which we ascertain by their sitting in the seat of Moses. In this seat they read to the people the writings of Moses and the prophets. "For Moses, of old time, hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every sabbath day," Acts xv, 21. The pious were bound to receive every thing which was read from Moses and the prophets. But they were equally bound to reject the leaven of the Pharisees, or the traditions of men.

The same state of things existed under the papacy. The Scriptures were publicly read, and from them many things were taught leading to eternal life, by which means the true church was preserved. If, therefore, the Jesuits say, "Where was your religion before Luther?" we reply, that the true doctrine was preserved in the Holy Scriptures, and inculcated by reading them. The Protestant churches embrace the doctrines of Scripture, and none other; therefore the faith of Protestants has been proclaimed when and wherever the word of God has been read or heard.

(2.) The acknowledged and public standards of Christianity, precisely as Protestants embrace them, were preserved during the reign of the papacy; namely, the apostles' creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments.

The apostles' creed, which is an epitome of the principal and fundamental doctrines of Christianity, has been preserved from the time of the apostles to the present, and contains the principal doctrines inculcated and received by Protestants, in common with the primitive church.

The decalogue, or the principles of morals, has been received and adopted by the reformers with more exactness and fidelity than by the Church of Rome.

The Lord's prayer has been also handed down and received by us without those additions and uses which obtained in the days of popery.

(3.) In the midst of the Roman tyranny a remnant of pious persons was preserved. There were many common Christians who preserved true religion in the midst of the general corruption. There were many who testified against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and in favour of the doctrines and institutions of Protestants.

(4.) We have examples of *whole churches* which testified against the errors of popery. We omit the African Church, and many others, and quote two that always resisted the Church of Rome.

The church of the Waldenses, during the dark ages of Romanism, testified against its corruptions, and maintained the leading doctrines of the gospel.*

* See Gerhard, de Ecclesia, sec. 179.

The Greek Church always opposed the pride and tyranny of the Church of Rome.

(5.) Another class of opposers to the Church of Rome was the emperors and kings who opposed its authority, and complained of its corruptions. The history of Europe furnishes sad spectacles of the contentions of kings and popes for many centuries before the Reformation.*

(6.) A long list of confessors and martyrs have borne testimony against the Church of Rome and in favour of the general principles of Protestants.

When, therefore, Roman Catholics object to us novelty, heresy, schism, and secession from the church, we answer, that we have not departed from the catholic faith and church, but from the errors, idolatries, and superstitions brought into the church. We have not deviated from the true catholic church, nor even from the Church of Rome, as far as it agrees with the ancient apostolical church. We acknowledge that we have departed from certain tenets of the Church of Rome, but this is not a defection from the ancient catholic faith, but rather a return to it.

XI. Of AMPLITUDE, or the MULTITUDE and VARIETY of believers, as a mark of the true church.

This mark of the church, claimed by the Church of Rome, has been anticipated in some degree under the mark of catholicity. But there are some points referred to this head which will require some attention. Bellarmine claims amplitude, or the variety and extent of members, as a peculiar characteristic of the true church, and which properly belongs to the Church of Rome, and to no other. As an answer to this, the following considerations are presented to the reader:

1. There was a time when the number of the true church was very small. The true flock of Christ was said at one time to be a *little flock*.

2. The number of those in error and sin often excelled those who were pious. In the days of Noah, he alone was found righteous. The greater part of the world always has been, and now is, on the side of error and sin. In the church, Arianism and other errors were embraced at sundry times by the majority of Christians.

And though it is declared prophetically that the true Christian religion will extend to the whole world, this does not mean that the extension of religion will consist in the mere number of its professors, but in this, that the *knowledge of God and righteousness* will cover the earth.

3. Moreover, as the Roman Church is wanting in true catholic faith, so she is also far from possessing that amplitude of which she sometimes boasts. There were several classes of Christians, and whole nations, that never belonged to the Church of Rome, nor acknowledged her authority.

First. In arriving at our conclusion respecting the number of the Church of Rome, we should deduct those who avowed infidelity, and treated popery with ridicule. The number of these will probably amount to *one-fourth* of those who are reputed Romanists.

Secondly. We must subtract from the number of Romanists those churches which never heard of the pope, or, if they did, it was to re-

* Gerhard, de Eccl., sec. 179.

ject his authority. To this class belong many churches in Asia, Cilicia, Armenia, Ethiopia, Persia, the Nestorians, the Syrian churches, &c.

Thirdly. Another class is that which always resisted the claims of the pope; as the Greek Church, the Waldenses, and all classes of primitive churches in England, Wales, and Ireland, who were in a state of considerable purity before the emissaries of Rome overran them.

Fourthly. A large portion of the Christian world is Protestant.

Though the Church of Rome possesses considerable amplitude in the number and variety of her members, yet, compared to the Christian world, she falls considerably into the minority.

It is therefore in vain that they tell us that Christianity made great progress in the world from the days of the apostles, and that in modern times their religion was extended to America and the Indies: because the extension of the Christian religion in primitive times was not the extension of popery, but of a purer system of Christianity. And the progress of Romanism in South America and other countries is the extension of a corrupt system of Christianity, the effects of which were not to elevate, but to corrupt, as is manifest from the ignorance and viciousness which prevail among the greater number of converts to the Romish religion.

XII. *Of AGREEMENT WITH THE ANCIENT CHURCH as a note of the true church.*

1. If by the ancient church and doctrine they mean the doctrine and church of the apostles, we readily grant that agreement is a mark of the true church. But what this doctrine is which the ancient apostolical church embraced cannot and ought not to be sought exactly in the writings of those fathers who lived in the following ages, but in the writings of the evangelists and apostles themselves.

If by ancient doctrine and church is understood that which flourished after the times of the apostles, we must be permitted to distinguish this from the apostolic. And though, as Hegesippus said,* “the church, after the times of the apostles, did not remain long a pure virgin;” yet there was no such corruption of doctrines during the first five centuries as arose under the papacy. We may here notice four states of the church. The first was pure in the time of the apostles, and in the age immediately following. The second existed in the time of the fathers who followed, when the pure doctrines of the gospel were mixed with the inventions of men. The third period, under the papacy, was disfigured by the enormous additions and perversions of popery. In the fourth period of the church the ancient doctrines of Christianity were restored by the Protestant Reformation.

Here we are again led to refer the test of doctrine to the canonical Scriptures. The writings of Roman Catholics and the decisions of their church cannot for a moment be considered as a rule of faith. Nor can the writings of the fathers be so considered, though their claims to this would be much greater than those of the Church of Rome. Because, 1. This dignity belongs to Scripture alone. 2. The fathers themselves refer to the Scriptures as the rule of faith. 3. Romanists do not always acknowledge the authority of the fathers. 4. The fathers do not always agree among themselves in the interpretation of

* *Apud Euseb., lib. iv, c. 23.*

Scripture or in doctrines. 5. Many of their writings have perished. 6. Those which remain are corrupted. 7. Errors and truths are mixed together in their writings.

2. Bellarmine uses the following argument: "1. The true church is called apostolic, on the testimony of Tertullian, in his *Prescriptions*, not only on account of the succession of bishops from the apostles, but also on account of consanguinity of doctrine, because she retains the doctrine which the apostles delivered; but it is certain that the ancient church, for the first five hundred years, was the true church, and therefore held the apostolical doctrine. 2. Theodosius, the emperor, is praised by Sozomen,* because he said to the heretics of his time: *Let us examine your doctrines by Scripture, and if they agree thereto let us retain them; if not, let us reject them.*" Answer: 1. Agreement in doctrine with the church, in the time of Tertullian and Theodosius, is no otherwise a mark of the true church than as their doctrines agreed with the apostolic church. 2. And the standard by which to try the doctrines is the word of God in the canonical Scriptures. 3. Tertullian makes his assertion not so much on account of the personal and local succession, as on account of agreement in doctrines; because local succession and agreement of doctrine are not inseparable; for many churches in which this local succession existed are deplorably wanting in purity of doctrine, and the Church of Rome is one of the number. 4. It is agreed that the ancient church, for the first five hundred years, was the true church, and held the true apostolic doctrine; nevertheless, it cannot be denied, that she mixed with the apostolic doctrine the chaff of human opinions, as can be shown from the writings of the fathers themselves.

3. The Church of Rome embraces many doctrines not contained in Scripture, nor even by the early fathers. This has been already shown under the several heads of controversy. A brief survey of this will not be unacceptable here.

In regard to the Holy Scriptures, the ancient church rejected the Apocrypha from the canon. The Greek and Hebrew originals were the standards, and the reading of Scripture by all was an established point in the primitive church.

In the article concerning original sin, there was nothing taught in the primitive church to justify the opinion that the Virgin Mary was not born in original sin. This is acknowledged by many distinguished Romanists. Melchior Canus declares, "that the blessed Virgin was free from original sin is nowhere delivered in the Scriptures, according to their proper sense; nay, the general law is delivered in them which embraces all who were descended from Adam, without any exception. Nor can it be said, that in the time of the apostles this doctrine (of the Virgin being without sin) had been received in the church, for it is manifest that the ancient writers did not receive it from their ancestors; nay, all the saints who have made mention of this thing, assert with one voice that the blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin."† He

* Hist., lib. vii, c. 12.

† B. Virginem fuisse a peccato liberam ex sacris literis juxta germanum literarum sensum nusquam habetur, quinimo lex generalis in iis traditur, quæ ex Adæ carnali propagatione creatos sine ulla exceptione complectitur. Nec vero dici potest, apostolorum tempore id in ecclesiam descendisse, nam constat priscos Scriptores, non id a majoribus suis accepisse, imo sancti omnes, qui in hujus rei mentionem inciderunt uno ore asse-

asserts that Chrysostom, Eusebius, Remigius, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, Bede, Anselm, Bonaventure, Aquinas, &c., were of the opinion, that the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary was not in Scripture.

Suarez, another Roman Catholic divine, says: "The ancient fathers have said but few things concerning that special privilege of the blessed Virgin, as well because it came into the holy church by degrees, as also because they were taken up with explaining more weighty mysteries. Afterward, before the close of five hundred years, this truth began to be taught more clearly; so that faith in it advanced, and by degrees pervaded the minds of believers; so that now it is cordially received by the confession of all, and especially during two hundred years all ecclesiastical writers ascribe the opinion to this academy."*

Salmeron, in his comment on Romans, holds the following language: "In reference to the opinions of the fathers, which are adduced against the privilege of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, (for some adduce two hundred fathers; others, as Bandell, almost three hundred; Cajetan, fifteen, and these, as he affirms, irrefragible,) I answer, that we oppose one multitude to another multitude of doctors, just as one nail may resist another. . . But the more recent doctors being more clear on this point, are to be preferred to the ancients."†

We accuse papal indulgences of novelty. This cannot be denied by them. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, a distinguished Roman prelate, in his Body of Divinity, says: "We have nothing concerning indulgences expressly from Scripture; . . . nor even from the sayings of the ancient doctors, but of the moderns."‡

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in his answer to Luther, says: "Who can wonder, that in the beginning of the rising church there was no need of indulgences."§

Gregory, of Valence, in his book on indulgences, declares, "There were certain Catholics before Luther, whose sentiments Aquinas recites, who said that indulgences were pious frauds."||

Alphonsus de Castro writes thus: "Among those things on which verant B. Virginem in peccato originali conceptam fuisse.—*Melch. Canus, in Locis Theol.*, lib. vii, c. 1.

* Antiqui patres pauca de speciali illo B. Virginis privilegio locuti sunt, tum quia a. s. ecclesiam paulatim instruit, tum etiam quia illi in aliis gravioribus mysteriis explicandis distinebantur. Postquam vero ante quingentos annos veritas hæc cæpit clarius doceri, ita incendit fidelium animas crevitque paulatim ejus fides, ut jam vere omnium, consensione recepta sit, et presertim ab hinc ducentis annis ecclesiastici Scriptores omnes universæ academix huic sententiæ subacriperunt.—*Suarez, in part iii, Thom. qu. 27, art. 1.*

† Ad sententias patrum quæ proferuntur contra immaculatæ conceptionis B. Virginis privilegium (quidam enim proferunt ducentos patres, alii ut Bandellus, fere trecentos, Cajetanus quindecim, et illos quidem, ut ait, irrefragabiles) respondeo, multitudini doctorum nos opponimus aliam multitudinem, ut clavus clavo pellatur. . . Juniores doctores utpote perspicaciores in hac questione præferendos esse antiquis.—*Salmeron, in Com. Rom. v, disput. 51, in initio.*

‡ De indulgentiis nil expresse habemus ex Scriptura sacra, nec etiam ex dictis antiquorum, sed modernorum.—*Anton. Archiep. Florent., Summa Theol.*, pars i, tit. 10, c. 3, in initio, p. 597.

§ Quis jam mirari potest, quod in principio nascentis ecclesiæ nullus fuit indulgentiarum usus.—*Epis. Roffen., art. 18, contra Lutherum.*

|| Erant Catholici quidam ante Lutherum, quorum opinionem refert Thomas (p. 3, q. 26, art. 5,) qui indulgentias pias fraudes esse dixerunt.—*Greg. de Valent., Lib. de Indulg.*, c. 5.

we treat in this work, there is none concerning which the Scriptures express themselves less openly, and of which ancient writers speak less, than indulgences.*

We might proceed, and go through all the principal heads of controversy between them and us, and show that the voice both of Scripture and early antiquity was not for them, and that too by the concession of their own writers.†

XIII. EFFICACY OF DOCTRINE, *as a mark of the church.*

Efficacy of doctrine may be taken in a twofold sense, viz.: either as persuading men, and in its being received by them; or in its converting men from error to truth, and from sin to righteousness. It is no test of a true church that many receive their doctrines, or adopt their system. The great mark of truth is to turn men from sin to holiness.

Romanists inform us, that the Gentile nations were converted to God through the ministry of the apostles. This is readily allowed; but then this is nothing in favour of the Church of Rome, which hath deviated from the doctrines, and lost that holiness by means of which conversions were effected in the days of the apostles.

In the second place, they mention the conversions of pagans made by Gregory, Boniface, Vincentius, &c., as proofs of the efficacy of their system. These conversions, which took place after the sixth century, are to be distinguished from those which were made previously to that period by the apostles and apostolic men. Besides, the greater number of Roman Catholic converts are not distinguished for their morals or knowledge.

XIV. MIRACLES *as a mark of the true church.*

Mr. Milner‡ maintains that “the Catholic Church, being always the chaste spouse of Christ—continuing to bring forth children of heroic sanctity, God fails not in this, any more than in past ages, to illustrate her and them by unquestionable miracles.” The same is maintained by the greater number of their divines, and generally received by their people, and many narratives, but few proofs are given of the modern and present existence of miracles among them. They think this is necessary for the confirmation of the faith, and that it is a sufficient mark to distinguish the true church. Hence they extol the miracles of their church, beginning at the apostles’ time and continued to the present.

1. The working of wonders does not always prove that to be the true church where they are wrought. The magicians wrought many strange things in Egypt. Antichrist shall come working signs and wonders: yet this does not prove a true church. They are called *lying wonders*, not only because they are false in themselves, but because they are wrought to confirm lies and discredit the truth. Wicked men may work wonders in the name of Christ, and yet be none of Christ’s disciples. Matt. vii, 22. The miracles then of Christ and antichrist, of the true and false prophets, differ not only in this, that the one class was true and the others false; but especially in respect of

* Inter omnes res, de quibus in hoc opere disputamus, nulla est quam minus aperte sacræ literæ prodierint, et de qua minus vetusti Scriptoris dixerint.—*Alphonsus de Castro*, lib. viii, *contr. Hæres*, p. 255.

† See very pertinent quotations on the point in hand by Gerhard, de *Eccles. sec.* 206, pp. 377–380.

‡ End of *Contra.*, let. xxiii.

the power and end: for the saints of God work by his power, the other by the power of Satan, whom God restrains, for the magicians were not able to do to the full extent of Moses. Therefore Nicodemus saith to Christ, (John iii, 1,) "No man can do these miracles," that is, such great works, "as thou dost, unless God were with him." Christ and his apostles, by their miracles, sought the glory of God and the good of men, in converting their souls and healing their bodies. Satan worketh to deceive men and confirm lies, as Origen showeth.* Such are the greater number of popish miracles, devised for the maintenance of idolatry and superstitious worship.

2. Miracles, unless they have the true doctrine associated with them, are of no profit. The following passages of Scripture will confirm this: "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams," Deut. xiii, 1-3. From this passage it is clear, that we are not authorized to follow bad practices, or receive false doctrines, though they might be confirmed by real or apparent miracles.

Many, or most of the miracles of which Romanists boast, are performed to support false doctrine or bad practices, or to promote superstition, or on trivial occasions, and therefore cannot claim the authority which the miracles of Christ, his apostles, or the primitive Christians are entitled to.

3. Some of the miracles said to be performed by the Church of Rome are *false*, and lying, being forged by the frauds of the worst of men.

The liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius is received as a true miracle by the Church of Rome, because it is gravely narrated and confessed to be such in the Breviary on the 19th of September.† The story of the Breviary is, that Januarius and others were put to death in a cruel manner by Timotheus, the president of Campania. "Each of the neighbouring cities selected one of these saints as their patron, and took care to bury their bodies. The Neapolitans, by divine instruction, took away the body of Januarius, and at first brought it to Beneventum, then to the monastery of the Virgin, lastly it was brought to the city of Naples and placed in the great church, and was distinguished by many miracles. It is particularly to be remembered that it extinguished the globes of fire which broke forth from Vesuvius, which threatened ruin on the places not only near but far off. This also is notable, that his blood, which was preserved by being collected in a glass vial, when brought into the presence of the martyr's body, liquefies and bubbles in a wonderful manner, just as if recently shed, which is also seen to this day." Thus far the Breviary.

The following is an account of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, as described by a traveller in 1825: "I was present at Naples in 1825, at the performance of the reputed miracle of St. Januarius's blood. It was exhibited for three days, and on the last, I think, the blood was reported liquefied, and the bells rang in honour of it. On entering the church, my friends and myself penetrated a mass of many

* Lib. i, contr. Celsum.

† Brev. Rom., Pars Antiquialis, Die xix. Septembr., p. 370.

hundred of the lower orders ; and on arriving at the low balustrade, which separates the chapel of Januarius from the church, we were admitted. This chapel, which was richly ornamented, hung with silks, and lighted with many wax candles, was thronged with well dressed people. A shrine was brought in with a procession, and from it a silver bust of the natural size produced. This bust, said to contain the saint's head, was placed on the altar, dressed with robes and mitre ; and the service began. After a little time the precious blood was brought in. It is contained in a crystal vase of the form of a compressed globe about four inches in diameter, and the cavity within seemed to be about two. This vase is set in a broad rim, having two large handles, and looks very much like an old-fashioned circular coach lamp. The [so called] blood was presented to the head of the saint, and then to the people, the priest holding the vase by its handles, at arms' length, and gently turning it, while an assistant held a taper between the priest's body and the vase. As the flame came immediately behind the cavity, it showed whether the clot of matter on one side liquefied and moved round, or remained adhering to the side of the cavity. When I saw it, it did not move. During the exhibition, the service continued with incense and music. The priest slowly passed along the line of beholders, giving each individual time to ascertain if the liquefaction had taken place. They occupied themselves in cries and prayers ; and when some time had elapsed, the lower orders along the balustrade, and those behind them in the church, became very vociferous, crying out aloud, (and at last even furiously,) on the saint, in tones of entreaty, anger, and despair. After the wailing had continued for some time, the service terminated, and the blood was borne away, the saint unrobed, and carried off in his shrine, and the candles extinguished ; but it was long ere the sobs of the women died away, and one old countess, who was near me the whole time, had continued hysterically weeping and shrieking so long, that she was too much exhausted to go away without assistance."

In the *Offices of Patron Saints*, (*Officia Sanctorum Patronorum*), which are recited in the diocese of Naples, it is stated, " St. Januarius, an illustrious bishop and martyr, extinguished the violence of fire, stopped the mouths of wild beasts ; and being put to death by slaying with the sword, received the crown of his lawful conflict. Alleluia." The following prayer is used :—

" PRAYER.—O God, who, in the translation of thy martyr and pontiff, Januarius, hast enriched us with the precious pledge of thine aid, we beseech thee, through his intercession, to deliver thy people from all dangers ; and that, out of thy treasures, thou wouldst graciously pour upon us the treasures of ineffable mercy, through," &c.

The sixth lesson in this office is subjoined on account of the profane parallel between the blood of Christ and the blood of a frail mortal. " The devil saw that blood, and trembled with horror ; for he remembered that other blood—the Lord's. In consequence of that blood this flows. For from the time that the Lord's side was opened, you beheld six hundred sides opened. For who would not, with the utmost alacrity of joy, gird himself to enter those lists, as being (thereby) about to share in the sufferings of the Lord, and become conformed to the death of Christ ? For it is a sufficient retribution, and a more abun-

dant compensation, and a reward exceeding the labours of the contest, even as it is enjoyed before we gain an entrance into the kingdom of heaven.”*

Although the Church of Rome has officially received this as a true miracle, her children are nevertheless divided on this point. Dr. Weedall, president of Ascott College, near Birmingham, England, professes to have derived both “edification and consolation,” on witnessing the liquefaction. Mr. Eustace, in his classical tour through Italy in 1802, thus positively speaks of the blood of St. Januarius:† “His supposed blood is kept in a vial in the tescro, and is considered as the most valuable of its deposits; and indeed as the glory and the ornament of the cathedral and the city itself. Into the truth of the supposition little inquiry is made; and in this respect the Neapolitans seem to have adopted the maxim of the ancient Germans, ‘Sanctius ac reverentius de Diis credere quam scire.’”‡ In a note to his third edition, Mr. Eustace adds, “The author has been accused of a want of candour, in not having expressed in a more explicit manner his opinion of the miracle alluded to. Few readers, he conceives, can be at a loss to discover it; but if a more open declaration can give any satisfaction, he now declares that he does not believe the liquefying substance to be the blood of St. Januarius.” Here are two distinguished Romanists who entertain opposite sentiments of this pseudo miracle, though pronounced to be true by the official recognition of the Church of Rome in her authorized Breviary.

When General Champion, on the invasion of Naples by the French republicans, entered Italy, with his enshrouded *enfants de la patrie*, his curiosity, or rather his infidelity, prompted him, according to Michele’s statement, to direct the priests forthwith to perform the ceremony before him and his companions. The priests humbly represented to the general the impossibility of complying with this command; without the presence of some of the saint’s relatives. The general replied, “The miracle must be exhibited this instant, or else I will smash your vials and all your nonsense into a thousand pieces.” To avoid the execution of the menace, the priests attempted to work the miracle, and failed. Nothing therefore remained to be done but to send for some of the relatives of Januarius, on whose arrival, as the story goes, the miracle succeeded.

It is a well known fact that professor Newman, at Berlin, in 1734, produced the same phenomenon by natural means.

In an official and authorized Roman Catholic publication, printed in 1831, we are told that no less than twenty-six pictures of the Virgin Mary opened and shut their eyes at Rome in the years 1796 and 1797. which was supposed to be an indication of her peculiar favour to the Roman people in opposition to the French. Among the subscribers to this work are the four archbishops and eleven bishops of Ireland.§

* See London Protestant Journal for 1831, pp. 412, 490, for the Latin of these extracts, the above account of the pseudo miracle by an eye witness, and a number of other interesting particulars. This false miracle is recognised by the Church of Rome as a true one, in her Breviary, as quoted above.

† Vol. iv, p. 334, third edition of 1815.

‡ Tac Germania, xxxiv.

§ See London Prot., vol. iii, page 419, where this miracle is given in detail from the Official Memoirs of Miraculous Events, page 103, first published in Italian, then in French, and translated into English by the Rev. B. Rayment.

We proceed to illustrate this subject by one of the most strange specimens of religious imposture which the world ever saw. We allude to the "*Life of Veronica, of Milan*, a book certified by the heads of the University of Conimbra, in Portugal, to be revised by angels, and approved of by God; begun to be translated by Dr. Geddes, and finished by Mr. Azell. 8vo. London, 1716." The original is preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. It was printed at Lisbon, in the year 1671, being dedicated to the princess of Portugal, and was ushered into the world by four licenses and recommendations, the first of which states, that a reason why it ought to be printed was, that "it had been already viewed and reviewed by the angels, and approved of by God." The following is an extract from the fourteenth page: "Veronica, who excelled in patience so, that to offend her always gave a new title to her love, had that grace exercised in her by extraordinary trials, but chiefly by the cruel war she was engaged in with the devil, whom she called by the fantastical name of *Malatasca*. This war lasted three long years, with very short cessations; and though in the end Veronica was victorious, yet she was mauled and bruised so, in several battles, that she had certainly died of her wounds, if she had not been taken up into heaven and cured of them there. This happened so often, that when Veronica was missing in the convent, it was commonly said she was gone to heaven to her surgeon." Take another extract from the twentieth page: "In the year 1494 Veronica was sent ambassador from heaven to the pope, (Alexander VI.) But it was full a twelve-month before her spouse, Christ, would let her know that it was to the pope she was to go. He only told her she was to go to a very far region, on purpose to raise her curiosity, or to teaze her a little, as lovers are used to do now and then to one another. At the year's end he told her she must hasten away, but did not say whither. Veronica guessed it was to Rome; nor was she mistaken, for their hearts had spoken to each other. Her spouse bade her take along with her Thaddæus, a nun, whom he recommended to her for a confidant of all her secrets. When they were come to Rome, the pope, through the secret influence of heaven, gave her audience as soon as she asked it, to the amazement of the whole court. She threw herself at his holiness's feet, and kissed them, and then privately delivered her message. His holiness received her with the greatest civility, because he perceived she was a most holy woman. She obtained of him a full remission of sins for her convent, and after eight days departed from Rome, where she had been resorted to by the people of all conditions, though much against her will. She was received with the same honours at Florence and Parma, and on the river Po miraculously saved from drowning a boat full of passengers." Such is the kind of food with which the Spanish and Portuguese are fed. What wonder is it that these nations have become grossly ignorant and wicked, and have almost abandoned the Christian religion?*

Multitudes of such instances could be produced, in which the grossest false miracles are recognised as acts of the power of God. The *Legenda Aurea*, or *Golden Legend*, contains such monstrous fictions as many of them are ashamed of; and even the Breviary abounds with the recital of such fables as that given above; to say nothing of such

* See London Prot., vol. iii, page 420.

stories as that related of *St. Dionysius*, or *Dennis*, who, it is said, after he was beheaded, took up his own head in his hands, and walked two miles, we could give scores of incredible narratives taken from the *Breviary* alone.*

4. Some of the miracles of the Church of Rome are *absurd* and *puerile*, entirely unworthy of God.

Bellarmino relates the following as sober history :† *St. Anthony of Padua* had once an encounter with a heretic, an *Albigensian*, touching the change of the wafer into Christ's blood and flesh. "I have a horse," says the heretic, "to which I shall give nothing for three days. On the third do you come with the host; and I shall come with the horse. I shall pour out some corn to him; but if he forsake the corn and go and venerate the host, then shall I believe." On the day appointed, all the parties came; and *St. Anthony*, in a truly saint-like manner, addressed a suitable and eloquent exhortation to the horse as follows: "In the virtue and in the name of thy Creator, whom I truly hold in my hand, I command and enjoin thee, O horse, to come, and, with all humility, revere him." No sooner were the words uttered, than the horse, unmindful of his corn, hastens toward the host, in the priest's hand; inclining his head, and devoutly kneeling on his fore feet, he adored his Lord in the best manner he could, and confounded the heretic."‡

St. Nicholas, bishop of *Myra*, in the fourth century, was a saint of great virtue, and disposed so early to conform to ecclesiastical rule, that, when an infant at the breast, he fasted on Wednesday and Friday, and sucked but once on each of those days, and that toward night.¶ An Asiatic gentleman, sending his two sons to Athens for education, ordered them to wait upon the bishop for his benediction. On arriving at *Myra* with their baggage, they took up their lodgings at an inn, purposing, as it was late in the day, to defer their visit till next day; but in the mean time the innkeeper, to secure their effects to himself, killed the young gentlemen, cut them in pieces, and salted them. *St. Nicholas*, being favoured with a sight of these proceedings in a vision, went to the landlord and reproached him for his crime, who, immediately confessing it, entreated the saint to pray to heaven for his pardon. The bishop, moved by his confession and contrition, besought forgiveness for him, and supplicated restoration of life to the children. He had scarcely finished, when the pieces reunited, and the reanimated youths, stepping from the brine-tub, threw themselves at the bishop's feet; he raised them up, exhorted them to return thanks to God alone, gave them good advice, and sent them to Athens to prosecute their studies.

It is related concerning *Damascene*, that his hand being cut off by the Saracens, for his profession of Christianity, while praying before the image of the Virgin, and showing his hand cut off, fell asleep, and awaking, found his hand joined to his arm again, only a circle of

* De quo, (Dionysio,) illud memorie proditum est, abscissum suum caput sustulisse, & progressum ad duo millia passuum in manibus gestasse.—*Brev. Rom. Pars Autumalis*, page 474. *Festa die ix Octob.*, sectio vi.

† De Sacr. Euch., lib. iii, c. 8.

‡ See Brownlee's Letters, letter ix, p. 115, and the authorities there.

¶ Ribadeneira's Lives of the Saints, vol. ii, p. 503, ed. 1730. See Lon. Prot., vol. ii, p. 40.

blood appearing. Nevertheless, Damascene confesses himself that he did not receive the gift of miracles.*

Popish histories are stuffed with the account of such miracles; as how the Virgin came from heaven to visit Fulbert when he was sick, and gave him her breasts to suck; how an image of the crucifix spoke to St. Francis that he had a rude lamb which used to go to mass, and kneel down at the elevation; that a certain woman to make her bees fruitful, put a consecrated host into the hive, and after a certain time, having taken it up, she found that the bees had built a chapel with windows, and doors, and an altar, and had laid the host on the altar, and were singing the canonical hymns to it.†

5. Some of their miracles are quoted to confirm *idolatry, superstition, and false worship*, and tend to an ungodly end.

The following narrative will show, that the greatest criminals, according to the views of many Romanists, may be saved without faith or works, provided they will only fast on Saturday in honour of the Virgin. "St. Anselm records, that a certain robber entered one morning into the cottage of a poor widow, with an intention of robbing her: but judging her unworthy of his rapine, he began to accost her in a familiar and merry strain:—'And have you breakfasted yet, my good woman?' 'I breakfast, sir!' said she; 'God forbid that I should so violate the vow I have made to fast every Saturday of the year.' 'Every Saturday! and why that?' replied he. 'Because,' answered the widow, 'I have heard from a preacher, very famous in doctrine, and still more so from the sanctity of his life, that whoever fasts on Saturday, in honour of our lady, cannot die without confession.' The robber at these words felt compunction, fell down on his knees, and promised and swore to the queen of angels to fast every Saturday too; which promise he kept inviolably ever after. But as he still continued his robberies, he was one day surprised by some travellers, who, by a stroke of a sword, separated his head from his body. His executioners, thinking they had done his business sufficiently, withdrew from him a few steps, when lo! the head of him that was killed fell a crying, 'Confession, masters, I beg that at least I may have confession.' After they had a little recovered from the astonishment and panic which such a prodigy caused, they ran to the next village to advertise the curate, who immediately came, accompanied by a great number of his parishioners, desirous of beholding the miracle; and having joined the head of the robber to his body, gave him confession as he desired. That being done, the penitent having thanked him for his good office, said to him, with a voice so distinct and high as to be easily heard by all present, 'Masters, I never did any good thing in all my life time, except my having fasted every Saturday, in honour of the mother of God. In the very instant I received the deadly blow, a frightful troop of devils surrounded me, for to seize my soul: but the blessed Virgin coming to my aid, she drove these forthwith far from me by her divine presence, and would not suffer my soul to leave my body till I should be sufficiently contrite, and make confession of my sins.' He spoke thus, and having entreated the attendants to pray for him, he passed from this life into one more happy and glorious."‡

* Lib. i, de Fide Orthodox, c. 3.

† See Willet, p. 89.

‡ See M'Gavin's Protestant, vol. i, p. 67, and Free Thoughts, with the authorities cited.

The second Nicene Council, held 787, which decreed that images should be worshipped, brings in many fables to ratify their doctrine. In the fourth action of that synod, a narrative is introduced, how a certain monk was tempted with a spirit of uncleanness, who appearing unto him, said, "If thou wilt be rid of me do not worship this image," which was the picture of the Virgin.

6. That some true miracles were performed in the Church of Rome, we may safely enough admit, without conceding to them the testimony of true miracles in favour of their false doctrines or immoral practices. Such miracles may have been performed in support of that which is yet sound in their church; but by no means to confirm that which is depraved and corrupt, or contrary to Scripture. Bellarmine makes the same remark concerning miracles which the Novatians claimed as genuine ones, and wrought, as they said, in favour of their doctrines.

If miracles alone were a mark of the true church, and though the Romanists could allege true miracles done among them, yet they would have no pre-eminence above the oriental churches, which may challenge miraculous interference in their behalf; although it is acknowledged by all the Christians of Europe and America that these churches hold many grievous errors.

7. It has been objected to the mission of Protestants, that it wants the attestation of miracles. To which we reply, that the doctrines of Protestants are not new, and therefore miracles are uncalled for. The miracles of Christ and his apostles are our miracles, seeing we profess the same doctrine which was confirmed by these miracles. Miracles are not for those who believe, but for those who believe not. So says Chrysostom: "Now seeing there are no infidels there is no necessity of making miracles; and therefore, he who now goeth about to make a miracle, which is an unprofitable thing, and out of time, is a false prophet."* But Protestants can show the only miracles which are of any weight at present, viz., sinners are converted and saints are built up in their most holy faith.

8. We can adduce the testimony of many Roman Catholics to show that many miracles in their church professedly true, were undoubtedly false.

Peter, abbot of Cluny, who lived nearly six hundred years ago, says, "You know how much these church sonnets grieve me."† He mentions one sonnet of Benedict, containing no less than twenty-four lies.

Ludovicus Vives, speaking of their Golden Legend, says, "How unworthy both of God and man is the story of their saints, which, I do not know why, was called the Golden Legend, being written by one who hath an iron mouth and a leaden heart."‡

Espeuceus says, "No stable is fuller of dung, than their legends are of fables."§ And Canus says, "To this day I could never see one story which I could allow."||

* Jam cum nullus sit infidelis, nulla faciendorum nunc est necessitas; igitur, qui signum, vel inutile, vel non in suo tempore facit, falsus propheta est, &c.—*Chrysost. Homil. 19, Opera Imperf.*

† Nosti quantum me pigeant falsa in ecclesia Dei Cantica, &c.—*Petrus Cluniacensis, lib. v, epist. 29.*

‡ Lodov. Vives, lib. ii, de Corrupt. Artib., in fine. Quam indigna divis et hominibus sanctorum historia, quam nescio cur Auream Legendam appellent, cum scripta sit ab homine ferei oris, plumbei cordis. See a large extract in Gerhard, de Ecclesia, sec. 283.

§ Espeuceus in 2 tim. 4, digress. 21.

|| Canus Loc., lib. ii, c. 6.

These authorities might be multiplied to a great extent.* And though Mr. Milner stoutly contends for the existence of miracles in the Church of Rome down to his own time, he, nevertheless, makes the following concession, which properly amounts to the abandonment of his cause as far as miracles are concerned. "I admit," says he, "that a vast number of incredible and false miracles, as well as other fables, have been forged by some, and believed by other Catholics in every age of the church, including that of the apostles. I agree with him and you in rejecting the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Speculum* of Vincentius Belluacensis, the *Saints' Lives* of the Patrician, Metaphrastes, and scores of similar legends, stuffed as they are with relations of miracles of every description."†

XV. There are several other notes of the church which Romanists adduce in favour of their own; such as *Prophetic light*, *Confession of adversaries*, *The unhappy end of persecutors*, and *Temporal prosperity*. A few brief remarks will suffice for these.

As it regards the gift of prophecy, this is claimed by them because the apostles and some early Christians possessed it, or because some of their members are said to have possessed this gift. But the Church of Rome has no right to claim the testimony arising from the gift of prophecy bestowed on the apostles and some of the early Christians; because this gift was bestowed in attestation of our common Christianity, and not in behalf of popish doctrines, morals, or institutions. And allowing that there were true prophets among them, and that these exist to this day in their midst; we can, with more reason, claim the testimony of their prophets in favour of common Christianity or Protestantism, than in behalf of the errors of popery.

As it regards the confession of the adversaries of the Christian name, there is more reason to claim it for Protestant principles, such as the primitive Christians espoused, and which even Romanists themselves in part profess, than in behalf of the peculiarities of Romanism.

That persecutors may have been punished because they have persecuted the Church of Rome, we have no objection to admit, because, 1. The spirit and practice of persecutors are offensive to God, whether they persecute the righteous or wicked. 2. The manifestation of God's providence, in punishing them, may be claimed to interfere for what truth and righteousness was in the Church of Rome; but never in behalf of its errors and sins.

In regard to temporal prosperity, this is a very uncertain mark, and recent Romanists seem glad to leave this note out of the catalogue; because the manifest displeasure of God, and its consequent effects, seem to rest on every Roman Catholic country under heaven. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Ireland, South America, &c., are striking examples of this. Indeed, the superior temporal prosperity of Protestants, connected with pure religion, will be strikingly manifest, on a comparison of England and North America with popish countries.

XVI. *Of the AUTHORITY of the church.*

1. They maintain that the church hath authority to ordain articles of faith, or to impose matters to be believed, not contained in the

* See Gerhard, de Eccles., sec. 283, for a number of specimens.

† End of Controversy, let. xxiv, p. 146.

Holy Scriptures. Thus, in the Council of Constance it was decreed to be necessary for salvation to believe the pope to be the head of the church. In the Council of Basil it was made an article of faith to believe that the council was above the pope; and therefore, Pope Eugenius, in not obeying the council, was adjudged a heretic. The following are some of their arguments for this doctrine, and their principal objections to the opposite sentiment:—

From the words, “The Spirit shall testify of me, and ye shall bear witness also,” (John xv, 27,) they conclude that the testimony of the truth consists jointly in the testimony of the Holy Ghost and of the prelates of the church. We answer, The witness of the Spirit and of the apostles is one: for the Spirit first testified the truth to the apostles inwardly; and the apostles, inspired by the Spirit, testified openly. So the pastors of the church, witnessing with the Spirit, which is not now inspired by new revelations, but only found in Scripture; but if the Spirit testify one thing in the word, and they testify another, different from the word, we must reject their testimony.

They argue as follows: “The church erreth not; therefore we must hear her in all things.” Answer. We have proved before that the Church of Rome hath erred, because she followeth not Scripture. They say, “All heretics allege Scripture, therefore we must have a living exposition for them.” We reply, that all heretics have alleged Scripture to be in their favour; but they were confounded by Scripture, and by no expositor.

They also maintain, “The word cannot be judged of the word, therefore there must be another judge besides.” Our Saviour’s words furnish the reply here: “The word which I have spoken shall judge at the last day.” If the word shall judge at the last day, much more shall it judge us in the present life.

2. That the church hath no such power as is here contended for, we prove by the following arguments; and we are sure that the true church of Christ will never challenge any such prerogative.

First. All Scriptural truths are not so necessary to salvation, that the ignorance of some of them should prove perilous to salvation. Much less are any truths, not in Scripture, of any such necessity. The consequence is, that truths, not contained in Scripture, are not necessary in religion. Wherefore we infer, there is no need that the church should be endowed with an unnecessary power.

Secondly. The church hath no more authority than the apostles, nor indeed in all things so much. But they had no power to make articles of faith. St. Paul delivered that which he received, both in regard to the eucharist in particular, and in regard to the gospel in general. The church may explain articles of faith out of Scripture, but she cannot make new ones. Timothy is thus instructed: “O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thee,” 1 Tim. vi, 20. If Timothy was to introduce no new thing, but to explain and preserve the old, how much more the pastors of the church now?

Thirdly. The confession of our adversaries proves our position. The fathers of Basil, who concluded it was an article of the Christian faith to believe the superiority of the council, gathered it out of the sayings of Christ, *Tell it to the church.* Hence we gather that they believed

the church could establish no new article of faith without Scripture. Bellarmine says, that the church is not now governed by new revelations, but by those received from the apostles.*

Fourthly. We have already proved that the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and therefore all articles of faith must be derived thence.

3. In regard to *ceremonies*, they maintain that the church hath power to institute such as she deems necessary.

We allow, that though there should be great moderation used in the ceremonies of the church, and there is some limitation in ordaining them; yet the church hath greater liberty in the rites which are appointed for order, than in doctrines of faith, or rules of morals. The doctrines and rules of right are always the same, and cannot be changed and regard the conscience; but rites and ceremonies are external, and commanded for order's sake. The church cannot appoint ceremonies, but according to these four rules and conditions:—

First. All things ought to be done to the glory of God, even in civil actions, much more in things appertaining to the service of God. 1 Cor. x, 31. Our adversaries offend against this rule, applying and annexing remission of sins to their own inventions and superstitious ceremonies, as unto penance and extreme unction.

Secondly. All things ought to be done decently and in order. 1 Cor. xiv, 40. Wherefore all ridiculous ceremonies are to be abolished; such as bowing to the cross, lighting candles at noon, counting beads, &c.

Thirdly. All things ought to be done without offence. 1 Cor. x, 32.

Fourthly. All things ought to be done to *edification*. 1 Cor. xiv, 12. But the popish ceremonies are not edifying. They have hallowed fire, water, bread, ashes, oil, wax, flowers, branches, clay, spittle, salt, incense, balm, chalices, &c., &c.

XVII. *Of the INFALLIBILITY of the church.*

The following is a condensed view of the infallibility of the Church of Rome, as collected from her own authors:

Dens affirms,† “That the church, in matters of faith and manners, can by no means err, is an article of faith. Moreover, infallibility in the church may be considered in a twofold point of view: the one active and authoritative, which is called infallibility in teaching and defining; the other passive or submissive, (*obedientialis*,) which is called infallibility in learning and believing.”

“Infallibility considered in the first sense refers to the church, in regard to the head or chief pontiff and the prelates of the church; although this infallibility would not regard the laity or inferior pastors: for as a man is said to see, although his vision does not apply to all his members, but to his eyes only, so the church, in like manner, is said to be infallible, although this infallibility refers only to the prelates.”

“But if the church is not, considered in regard to its head, but as it embraces all the faithful, or laics, under the obedience of the pope, it is not proper to say it is infallible in teaching and defining; because its gift in this respect is not to teach, but to learn and believe: wherefore the church, in this view, is said to be *passively infallible*, or infallible in learning, believing, practising,” &c.

* De Script., quæst. 6, c. iv.

† De Ecclesia, No. 80, tom. ii, p. 404.

“Hence it is impossible that the whole church, obedient to the pope, should believe any thing as revealed, or practise any thing as good, which is not such: hence it can be said, that the sense of the universal church is always true, and its practice or usage always good.”

Our author also affirms,* “that the church is an infallible judge of controversies of faith; that this authority is vested in the bishops only, especially in the pope; and that lay persons, priests, doctors, or others, have no part in making infallible decisions in the church.” He says the government of the church is a monarchy in regard to its head, but at the same time tempered with an aristocracy. A unanimous consent is not necessary to make a decision infallible; a majority is sufficient for this purpose. He also says, (No. 82,) that a tacit consent is sufficient to make a decision infallible, for to be silent is to consent. Hence he concludes that “when the pope defines any thing, and the majority of bishops do not object, it is impossible that this definition should embrace error.” Other Romanists are of a different opinion.

The extent of infallibility has been warmly debated in the Church of Rome. The subtle and sophistical disputes and distinctions concerning *questions of right* and *questions of fact*, present the doctrine of infallibility in a light which makes their very infallibility itself a subject of greater perplexity than any controversy which has ever existed in the Protestant churches.†

As we have devoted an entire chapter to the discussion of infallibility alone, the reader is referred to it for a full exposition and confutation of this popish error.

* De Ecclesia, No. 81.

† Those who would wish to see these subtle questions stated at large and discussed, may consult Dens, Theol., de Eccles., No. 84, tom. ii, p. 412. Bailly, Sum. Theol., de Eccles., c. xiii, tom. ii, p. 446. Paschal's Provincial Letters.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL COUNCILS.

I. A COUNCIL DEFINED.—Different kinds of councils.—**II. MEMBERS OF COUNCILS.** 1. Who are members? 2. Their error in this: 3. Practice of the Roman and primitive churches different: 4. Character of primitive bishops: 5. Variety of opinion on this head. Roman prelates not bishops.—**III. WHO MAY CONVENE COUNCILS.** 1. The pope only in ordinary cases. Popes Pelag. II., Leo IX., Pius II., Leo X. Dens and Aquinas cited: 2. Their arguments answered: 3. Six arguments against their doctrine.—**IV. PRESIDENTS OF COUNCILS.** 1. They say the popes, of right, preside. Falsity of this: 2. They did not preside in the first councils. Reasons why they declined on some occasions: 3. They contradict history in attaching the presidency to the pope.—**V. THE NUMBER AND REQUISITES OF GENERAL COUNCILS.** 1. Nice I., in 325: 2. Constantinople I., in 381: 3. Ephesus, in 431: 4. Chalcedon, in 451: 5. Constantinople II., in 453: 6. Constantinople III., in 680: 7. Nice II., in 787: 8. Constantinople IV., in 879: 9. Lateran I., in 1123: 10. Lateran II., in 1139: 11. Lateran III., in 1179: 12. Lateran IV., in 1215: 13. Lyons I., in 1245: 14. Lyons II., in 1274: 15. Vienna, in 1311: 16. Constance, in 1414: 17. Basil, in 1431: 18. Ferrara, in 1438: 19. Lateran V., in 1512: 20. Trent, from Dec. 13th, 1545, to Dec. 4th, 1563: 21. Character of general councils. Six objections against them: 22. Council of Trent particularly considered. Nine exceptions against it: 23. Diversity of opinion on the number and character of general councils.—**VI. OF THE AUTHORITY AND INFALLIBILITY OF A GENERAL COUNCIL.** 1. Their doctrine stated. Some ascribe infallibility to the council without the pope. Others require the confirmation of the pope: 2. Arguments against their infallibility. The uncertainty of their decisions arising from the superiority of the pope and council over each other. The confirmation of the pope, deciding *conciliariter*, doctrine of intention, proceeding lawfully, meaning of the decrees, rules of determining true from false councils. The questions are endless: 3. Disagreement among themselves respecting the characters of inerrancy: 4. Violence and disorder, the craft and artifice in managing some: 5. It is not asserted by councils, recorded in history, or taught in Scripture: 6. Their discordant views of the confirmation of the pope. Absurdity of such confirmation: 7. Some councils have been corrupted and others pretended: 8. The consent of bishops, as they hold it, overturns the infallibility of councils. Decision of the majority not necessary. Tacit consent. Their doctrines on this head are resolved into the infallibility of the pope. This is the sentiment of their greatest and recent divines. Bellarmine and Pighius cited: 9. Infallibility inconsistent with the representative character of a council: 10. It requires as immediate an inspiration and revelation as the apostles had: 11. Councils have contradicted one another. Augustine cited. Dens' evasion: 12. Some councils have actually erred: 13. Some have decided contrary to Scripture: 14. No council has sat for nearly three hundred years.—**VII. THEIR ORIGIN AND USE.** 1. Not of divine origin. Matt. xviii, 17, 20, and Acts xv, 28, considered: 2. But of human origin. Did not exist in the primitive church. Their origin: 3. They do not prevent controversies: 4. Nor restore peace to the church: 5. Nazianzen's opinion. Conclusion.

I. A COUNCIL is an assembly of Christians met to deliberate on ecclesiastical matters, whether of faith, morals, or discipline. The Latins gave this assembly the name of *concilium* or *council*, while the Greeks called it by the name of *synod*. Both names are synonymous, and signify an assembly of any kind. We shall use it in the ecclesiastical sense only. In church history we find five kinds of councils mentioned, viz., *congregational*, *diocesan*, *provincial*, *national*, and *general*.

The simplest and most ancient form of ecclesiastical councils is the *congregational*, or a collection of Christians and ministers of the same place, met to transact church business. Of this sort, probably, was the assembly met on the occasion of the Gentiles conforming to Jewish ceremonies. Acts xv. That met on the occasion of selecting deacons

may be similar. Acts vi. Perhaps, too, the famous meeting of the presbyters, or bishops, of Ephesus was very little else.

The *diocesan* council consisted of all those persons holding ecclesiastical offices, within the precincts of the diocess, or parish of a primitive pastor or bishop. Of this description are the assemblies of which mention is made by the apostolic fathers, Clement, Polycarp, &c. But diocesan councils, or synods, held in the third, fourth, and subsequent centuries, were vastly different from those diocesan or parochial assemblies which were held immediately after the decease of the apostles.

Provincial synods, or councils, were those which were held in a province, and had their commencement in the second century, but they took their peculiar form at a subsequent date. The metropolitans usually presided.

A *national* council is composed of delegates from an entire nation, where the patriarch or primate presides.

These councils, in their first origin, had no other legislative authority than that which rested on the mutual agreement of the members.

After Christianity had become the established religion of the Roman empire, in the beginning of the fourth century, the emperors convened councils, which were called *œcumenical*, *universal*, or *general*. Among the ancients a national or provincial council was frequently called general, because it was constituted of representatives from a whole province or nation.

In the present discussion we dismiss any particular inquiries concerning any councils, except those which are called general, which the Church of Rome considers as infallible. There are several points connected with general councils, in which Protestants and Romanists differ, which may be discussed in connection with the following heads:—1. Who are *members*? 2. Who may *convene* them? 3. Who *preside*? 4. Their *authority*. 5. Their *infallibility*. 6. Their *number*. 7. Their *origin* and *use*.

II. *Who are MEMBERS of general councils?*

1. We collect the following qualifications of membership from Ferraris, who supports his statements by ample testimonies.* He affirms it to be the doctrine of the Church of Rome, that bishops alone, and the higher prelates, as archbishops, primates, and patriarchs, have *decisive votes in councils*. *Titular bishops* also, who have no other than nominal diocesses, are also members of general councils. So, also, are cardinals, though they may not be bishops, abbots, and generals of orders.

Theologians, and doctors of the canon laws, are called to general councils: not for the purpose of voting, but for consultation, on account of their skill in divinity and the canon law.

Princes are invited for protection, but not to vote or decide. No class of laymen is admitted to take part in councils.

In a council it is not necessary, says Dens,† that all bishops should be present. It is enough that a sufficient number from all countries be present to represent absent members. Hence many councils, not called general, had more members than some which had received that name.

That the first general council was composed of both bishops and

* Ferraris, in Concilium, art. i, Nos. 27–44.

† De Ecclesia, No. 85.

presbyters, none can deny. And what is called by some a general council, of which there is an account in the fifteenth of the Acts, was composed of elders, or presbyters, and apostles. That prelates, to the rejection of the pastors of the flock, should be the only members of general councils, is contrary to the usage of the apostolic and primitive churches, at variance with Scripture, injurious to the flocks, and productive of tyranny.

2. They argue, "that to teach and feed are proper to pastors only, and to decide in councils is nothing else but to feed and teach; therefore pastors only must rule in council; and no others of the clergy are pastors but bishops alone; for to them only is applicable Acts xx, 28. 'Take heed to yourselves, and the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.'"

To this we answer, that it is absurd to call a popish bishop a pastor, much less the only pastor in his diocess; because, as bishop, he never, or very rarely preaches at all. It is therefore absurd to call them pastors or teachers, because the greater number of them neither preach nor teach. The pastors of the flock are those who live among them, who instruct and watch over them, who know them by name; and such only are the proper representatives of their flocks, whether in general councils or other ecclesiastical synods or assemblies.

Besides, it is obvious that those who are called overseers or bishops in Acts xx, 18, are called in the 17th verse presbyters or elders; as these two names were applied to the pastors of the flock in the primitive church. That diocesan bishops could not be intended is clear from this consideration, that there were many or several presbyters or bishops at Ephesus. That these were all pastors at Ephesus is clear from this, that only one flock is ascribed to them. St. Jerome, in his epistle to Evagrius, interprets the passage so. In this sense it must be interpreted by all men who soberly consider it. And that these overseers were not delegates from other churches is clear from this, that there is no account of such delegated assembly given, and the usage of the apostolic churches was to have several pastors feeding the same flock, and he that was in peculiar charge of the flock in after times obtained the name of *bishop*, having associated with him several fellow-presbyters, among whom he lived and exercised his ministry as *primus inter pares*, *first among his equals*.

But for popish bishops, who never feed the flocks, to pretend to be their only pastors, contradicts Scripture and antiquity, and is opposed to all reason.

3. The practice of the first ages of the church is against the practice of the Church of Rome in this matter. In the Council of Nice, where there were three hundred and twenty-two bishops, Athanasius, though only a presbyter, withstood the Arians with success. In the Synod of Chalcedon there were present six hundred priests, but at that time the word priests included many who were bishops. Indeed the primitive application of bishop as distinguished from presbyter was, that the bishop was the chief pastor or minister in charge over the same flock with sundry presbyters, who were his assistants. In the Council of Antioch, assembled against *Samosatenus*, the whole synod writes thus: "The bishops, presbyters, and deacons, to our beloved brethren in the Lord, greeting."

4. It can be shown from undoubted records that the primitive bishops were the pastors of the flocks, or those who resided among the people, knew them by name, preached the word and administered discipline among them by the assistance of their fellow presbyters and deacons. These primitive bishops or pastors were very different from the *pastores pasterum, pastors of pastors*, or more recent bishops, who were not pastors of the flock of Christ in any Scriptural sense.

5. Though we have given above the general sentiment of Romanists respecting the members of general councils, very different sentiments have obtained among them on this point. We will give the statement of this from Bailly,* who professes to give the present sentiments of the Church of Rome in this matter. After stating the error of Brentius and the English as heterodox, he says the second error is that of Antonius de Dominis, who says, "that the consent of the whole church is to be understood not less of the laity than the presbyters and prelates."† The third, says our author, is the error of certain innovators of our time, viz., the defenders of the Jansenists, who, in various writings, assert that the clergy of the second rank or presbyters, as well as bishops, are judges of controversies of faith; but they do not understand the subject in the same sense. Some, for instance, suppose presbyters to have, *by divine right*, the power of judging concerning ecclesiastical matters. Others say, that presbyters enjoy this right, but with *proper subjection* to bishops. Others confess that ministers of the second rank are not judges or legislators, but *necessary counsellors*. Others yet concede to the bishops the power of governing in a provincial, national, or the universal church.

In the same chapter Bailly proceeds to establish the two following propositions: "The clergy of the second order, or simple presbyters, whether in a council or out of one, have not the power of judging in matters of faith, making laws, or governing the church. This privilege, by divine right, is peculiar to bishops alone." His other proposition is the following: "The opinion is not to be admitted, 1. Of those who say that the power of sitting and deciding in councils belongs to presbyters, in due subjection to bishops. 2. Nor of those who suppose that presbyters are the necessary counsellors of bishops. 3. Nor of those who suppose that a bishop can do nothing in his diocese in those things which concern faith, without the consent of his clergy. 4. Nor of those who contend that a bishop can make no laws to bind the clergy, unless the clergy consent to or accept them." Thus the *prelates* of the Church of Rome claim and exercise supreme authority, to the entire exclusion of the pastors of the flocks. Those who do *not* feed the flock, or watch over them, *govern* them; and those who do the work of the ministry by feeding and watching, are not permitted to govern those of their own peculiar charges. But it is a misnomer to call these lords of the flocks either *bishops* or *pastors*, as they neither *oversee* nor *feed* the sheep. They are more properly called *prelates*, a *preferendo*, because they are eminently *raised above*, and are *independent* of the true pastors and their flocks. They are not primitive bishops: they are modern prelates, or lords over the heritage of God.

* Tract. de Ecclesia, c. 9, tom. ii, p. 409.

† Consensus totius ecclesie non minus intelligi in laicis quam in presbyteris et prelatibus. Antonius de Dominis, lib. i, c. 12, n. 42.

. III. *Who may CONVENE general councils.*

1. The following quotations will show to whom the power of convening councils is attributed. Pope Pelagius II.* says: "That a general council, by a particular privilege bestowed on St. Peter, must be convened by the authority of the apostolical seat."† Leo IX. declares: "I would not have you ignorant that a universal council cannot be celebrated without the decision of the Roman pontiff."‡ Pius II. says: "Among councils, we find no one was ever ratified which was convened without the authority of the pope, when an undoubted pope existed; because there can be no body of the church without a head; and all power flows from the head into the members."§ The Constitution of Leo X. expresses itself thus: "It is sufficiently manifest, that the Roman pontiff alone, for the time being, as having authority over all councils, hath the plenary right and power of convoking, transferring, and dissolving councils, not only from the testimony of Scripture, the sayings of the fathers, and our other pontifical predecessors, the decrees of the sacred canons, and the proper confession of councils themselves."||

Their principal divines, too, ascribe this power to the popes, as Dens,¶ and Thomas Aquinas, who says, "A new edition of the creed belongs to the sole authority of the pope, as well as all those things which belong to the whole church, such as to convene a general synod, and other things of this sort."**

It is commonly held also, that in the time of schism, when two or more popes are contending for the place, the cardinals can call a council, and command the contending popes to abdicate their thrones; and should they refuse to do so, they may be deposed, and the faithful absolved from their obedience to the deposed popes.††

Others are of opinion, that councils may be convened by others besides the popes and cardinals; for instance, by the patriarchs, primates, and bishops, or even by others.

2. Let us examine the arguments by which they support their pretensions.

They say: "Councils ought to be collected in the name of Christ,

* See Ferraris, in Concil., art. 1, No. 7.

† Generalem synodum convocandi auctoritas apostolocæ sedi beati Petri singulari privilegio est hadita.—*Constit. Pelag. II., incip. Manifesto.*

‡ Nolo vos lateat non debere præter sententiam Romani pontificis universale concilium celebrari.—*Constit. Leonis IX., incip. Cum ex eo.*

§ *Constit. Pii II., incip. In minoribus.* Inter concilia nullum invenimus unquam fuisse ratum, quod stante Romano indubitato præsule, absque ipsius auctoritate convenit; quia non est corpus ecclesiæ sine capite; et omnis ex capite defluit in membra potestas.

|| Solum Romanum pontificem pro tempore existentem tamquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, conciliorum indicendorum et transferendorum ac dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere, vedum ex sacra Scripturæ testimonio, dictis s. s. patrum, ac aliorum pontificum predecessorum nostrorum, sacrorumque canonum decretis, sed propria, etiam eorundem conciliorum confessione manifeste constat.—*Constit. Leonis IX., incip. Pastor Æternus, in Concil. Later. V., sess. 11.*

¶ De Eccles., No. 87.

** S. Thos. Aq., 2. 2., quæst. 1, art. 10, in corp., circa finem. Ad solam auctoritatem summi pontificis pertinet nova editio symboli, sicut et omnia alia quæ pertinent ad totam ecclesiam, ut congregare synodum generalem, et alia hujusmodi.

†† Ferraris, in Concilium, art. 1, No. 22.

(Matt. xviii, 20,) that is, by him that hath authority from Christ to assemble them."* Their exposition is absurd, as to assemble in the name of Christ is made to be synonymous with being assembled by the pope. The absurdity of their exposition must strike every discerning person with conviction of its fallacy.

They say: "That the pope hath this right as a part of his jurisdiction." Of this, however, they have never yet, and they never can bring any proofs from Scripture, though Pope Leo X., as quoted above, asserts Scripture testimony for the exercise of this power.

They also maintain: "That as primates and metropolitans assemble their respective synods, so the pope ought to assemble a general council."† To this it may be answered: 1. There is no divine authority which can be quoted for the doings of the one any more than the others. 2. The emperors and princes have convened both general and particular councils. 3. Each such body properly should provide for their own assemblies, either by deciding it themselves or placing it in the hands of others. 4. General councils have one of the marks of acephalous bodies, because they have not regularly provided for their own convocations.

3. Against the sentiments of the Romanists, respecting the convocation of general councils, we furnish the following:

(1.) As far as we can collect any thing from Scripture analogy, it is against the late practice of the Church of Rome. On the appointment of deacons, the twelve apostles called together the multitude of the disciples to decide. Acts vi, 6. Those collected for the appointment of a new apostle in the place of Judas, seem to have been taken up by the disciples at one of their customary meetings; unless the injunction of our Lord may be construed to a call, viz., that they should not leave Jerusalem until they would be endowed with power from on high. The convention mentioned in the fifteenth of the Acts seems to have been made by a general inspiration.

(2.) The first general councils were summoned by the emperors, and not by the popes. For ample proof of this, our readers are referred to the chapter on the supremacy.

(3.) If popes only could call councils, how could a wicked pope be deposed? Certainly, vicious popes, though there were many such, never did call a council for their own correction or deposition.

(4.) The popes surely cannot have more power than Peter, and he never challenged this dignity to himself.

(5.) Two popish councils have decided this point against them. The Council of Constance (sess. 1) decreed, that the departure of the pope presented no reason why the business of the council should not succeed. The Council of Basil cited Eugenius to appear before it, and tried him.

(6.) Indeed, those called general councils have more of an *acephalous*, or disorderly, character than any other synods ever held. They were never held at regular periods of time, great contentions always existed respecting the mode of proceeding, and their decisions were very far from giving any general satisfaction.

IV. *Who may PRESIDE in general councils.*

1. Romanists inform us that the pope, either in person or by his le-

* Bellarm., lib. i, c. 12, de Concil.

† Bellarm., ut supra.

gates, is the president of all general councils. This is the common opinion among modern doctors and controversialists.*

It is notorious, that the popes of Rome did not preside in any of the first three, and probably in none of the first eight, general councils. Either the emperors themselves, or the bishops, were the presidents. This is fully proved in the chapter on the supremacy.†

2. It being manifest, that in the first three general councils the pope sat not as president, either by himself or his legates, it is sufficiently proved that his presidency is no necessary condition of a general council; and if not, it is unreasonable he should challenge it, especially when he is the person mainly accused. But it is not necessary we should deny that he ever sat in any other general council as president; for, being bishop of a principal see, he may have been president in his turn, without giving him any superior privilege on that account. In the first Council of Constantinople, though present, he declined the presidency by a variety of frivolous excuses, and Eutychius, bishop of Constantinople, sat as president. The reason of his declining was, a fear that the authority which he expected would not be awarded him. Such was the policy of the popes, when they began to encroach, that they would not venture themselves in presence of a general council, for fear of opposition; but by their absence they reserved to themselves a liberty to dissent, when any acts passed which did not please them. Leo did so in the Council of Chalcedon. It is evident, from the fifth general council, that the pope's presidency was not then thought necessary. What was done in following councils is not at all material to our purpose, because it doth already appear that the pope's presidency was not necessary to a general council.

3. How exceedingly destitute of foundation are the assertions of those modern Romanists who maintain that the pope is the only lawful president of general councils. Such as Dens, who says, "That it is the perpetual use and practice of general councils."‡ Of Bailly, who says, "The Roman pontiffs, either by themselves or their legates, presided in all general councils, as is manifest from ecclesiastical annals."§ With what facility some Roman Catholics contradict all ancient history and records! The Roman Catholic Du Pin, a man of truth and honesty, affirms concerning the first general council: "But it is more probable that Hosius presided there in his own name, and not in the pope's. For he nowhere assumes the title of legate of the holy see; and none of the ancients say that he presided in this council in the pope's name. Gelasius Cyzicenus, who first affirmed it, says it without any proof or authority."||

V. *How many general councils were there, and what is required to constitute a true one?*

As it regards the true number of what are called general councils it is not so easy to decide, because Roman Catholics themselves are not

* Ferraris, in Concilium, art. i, Nos. 45-54. Dens, de Ecclesia, No. 87. Bailly, de Eccles., c. 8, statuimus 4.

† The reader will find this fully proved by the following authors: Barrow on the Supremacy, p. 290; Willet, pp. 128-132; Stillingfleet's Grounds, pp. 447-453.

‡ Accedit perpetuus usus ac praxis conciliorum generalium.—Dens, de Eccl., No. 87.

§ Romani pontifices omnibus conciliis œcumenicis, sive per se, sive per legatos, præfuerunt, ut constat annalibus ecclesiasticis.—Bailly, de Eccles., c. 8, tom. ii, p. 402.

|| Eccles. Hist., sept. iv, vol. i, p. 599, note c.

agreed on this point. The recent Romanists, however, seem to settle down on the number eighteen, of which the following is a list, according to Dens :^{*} Nicene I., held 325 ; Constantinople I., in 381 ; of Ephesus in 431 ; of Chalcedon, in 451 ; of Constantinople II., in 553 ; of Constantinople III., in 680 ; of Nice II., in 787 ; of Constantinople IV., in 869 ; Lateran I., in 1123 ; Lateran II., in 1139 ; Lateran III., in 1179 ; Lateran IV., in 1215 ; Lyons I., in 1245 ; Lyons II., in 1274 ; Vienna, in 1311 ; Constance, in 1414 ; of Florence, in 1438 ; Lateran V., in 1512 ; of Trent, from 1545 to 1563. We shall give a brief narrative of each of these in their order.

1. The first is the Council of Nice, of which Du Pin speaks as follows :[†] " This council was assembled by the order of the emperor at Nice, a city of Bithynia, about the month of July, in the year 325, in the second year of Constantine's reign. St. Sylvester was then bishop of Rome, who sent thither Victor and Vicentius, his legates. It is commonly held that this council consisted of three hundred and eighteen bishops ; but those who were present at it do not precisely determine this number, but say only that there were about three hundred bishops. It is not certainly known who presided in this council, but it is very probable that it was Hosius, who held the chief place there in his own name, because he had already taken cognizance of this affair, and was much esteemed by the emperor, who was there present. The assembly was held in a hall in his palace. It is said that the bishops presented petitions to him, wherein they accused one another, and that he burned them all without reading them." The heresy of Arius was the occasion of calling the council. The introduction of the " word *consubstantial* " was the subject of great dispute among the bishops, which was allayed by the prudence of the emperor, who made them all agree in the sense of this word."[‡] The three written monuments of this council were, the Rule of Faith, twenty canons, and the Synodical Epistle addressed to the churches on its dissolution. The sentiments of Arius were condemned, the time of celebrating Easter was fixed, the troubles of Novatian were composed, the Meletian schism was condemned, the jurisdiction of the greater bishops was defined and determined. Nevertheless, their decisions did not restore peace to the church.

A council of western bishops was held in Sardis in the year 347, in which appeals to Rome were for the first time encouraged. Dens[§] calls their decisions supplementary to the Council of Nice, and confirmatory of it. But this is a great mistake, or rather an unfounded assumption. The excellent Du Pin, when treating on this council,^{||} declares in conclusion, " The canons of the Council of Sardica were never received by the Catholic Church as general laws. They were never put into the code of the canons of the universal church, approved by the Council of Chalcedon. The east never received them, neither would the bishops of Africa own them. The popes only used them, and cited them under the name of the Council of Nice, to give them the greater weight and authority."

2. The second general council, according to many, was held at Constantinople, in 381, at which there were one hundred and fifty bishops present, for the most part from the east. " For the better understand-

^{*} De Eccles., No. 88.

[†] Eccl. Hist., vol. i, page 598.

[‡] Idem, page 599.

[§] De Eccles., No. 88.

^{||} Eccl. Hist., vol. i, page 607.

ing the history of the Council of Constantinople, which is called the second general council, we must distinguish three assemblies of bishops, held at Constantinople at three several times. The first was held in the month of May, 381. It was composed of all the bishops of the eastern empire, except Egypt. Meletius of Antioch presided in the assembly.* The eastern bishops met again in Constantinople, in the beginning of the year 382. To this synod the creed and canon of the General Council of Constantinople are attributed. The western bishops assembled in Aqueileia, and petitioned those met at Constantinople to meet at Alexandria, which was refused. The western bishops were dissatisfied, and wrote to a synod assembled at Constantinople in 383, where Nectarius was president. The bishops of this council declined attending in the west. "It was a long time before the canons of this council were approved by the western bishops. Not only St. Leo rejected them in his epistle 53, now the 80, but also Gelasius, in his epistle to Dardanus, and St. Gregory, in his epistle 25, b. vi, rejects them, as not being received in the west. But, however, they have been received in the east, and are put in the code of the canons of the universal church."† Modern Romanists, however, receive the decisions of this council as general, though some of their popes rejected them. These councils were called and controlled by Theodosius the emperor.

3. The third general council was held at Ephesus, in the year 431. It was called by Theodosius the younger, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, presided. This council condemned Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who maintained that it was improper to call the Virgin Mary *mother of God*, but *mother of Christ*, or even *mother of man*. Cyril was a man of a haughty, turbulent, and imperious temper, and jealous of the rising power of Nestorius. Cyril, the avowed enemy of Nestorius, whom he had condemned in a former council at Alexandria, in 430, proposed examining and determining the matter in debate before John of Antioch and the eastern bishops had arrived. Nestorius objected against it as irregular and unjust. But his remonstrances being unavailing, he refused to comply with the summons which called him before the council. Cyril pushed on matters. Nestorius was judged without being heard, during the absence of a great number of bishops who belonged to the council. He was compared with the traitor Judas, charged with blasphemy against the divine Majesty, deprived of his episcopal dignity, and sent into exile, where he finished his days.

This meeting was truly a tumultuous body. The first burst of condemnation was expressed by the fathers in the following execration: "Anathema to him who does not anathematize Nestorius; the orthodox faith anathematizes him; the holy council anathematizes him. We all anathematize the heretic Nestorius; we anathematize all who communicate with him and his impious belief. All the earth anathematizes the unholy religion of Nestorius. Anathema to him who does not anathematize Nestorius."‡ After this collection of curses, and causing, through its own dissensions, some sanguinary tumult throughout the city, the third general council was dismissed in these words by Theodosius, "God is my witness that I am not the author of this confusion. His providence will discern and punish the guilty. Return to

* Du Pin, Eccles. Hist., vol. i, page 615.

† Ibid, page 616.

‡ Fleury, liv. xxv, sec. 39. See Waddington's Church History, page 164.

your provinces ; and may your private virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting."* Mosheim† expresses himself in the following words respecting the doings of the assembly : " The transactions of this council will appear, to the candid and equitable reader, in the most unfavourable light, as full of low artifice, contrary to all the rules of justice, and even destitute of the least air of common decency." The arguments of those who approve of, and of those who censure this council, may be seen by a reference to Du Pin,‡ who sums up the arguments on both sides. The history of this council will give no very favourable opinion of its infallibility. Nevertheless, the leading sentiment concerning Christ inculcated by the council, apart from the phraseology of Nestorius, was that which has always been acknowledged and adopted by the majority of Christians, namely, " That Christ was *one divine person*, in whom *two natures* were most intimately united, but without being mixed or confounded together."

4. The fourth general council was held in Chalcedon, in 451, consisting of six hundred and thirty bishops. This council was, by the emperor's summons, first convened at Nice, but afterward removed to Chalcedon, that the emperor, who, on account of the irruptions of the northern barbarians, was unwilling to go far from Constantinople, might assist at it in person. The legates of Leo presided in this assembly. The doctrine of Eutyches was condemned. Dioscorus was condemned, deposed, and banished to Paphlagonia. Here it was enacted that " the church of the city of Constantinople, which is called New Rome, should have the same privileges with old Rome, because this city is the second in the world." The meaning is, that the two sees were to be independent in power, and equal in privilege ; but that in rank and precedence the superiority was due to the more ancient city. This canon gave birth to voluminous controversies.§

The remedy applied by this council to heal the divisions of the church proved worse than the disease : for many of the oriental doctors, though of various characters and different opinions in other respects, opposed the decisions of the council : hence arose deplorable discords and civil wars, which were carried to excessive lengths.

5. The fifth general council was held at Constantinople, in the year 553, and was convened by the emperor Justinian. There were very few bishops present from the west. The whole number was two hundred and fifty-five. The emperor gained his point here ; for besides the condemnation of the *three chapters*, or the works of Theodore of Mopsuesta, Theodoret of Cyprus, and Elias of Edessa, the peculiar doctrines of Origen were condemned. Pope Vigilius, who was present, refused his assent to the decrees of this council ; for which, after receiving various affronts, he was sent into exile, whence he was not permitted to return before he had acquiesced in the decisions of the assembly. Surely it cannot be said that he confirmed the decisions of the council in any manner which would add to their authority.

* Fleury, liv. xxv, sec. 39.

† Eccles. Hist., cent. v, part ii, chap v, sec. viii.

‡ Eccles. Hist., vol. i, pp. 657-660.

§ See Fleury, liv. xxviii, sec. 30. Baron. Annal. Ann., 451, sec. 148. Waddington, page 120. Mosh. Eccl. Hist., cent. v, part i, chap. v, sec. xv and xvi. Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., vol. i, pages 660-679.

Here we perceive a council of bishops contending about a frivolous distinction; and in the place of throwing light on it so as to convince, they uttered a mere authoritative decision, which left all the difficulties of the case untouched. In this light, the Roman Catholic historian Du Pin views the doings of this council.*

6. The sixth general council was held in 680, at Constantinople, and was convened by the emperor Constantinus Pogonatus. The heresy of the Monothelites was here condemned. In the beginning of the council there were between thirty and forty bishops present, but they increased to above one hundred and sixty, according to Du Pin.† Very little importance is attached to the doings of this council. Pope Marcellus was condemned by it as a heretic, because he was a Monothelite.

An assembly which the Greeks regard as the *seventh* general council was called by Constantine, in 754, to whom the furious tribe of image worshippers had given the name of Copronymus. It was composed of eastern bishops. It condemned the worship and use of images. The authority of this council is not acknowledged by the Roman Catholics, any more than the obligation of the second commandment.

7. The profligate Irene, having accomplished the death of her husband, during the minority of her son Constantine, in order to establish her authority, entered into an alliance with Adrian bishop of Rome, and summoned a council to meet at Nice in 787. In this assembly the imperial laws respecting the new idolatry were abrogated, the decrees of the Council of Constantinople were reversed, the worship of images and of the cross restored, and severe punishments denounced against those who maintained that God was the only object of adoration. The bishops founded their decisions on the most trifling and ridiculous arguments. The Latins received and the Greeks rejected this council. The French, Britons, and Germans opposed its decisions. The modern Church of Rome places it, however, among the general councils whose authority they acknowledge.

8. The council which was held at Constantinople under Photius, in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks *the eighth* general council, gave a farther degree of force and vigour to idolatry, by maintaining the sanctity of images, and approving, confirming, and renewing the Nicene decrees.

After this council, no other was celebrated in the east; the others were held in the west. The former are called *Greek*, the latter *Latin* councils.

9. The Council of Lateran, held in 1123, is called the ninth general council. Upward of three hundred Latin or western bishops were present. It approved of the treaty about investitures made between pope Calixtus II. and the emperor Henry.

10. Pope Innocent II., having obtained possession of the see of Rome by the death of Peter of Leon, convened in the month of April, 1139, a council in the palace of Lateran called the *second* Lateran Council; which, as they say, was composed of about one thousand bishops. Thirty canons were made. It condemned the opinions of the aforementioned Peter, and those of Arnaldus.

11. Pope Alexander III. convened, in the year 1179, a great council

* Eccl. Hist. vol. i, p. 710.

† Eccl. Hist. vol. ii, p. 1.

at Rome, composed of about three hundred bishops, which is called the third General Council of Lateran. The following decrees among many others were passed by the advice and authority of Innocent:—1. To prevent the schisms of the Church of Rome, in electing its popes, the first canon ordains: “That if all the cardinals cannot agree to choose the same person, he shall be esteemed lawful pope who has two thirds of their suffrages in his favour.” This law is still in force. 2. A spiritual war was declared against the Waldenses and others who were reputed heretics. 3. The right of recommending and nominating to the saintly order was taken away from councils and bishops, and the canonization of saints was ranked among the *greater causes*, the cognizance of which was vested in the pope alone.

12. Innocent III., two years and a half before its session, summoned the fourth Lateran Council to meet on the 1st of November, 1215. In his letters of Indiction, he gives his reasons why he thought the council necessary, viz., the recovery of the Holy Land and the reformation of the church. The council met at Rome, in the Church of St. Saviour, and consisted of four hundred and twelve bishops in person, near eight hundred abbots and friars, and a great many deputies of the absent prelates or of their chapters. The ambassadors of the Christian princes of Christendom were present. Seventy chapters or canons, all drawn up beforehand by Innocent, were passed by the council without debate or examination. After preaching to the council, the pope presented his canons for reception, of which Matthew Paris* says, “The pope himself having delivered an exhortatory sermon, recited to the assembled council seventy chapters or canons, which seemed tolerable to some of the prelates, but grievous to others.” The Roman Catholic Du Pin says, “It is certain these canons were not made by the council, but by Innocent III., who presented them to the council ready drawn up, and ordered them to be read, and that the prelates did not enter into any debate upon them, but that their silence was taken for an approbation.”† Indeed, there was little time for deliberation, for this unwieldy council broke up in less than a month. The prelates, weary with staying at Rome, begged leave to depart. “The war between those of Pisa and the Genoese, and the troubles of Italy, immediately obliged the pope to put an end to the council, and to quit his care for the affairs of the church to put in order those of Italy.”‡ Thus the imperious pontiff, without deigning to consult any body, published no less than seventy laws or decrees, by which the power of the popes and the clergy was not only confirmed and extended, but also new doctrines or articles of faith were imposed on Christians.

At this council the pope introduced and established the doctrine of transubstantiation; in the twenty-first chapter or canon auricular confession was established; in the third, all heretics and their favourers were excommunicated,§ and it was made the duty of all Romanists to persecute them to the confiscation of goods, to banishment, and death.

13. The thirteenth general council, or the first of Lyons, was held

* Facto prius ab ipso papa exhortationis sermone, recitata sunt in pleno concilio capitula septuaginta quæ aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur onerosa.

† Eccles. Hist., cent. 13, ch. vi, vol. ii, p. 449.

‡ Idem, p. 454.

§ Which see in Du Pin, as above, p. 449.

by Innocent IV., in the year 1245. Innocent, in consequence of the difficulties existing between him and the emperor,* Frederick, not thinking himself safe in any part of Italy, went to Lyons, in 1244, and called a council in 1245, composed of one hundred and forty bishops. The Gallic Church does not acknowledge this as a general council; though the true sons of the church place it in the list, where it must remain. The pope declared Frederick deprived of the imperial crown, with all its honours and privileges, and of all his other estates; he released his subjects from their oath of allegiance; he even forbade their farther obedience, on pain of excommunication, and commanded the electors of the empire to choose a successor. He presently recommended to that dignity Henry Langrave of Thuringia.† The bishops present had little or nothing to do in the acts of this council. Indeed, it was merely a packed political meeting, in which every thing was done by the pope, or according to his dictation.

14. The second Council of Lyons was held in 1274, in which the relief of the Holy Land, the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, and the reformation of the clergy, were the principal points of deliberation. It was also decided, that on the election of a pope the cardinals should be confined to the conclave until they should have decided on the new pope.

15. The Council of Vienne, of France, was held October 1, 1311, under Clement V. Its professed objects were to examine the charges against the Templars, and preserve the purity of the Catholic faith; to consult for the relief of the Holy Land; and to reform the manners of the clergy, and the system of the church. The council is said to have been controlled by Philip the Fair, king of France, to whom the pope was entirely submissive. At any rate, the council, though consisting of about three hundred bishops, left almost every thing to the decision of the pope. Indeed, many things attributed to the council were made either before or after its session. Du Pin, in concluding his history of this council, says, "All these constitutions were not made in the Council of Vienne, but some before, and some after; and of those which were published during the session of that council, none but such as concern the faith, and the condemnation of the errors of the Begards and Beguins, the constitution concerning the privileges of the mendicant friars, the study of tongues in the universities, and the inquisition, were approved in it."‡

At the commencement of the fifteenth century the Latin Church was divided into two great factions, and governed by two contending pontiffs, viz., Benedict XII., who resided at Avignon, and Angeli Corraio, a Venetian cardinal, under the title of Gregory XII. A plan of reconciliation, however, was formed, and both the pontiffs bound themselves by oath to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step were necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but both afterward violated their oaths. Some of the cardinals of each forsook their leaders, and formed themselves into a separate body, who were called the *cardinals of the two obediences*. In the year 1408 three councils were appointed concerning the schism which then disturbed the Church of Rome. The first at Perpignan, by the

* Mosh., cent. 13, part, ii, ch. ii, sec. xii.

† Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., vol. ii, p. 460.

‡ Eccl. Hist., vol. ii, p. 546.

bull of Benedict XIII., dated June 15. The second, in the province of Aquileia, by the bull of Gregory XII., dated July 2, which was to meet on Whitsunday, the next year. And the third at *Pisa*, by the letters of the cardinals of the two obediences, assembled at Leghorn, dated July 14, 1408, which was to meet on the 25th of March in the next year. At this council there were present twenty-two cardinals, sixty-seven ambassadors, partly ecclesiastics and partly laymen, from kings or sovereign princes, four patriarchs, two prothonotaries, twelve archbishops, sixty-seven bishops in person, and eighty-five by deputies, a very great number of abbots, of generals, ministers, and proctors of orders, and convent priors, of deputies from the universities of Paris, of Angiers and Montpellier, and of proctors of an infinite number of abbeys and monasteries, of chapters, cities, provinces, and other communities. Alexander V. confirmed the acts of this council by his bull, dated the last of January, 1410.* The authority of the Council of *Pisa* was acknowledged by all the national churches of Europe, except Arragon, Castile, Bavaria, and Scotland; and Rome itself, by placing Alexander in the list of its genuine popes, has offered it the same acknowledgment.

In this council it was asserted that the church or a council was superior to the pope, and that this was the opinion of the universities of Paris, Angiers, Tholouse, and three hundred doctors of the university of Bavaria. The assembly declared, that the union of the two colleges was lawful and just, that the cardinals had power to appoint the general council, that the city of *Pisa* was a fit place for holding it, and that popes could be called to an account by a council.

On the fifth day of June the definitive sentence was pronounced against the two popes:† “That this holy general council, representing the whole church, to whom belonged the cognizance and decision of this cause, having examined all matters relating to the union of the church, and the schism between Peter de Luna, called Benedict XIII., and Angelus Corrarius, otherwise called Gregory XII., upon mature deliberation, have declared with a unanimous consent, that all the facts alleged against them by the proctors of the council are true and notorious, and that the two competitors are manifestly schismatics, favourers of schism, heretics, guilty of perjury and the violation of their oaths; that they give a scandal to the whole church by their manifest obstinacy and contumacy; that they are unworthy of all honour and dignity, and particularly of the pontifical, and that they are fallen from it, deprived of it, and separate from the church, *ipso facto*; that nevertheless the church does now deprive them by this definitive sentence, and forbids them to use the titles of sovereign pontiffs; declares that the Church of Rome is vacant, absolves all Christians from the obedience which they may have promised them, and forbids any person to obey them, to help, or conceal them for the future; ordains, that those who shall not obey this sentence shall be punished by the secular powers; declares all the judgments or sentences which they have given, or shall give, to be null and void, as well as the nominations of cardinals which have been made by them.”

The cardinals promised that whosoever of them should be chosen pope should continue the council, and not dissolve it until the church

* Du Pin, vol. iii, p. 6.

† Idem, p. 5.

should be reformed in its head and members ; that is, the pope and clergy. They chose for pope Peter Philaret, of Candy, who assumed the name of Alexander V. Here were three popes at the same time in the Church of Rome.

The modern Church of Rome does not place this council in the list of general councils, though it has as good claims to that name as several others which they acknowledge as such.

16. The Council of Constance was summoned to meet at Constance, in Switzerland, in the year 1414, by John XXII., who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of Sigismund, and from the expectation that the decrees of the council would be favourable to his interests. It was a numerously attended council. Nine and twenty cardinals, and three hundred bishops and archbishops were present at the second session. It was held in continuation of that of Pisa, being bound by its decisions, and resting on its validity. The decisions of Pisa were confirmed, and the council proceeded to carry them into effect. It was decreed in the fourth, and confirmed in the fifth session, that the pope was inferior and subject to a general council. Their decree is : " That the synod being lawfully assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost, which constituted the general council, and represented the whole Catholic Church militant, had its power immediately from Jesus Christ; and that every person, of whatsoever state or dignity, even the pope himself, is obliged to obey it in what concerns the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the general reformation of the church in its head and members."* The council deposed the three popes who contended for St. Peter's chair, and elected Martin the Vth, who became the sole possessor. John Huss was condemned by this council. A few months after the election of Martin the council was dismissed, or rather adjourned for the space of five years.

In the thirty-ninth session, held October 9, 1417, it was enacted as a perpetual law of the church, that general councils should be held on every tenth year from the termination of the preceding, in such places as the pope, with the consent of the council sitting, should appoint. But to meet the present exigencies of the church, another council was to be assembled five years after that of Constance, and a third seven years after the second.

The principal object which the Council of Constance had in view was the reformation of the church in its head and members, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of the clergy. Nor did the fathers deny that this was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had insuperable obstacles in the passions and interests of those concerned. The cardinals and dignified clergy used all their eloquence and art to prevent reformation. And what was worse, the new pontiff, Martin V., was no sooner made pope than he employed his authority to elude and frustrate reformation ; and showed by his administration that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive state. Thus the famous council, after sitting three years and six months, was dissolved on the second day of April, 1418, without effect-

* Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., vol. iii, pp. 11, 12.

ing the chief end of their assembling, and put off to a future assembly, to be summoned within five years.

The five years and more elapsed without the calling of a council. Remonstrances at length prevailed over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time by Martin V., who summoned a council to meet at Pavia, whence it was removed to Sienna, and thence to Basil. The pontiff died in 1431, on the twenty-first of February, near the time when the council was about to meet. He was immediately succeeded by Eugenius IV., who approved of the proceedings of his predecessor in reference to the assembling of the Council of Basil.

17. The Council of Basil was accordingly opened on the twenty-third of July, 1431. Julian Cesarini performed the duties of president, under Eugenius. The purposes for which the council was convened were, the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches; the reformation of the church, in its head and members; and the reconciliation of the Hussites. The pope opposed all reformation, and the council was determined to reform. Hence a sharp contest between the pope and council, which led finally to an open rupture, so that the pope excommunicated the council, and the council, in return, anathematized the pope. The pope, however, after the first contest was over, again confirmed the doings of the council; but, on his being deposed, he excommunicated it anew.

In the course of this contest the council published and republished those decrees of Constance, which proclaimed the superior prerogatives of the council. They reiterated the assertions that a general council represents the church, and is the church; that as such it derives its attributes immediately from Jesus Christ; that it is infallible; that on these accounts the pope was subject to the council in all things regarding faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church; that he was only the ministerial head of the church, and inferior to it, and consequently that he possessed no power to dissolve or transfer the council. The pope took directly opposite ground.

The legitimacy of the Council of Basil has been a subject of dispute among Roman Catholics; and they have differed according to the diversity of their opinions on the extent and nature of papal supremacy. Some have maintained that its authority expired as early as the tenth session. But even Bellarmine allows that its decrees were binding on the church until it commenced its deliberations on the deposition of the pope. This last is the more common opinion, even among transalpine divines; as none of them can dispute its canonical convocation and origin. If it be admitted, then, thus generally, that during those few sessions which it devoted to the reform of the church, it was a true and infallible council, the controversy respecting the succeeding sessions can have but little weight, since they were consumed in a contest with a perverse pontiff, without producing any lasting alteration, either in the principles or administration of the government of the church. The controversy between the pope and council continued till the dissolution of the council in May, 1443, when it celebrated its last and forty-fifth session. It transferred, however, its nominal sittings to Lyons, or Lausanne, while the rival assembly, which was still sitting at Florence, withdrew by a simultaneous secession to Rome.

18. The pope, in that plenitude of power which he assumed to himself, transferred the Council of Basil to Ferrara, on the first of January, 1438, to meet on the eighth, so that the first session was held on the tenth. Eugenius opened the assembly, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at Basil. The principal business done was concerning the proposed reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. Here were two councils now in session, each excommunicating the other.

The Council of Ferrara was transferred to *Florence* on February 26, 1439, on account of the plague which had broken out at Ferrara. In this council the Greeks and Latins came to some temporary agreement concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, purgatory, the supremacy of the pope, and other matters of less note. The council anathematized the Council of Basil, and maintained the supremacy of the pope, with unequivocal precision. This council is ranked among general councils by the greater number of modern Roman Catholics, while the Councils of Basil and Ferrara are rejected as such.

19. The *fifth* Lateran Council was convened by Julius II., in April, 1512, and was opened by him in person on the third of May. This council was called through the fear which the pope entertained respecting a council convened by cardinals at Pisa, and not for the purpose of benefiting the church. Some acts of external reformation were enacted: the immortality of the soul was confirmed. Fifteen cardinals and about eighty archbishops and bishops were present, and almost all were Italians. Little was done in the council to benefit the church. The council adjourned in 1517, the same year in which Luther began to preach against indulgences.

20. *The Council of Trent.* This council met on the thirteenth of December, 1545, and was continued to the fourth of December, 1563, a space of eighteen years. The chief points treated of were concerning the Scriptures, original sin, justification, the sacraments, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, purgatory, and indulgences. By the authority of this council the creed of Pius IV. was formed, which contains an addition of twelve new articles to the Nicene faith. A catechism too was written by its authority, which is termed a *Catechism for Clergymen*.

21. A difficulty is here presented respecting the number of general councils. Modern Romanists affirm there were only eighteen general councils: those of former ages acknowledged more than this number, and others maintained there were fewer. The first seven were *Greek* councils, scarcely any Latins attending them; while the last eleven councils received by the modern Church of Rome were properly Latin councils, very few Greeks attending. Some councils are *controverted*, as that of Constantinople IV., Sardis, Smyrna, Quinisext, Frankfort, Constance, and Basil. Some are *rejected* councils, as those of Antioch, Milan, Seleucia, Ephesus II., and the councils held at Pisa.

If we consider the qualities of councils, taking into view what are the characteristics of true ones, the eighteen councils commonly reputed general will be considerably diminished. To constitute a true council the following things are said to be requisite in the estimation of Romanists, viz.: 1. That the pope convene them and preside. 2. That he confirm their decrees. 3. That the council act freely, with-

out constraint. 4. That their decisions be received by the greater number of the Christian world. 5. That such a time and place may be appointed, that the bishops may meet with convenience and without restraint.

(1.) As it regards the presidency of the pope and his assumed power of convening councils, it is notorious that the first four general councils were convened by the emperors; and the popes, neither personally nor by their legatees presided. Besides, as the popes themselves were sometimes the persons to be judged, it is contrary to all right that they should convene and preside over the councils which would judge them. If it were necessary to constitute a general council, that the pope should call and preside over it, then the first four councils, reputed general, must be stricken off the list.

(2.) Other councils never received the pope's confirmation in any manner different from the confirmation of other bishops. The first councils were confirmed by the emperors, and their respective presidents.

(3.) Some councils were coerced into measures. Most of the Greek councils were controlled by the emperors. The western councils were principally managed and controlled by the popes. In very few councils was there any thing like free discussion. Clement V. and Philip the Fair completely controlled the Council of Vienne. The decrees said to be passed by the fourth Lateran Council were entirely the doings of Innocent III.

(4.) It is reasonable that every thing in councils relating to doctrines and morals should be decided by Scripture. In several councils the Scripture had little to do with their decisions.

(5.) Besides, the time and place, when and where some councils met, were so managed by the popes that their decisions, in consequence, were entirely under their control. This is known to all men.

(6.) Finally, the decisions of many councils were rejected by many churches and nations. France never received the decisions of the Council of Trent. Other councils were treated in the same manner by other nations. The want of reception will therefore subtract more than one from the eighteen councils now acknowledged by the Church of Rome.

Indeed, if the characters of general councils now required by the Church of Rome be insisted on, a single council will not escape proscription. The Greek councils must all be rejected, because the pope did not convene or preside in them, or confirm their decrees, in their sense of confirmation. The Latin councils must every one be rejected, because the place and time of calling controlled them; or there was no free discussion; or their decrees were made by others besides the councils; or their decisions were rejected by a great part of the Christian world.

22. The Council of Trent particularly considered.

We make the following exceptions to the Council of Trent:

(1.) The pope, in calling and presiding over the council, entirely controlled its decisions.

The pope opposed all proposals of the emperor for calling the council, till necessity compelled him to comply. It was resolved at Rome not to venture any more general councils in Germany, though much

desired by the emperor, and German princes and bishops, for Germany breathed too much freedom for the pope's interest. When a council must be called the pope summoned it first at Mantua, then at Vicenza, and when none would come thither, he at last agreed it should be at Trent, a most inconvenient place. Though all possible restraint was used to prevent the mention of any reformation; yet some free expressions were dropped occasionally, which troubled the legates, who sent notice of it immediately to Rome, and received instructions what to do. Nevertheless, this could not prevent their fears lest something should be done concerning the pope's interest. To make all sure, the pope translates the council to Bononia, and left the emperor's bishops at Trent. And when, upon the protestations of the emperor and the king of France, the pope found it necessary to remove it back again to Trent, though any fair pretence would have been taken to dissolve it, but as that could not be done, the greatest care is used to spin out the time, in hope that some occurrence might furnish a plausible pretext for breaking it up. Nothing was passed in the council but what was first prepared at Rome; which gave occasion to the common sarcastical remark, "That the Holy Ghost came in a portmanteau once or twice a week from Rome."

But when, notwithstanding all this, the *residence* and *power* of bishops were so freely debated by the Spanish bishops, what arts were employed to prevent the discussion! When that would not do, what private cabals were kept up by the legates! What despatches to, and instructions from, Rome! What numbers of Italians are made bishops, and sent to outvote them! When the French bishops came they were watched by spies, and every means used by the court of Rome to divide them and the Spanish bishops. Every attempt that bribery could invent was used to bring the cardinal of Loraine over to the court of Rome. When any spoke freely, checks, and frowns, and disgrace were used to correct them. It is no wonder the court of Rome rejoiced when they found that the decisions of the council, which were intended to check them, proved in the issue favourable to their interests. This was truly the head presiding over the members; for all the life and influence they had proceeded from the pope, their head. Call you this presiding in a council? It is rather controlling and coercing it to do according to the will of the pope. And such is the history which the Roman Catholic Sarpi, and Du Pin, give of the doings of this council.

Besides, as the pope himself was the chief person to be reformed, it was contrary to all human and divine laws that he should preside in the council, and control and overrule all its decisions. We know it is said, "That the pope, not being justly accusable of any crime, but such as must involve the whole church and council as well as himself, there was no just cause why he should not preside." To this we answer, that, according to this plea, it is impossible that the errors and corruptions of a church should be reformed, in case the governors of the church abet and maintain them. If it be said, "It is impossible the governors of the church should do so;" we answer, that this is contradicted by experience. When, therefore, the superiors of the church utterly oppose reformation and correction, what is to be done? Must the church continue as it did, merely because the superiors make themselves parties?

To say, "The head must preside over the members," is an excellent argument to defend all usurpations both in the church and state. If they only call themselves *the heads*, this will screen them from all censures, though they may be guilty of heresy, blasphemy, idolatry, or any other crime. For if, as Romanists say, "the head must be over the members," and "it will bring confusion into the church if any shall except against their superiors as parties," this is the same as to assert, that it is impossible the superiors in the church should be guilty of any error or corruption; or that, if they be, they must never be called to an account for it; or else, that it may be just in some cases to except to their conduct as parties. If the popes had exercised the same powers over the Councils of Constance and Basil, certainly none of the anti-popes of the day could be deposed. But when the popes became wiser by such examples, they were resolved never to have another general council; which accordingly they accomplished, for all subsequent councils were the minions of the popes, and completely controlled by them. Hence, for nearly three hundred years, no general council has been called, and it is likely another never will sit.

(2.) The *place* where the Council of Trent was held was inconvenient of itself, and under the influence of the pope. This was a principal consideration, for by this means the council was more immediately under the pope's direction.

(3.) We may well object to the members who composed this council, that they were few in number, were principally Italians, some had no dioceses, were under the control of the pope, were enemies to the Protestants, many of them were of scandalous lives, and unskilled in divinity.

1st. The number of bishops at the Council of Trent was small compared to the number of bishops throughout the world. There were only a few Greek bishops, and these acted as private individuals, for they were not sent as representatives of the Greek Church. In some sessions there were scarcely ten archbishops, or forty or fifty bishops, present. In all the sessions under Paul III. there were but two Frenchmen present, and sometimes none, as in the sixth session, under Julius III., when Henry II., of France, protested against the council.

2nd. The acting bishops were principally Italians. Italy abounds with bishops, and these were the true subjects of the pope; and, consequently, what was done by the bishops present is to be ascribed to the Italian bishops. On any emergency their number was increased, by ordaining new ones by the popes; for, when there was any fear that business would not go right at the council, nothing more was necessary than for the legates to defer it by some artifice, and a new supply of Italian bishops would be sent from Rome to their relief. Thus forty bishops were made at once and sent to Trent, when the institution and residence of bishops came under examination.

3rd. Some bishops had no dioceses, and were, therefore, improper representatives.

4th. The bishops were the sworn vassals of the pope, and were on that account entirely under his control; and therefore unfit persons to decide in cases where the authority, privileges, or royalties of the pope are concerned. This will be manifest from the oath itself. Hear two extracts from it: "I will take care to preserve, defend, increase, and

promote the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Roman Church, and of our lord the pope, and his successors aforesaid." But lest this should not be full enough, there follows another clause: "I will not be in any council, action, or debate, in which they shall plot or contrive any thing to the prejudice of our lord the pope, or the Roman Church; or of any persons, right, honour, state, or power belonging to them." Was this a fit oath for members of a free council, where the chief thing to be debated was the usurped power of the pope and Church of Rome? He that can believe a council made up of such persons as take this oath and judge it lawful to be a free council, may think those men free to rebel against civil authorities who had just taken an oath of allegiance to them. The pope, therefore, knew what he did when he utterly refused to absolve the bishops from this oath, which the states of the empire pressed him to do, as necessary in order to the freedom of the council. "No," said the pope, "I do not mean to have my hands bound so." He well knew how much his interest lay at stake, if the bishops were released from this oath; he was, therefore, resolved to hold them fast to its obligation. What restrictions and limitations are in this oath, whereby persons taking it might freely debate the power and authority of the bishop of Rome? They that swear, *not to be in any council or debate against the pope*, are not proper members of a free council about the matters in dispute. Protestants had, therefore, just cause to except against this council, where all the bishops were sworn beforehand to maintain and defend that which was the principal subject of complaint. Were there nothing else but this oath, which was unheard of in all ancient councils, and contrary to the ends of a free council, it were enough to prevent them from ever submitting to the judgment of such a council as that of Trent was.

In justification of this oath they say, "That it is no new thing for bishops to take an oath of canonical obedience to the pope; for St. Gregory mentions it as an ancient custom of his time; and, therefore, this objection would hold as much against ancient councils as against that of Trent." To this we answer, That there can be no instance produced of an oath taken to the pope by any of those who composed the first general councils. It was in later times that the oath of *canonical obedience* from bishops to their metropolitans came up; and when it did, none took such oath to the bishop of Rome but those who were under his metropolitical jurisdiction. The oath or promise mentioned by Gregory, in his epistle,* is not an oath of canonical obedience taken or made by every bishop at his consecration, but only a *form* of renouncing heresy by any bishop who abandoned his heresy and came over to the Catholic Church. Accordingly, the title of it is, *Promissio cujusdam episcopi hæresin suam anathematizantis*; *The promise of any bishop who renounces his heresy*. What is this to the oath taken by every Roman bishop at his consecration, wherein he swears *to defend and maintain the Roman papacy and royalties of St. Peter against all men*? So their new Pontifical hath it; whereas, in the old one, it was, *regulas sanctorum patrum*; *The rules of the holy fathers*. Surely their present oath is more than a bare oath of canonical obedience. The first mention we meet with of any oath of canonical obedience, taken by

* Greg. Epist., lib. x, c. 31.

men in orders, is in the eleventh Council of Tolodo, held in 675 ; and they call it a matter of *expedience*, "that those in orders should bind themselves by promise, to observe the Catholic faith and obey their superiors." But here is nothing concerning any oath to be taken by all bishops to the pope ; for this was much later than the time of this council, as it dates its origin from the contests between the popes and princes about *investitures*. For at that time the pope, to secure as many as he could in his own interest, bound them, not by an oath of canonical obedience, but by an oath of *fealty* and *allegiance*, by which he made the bishops his slaves and vassals. Thus the oath or promise, which was at first only a promise of renouncing heresy and receiving the true faith, and next a promise of canonical obedience when metropolitans or patriarchs came into being, is converted by the popes into an oath of absolute and servile obedience to the pope, so that no bishop can be ordained without coming under its obligations.

They also apologize for this oath by telling us "that notwithstanding this oath, they may proceed and vote against the pope himself." Certainly Pope Pius II. was of another mind, who, in an epistle to the chapter of Mentz, saith, "That to speak truth against the pope is to break the oath." But the reader need only consult the oath itself, given in another part of this work, and he will perceive at once the inconsistency of their plea. We mean, however, the oath not as in the old Roman Pontifical, but as taken in the time of Julius III., which was in use at the time when the Council of Trent sat ; in which there is contained a promise of obedience to the pope and his successors, and a promise of concealment of all his instructions.

5th. The greater number of the bishops composing the Council of Trent were unskilled in divinity. Hence, as Stella says, they brought learned divines with them to illuminate them. He also adds, that it would have done better for the bishops to have given their bishopricks to the divines. What sober or Scriptural decisions could be expected from men who were unacquainted with the very points which they were called upon to discuss and decide on ?

(4.) The scandalous lives and unchristian conduct of many of the bishops of the council give no great assurance that the doings thereof were directed by the Spirit of truth.

(5.) The authority of the council is much lessened, because it maintained publicly, that it was lawful for them to decide controversies, and make articles of faith, without the authority of Scripture. They decided by the supposed authority of unwritten tradition, or by their own authority, because they claimed the direct influences of the Spirit of God for this purpose. But this was contrary to the course pursued by the first general councils, which decided all things by the written word of God.

(6.) The decisions of the Council of Trent themselves are liable to many objections, such as the following :

First. Many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely tolerated as subjects of free debate, were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, recommended as such, nay, imposed with violence upon the consciences of the people, under pain of excommunication.

Secondly. Ambiguity reigns in the decrees and decisions of this

council, by which the disputes and dissensions that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear and wise decisions, and charitable interpretations, were rendered more perplexed and intricate, and were, in reality, propagated and multiplied instead of being suppressed or diminished. Vague and ambiguous decisions were necessary to them on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that then reigned in the church. Both in the decisions of the council, and the Catechism drawn up by its authority, several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church and the public practice of its members. This is true in relation to the doctrine of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relics. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen, so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philosophical sense of that word; for in the Scripture sense they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings. Hence we may conclude that the justest notion of the doctrine of Rome is not to be derived so much from the *terms* made use of in the decrees of the Council of Trent, as from the real signification of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions, and observances which are generally in use in the Church of Rome. Add to all this another consideration, which is, that in the bulls issued from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines, which were obscurely proposed in the Council of Trent, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this Clement XI. gave a notable example by his famous bull called UNIGENITUS, which was an enterprise as audacious as it proved unsuccessful.

Thirdly. Some tenets are omitted in the Catechism and decisions of the Council of Trent, which no Roman Catholic is allowed to deny or call in question.

Fourthly. Other doctrines and usages are added to the faith of the gospel by this council. In what ancient council will they show us the twelve new articles of the creed of Pope Pius IV., the supremacy of the pope, the infallibility of the Church of Rome, the index of prohibited books? &c. Can they name to us the general councils in which these were decreed, or the divines who taught them, or the individuals or churches which held them?

Fifthly. After the Reformation, the popes, perceiving the remarkable detriment their authority had suffered from translations, accurate interpretation, and the promiscuous reading of Scripture, left no means unemployed that might counteract the general diffusion of Scripture knowledge. While the tide of resentment ran high, they forgot themselves in the most unaccountable manner. They permitted their champions to indulge themselves openly in reflections injurious to Scripture, and, by an excess of blasphemy almost incredible, to declare publicly that the edicts of pontiffs, and the records of oral tradition, were superior in point of authority to the express language of Scripture. But as it was impossible to bring the sacred writings entirely into disrepute, they took the most effectual methods in their power to render them obscure and useless. For this purpose the Latin Vulgate was pronounced to be the authentic standard, to the great disparagement or rejection of

the Greek and Hebrew originals. A severe and intolerable law was enacted with respect to all interpreters of Scripture, by which they were forbidden to explain the sense of Scripture, in matters relating to faith and practice, so as to make it speak a language different from that of the church and ancient doctors.* The same law farther declared, that the church alone, i. e., the pope, had the sole right of determining the true sense of Scripture. To complete the destruction of Scripture authority and influence, the word of God was forbidden to be read by the people, and the decree was executed in all places where the pope was allowed to execute his laws against reading the Bible.

Sixthly. The closing acts of the council present strong presumptions against the correctness of its decisions. It was decreed that all the decisions passed respecting the reformation of manners and ecclesiastical discipline were to be so understood and interpreted as to *preserve always and in all things the authority of the apostolic see.* The "acclamations of the fathers" in closing the council will enable the reader to see what sentiments were entertained by the fathers, and what spirit they were of. The cardinal of Lorraine, after having called on the assembly to declare their best wishes and prayers for the pope, the emperor, and other European monarchs, (including the souls of those who had died since the opening of the council,) the legates, the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the bishops, proceeded thus:—

"*Cardinal.* The most holy and œcumenical Council of Trent: may we ever confess its faith, ever observe its decrees.

"*Fathers.* Ever may we confess, ever observe them.

"*C.* Thus we all believe: we are all of the same mind: with hearty assent we all subscribe. This is the faith of blessed Peter and the apostles; this is the faith of the fathers; this is the faith of the orthodox.

"*F.* Thus we believe; thus we think; thus we subscribe.

"*C.* Abiding by these decrees, may we be found worthy of the mercy of the chief and great high priest, Jesus Christ our God, by the intercession of our holy lady, the mother of God, ever a virgin, and all the saints.

"*F.* Be it so, be it so: amen, amen.

"*C.* Accursed be all heretics!

"*F.* Accursed, accursed!"†

In the foregoing the intercession of the Virgin Mary is put in the place of that of Jesus Christ. And the council, in the place of con-

* Concil. Trid., sess. iv. Decretum de Canon. Scripturis. Ad decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum.

† "*Cardinalis.* Sacro-sancta œcumenica Tridentina Synodus: ejus fidem confiteamur, ejus decreta semper servemus.

"*Responsio patrum.* Semper confiteamur, semper servemus.

"*Card.* Omnes ita credimus; omnes id ipsum sentimus; omnes consentientes et amplectentes subscribimus. Hęc es fides beati Petri, et apostolorum: hęc est fides patrum: hęc est fides orthodoxorum.

"*Resp.* Ita credimus; ita sentimus; ita subscribimus.

"*Card.* His decretis inhærentes, digni reddamur misericordiis et gratiâ primi, et magni supremi sacerdotis Jesu Christi, Dei intercedene simul inviolatâ nostrâ sancta Deiparâ et omnibus sanctis.

"*Resp.* Fiat, fiat: amen, amen.

"*Card.* Anathema cunctis hæreticis.

"*Resp.* Anathema, anathema."—*Acclamations Patrum in fine Concilii.*

cluding their work by blessings and words of peace, utter the highest maledictions against all Protestants. Thus, in their last words, they contradict and reject the instructions of Jesus Christ himself, who has said, "Bless, and curse not."

(7.) The council was not free.

This is manifest from the manner in which it was called, the control exercised by the pope over its members, and the entire sworn submission of the members to the pope, &c. Hence the frequent protestations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, in which they often declared, that as things were managed the council was not free. The emperor Ferdinand, in his letters to the legates and pope, says, "that the liberty of the council was impeached chiefly by three causes; one, because every thing was first consulted of at Rome; another, because the legates had assumed to themselves only the liberty of proposing, which ought to be common to all; thirdly, because of the conduct of some prelates devoted to the interest of the Roman court." Such is the account which the most authentic Roman Catholic historians give of the Council of Trent.

(8.) *Several presumptions against the decision of the council will be found in the RECEPTION and EXECUTION of its decrees.*

As it regards the *reception* of its decisions, some doctors, instead of submitting to them as an ultimate rule of faith, maintain that these decisions are to be explained by Scripture and tradition. Some countries, such as Germany, Poland, and Italy, have adopted implicitly and absolutely the decrees of the council. But in other places it has been received with certain modifications which considerably affect its authority. The Spaniards for a long time disputed the authority of this council, and acknowledged it at length only so far as it could be adopted "without any prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain."* In France and Hungary it never has been solemnly received and publicly acknowledged. In the former, however, the decrees that relate to doctrines have been tacitly and silently received, and have, through custom, acquired the force and authority of a rule of faith. But those which regard external discipline and ecclesiastical government have been constantly rejected, both in a public and private manner, as inconsistent with the prerogatives of the throne, and prejudicial to the rights and prerogatives of the Gallican Church.†

The new articles of the Council of Trent were enforced with the utmost vigour, while the few pious and wise regulations were never inculcated to any effect. They were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to become a shadow of law, which was treated with indifference and transgressed with impunity. In brief, the council was more intent upon maintaining the despotic authority of the pope, purgatory, indulgences, &c., than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church.

The whole reformation, as it was called, decreed by the council, was so framed and constituted as to be altogether inoperative and useless. The greatest evils were left untouched. If some few abuses

* Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv, p. 235. See Mosheim, cent. 16, vol. iii, p. 156.

† Du Pin, *Eccl. Hist.*, cent. 16, b. iii, ch. 22, vol. iii, p. 647.

were corrected, others were introduced. The papal power, the great source of evil, was not meddled with; but, on the contrary, the pope assumed the sole right to expound, administer, or dispense with the decrees of the council, and obtained by its last decree an apparently legal sanction for his usurpations. Some of the fathers at Trent, when their endeavours to procure reform proved unavailing, expressed their discontent in satirical verses such as the following:—

“Concilii quæ prima fuit, si quæris, origo,
Quo medium dicam, quo quoque finis erat?
A nihilo incepit, medium finisque recedet
In nihil. Ex nihilo nascitur ecce nihil.”

“Do you ask me how the council was begun, conducted, and terminated? I will tell. It began in nothing, and was conducted and finished in the same manner. Thus nothing sprang from nothing.”* Such are the sentiments entertained respecting the usefulness of the doings of this council.

But though nothing was done efficiently to accomplish good or correct what was wrong, the doings of the council prepared the way for and gave rise to new enormities. They resulted in introducing a Jesuitism into the Church of Rome, from which it will never recover till blotted out of being.

(9.) Finally, the confirmation of the council by the pope, considering the way in which it was done, will give us no high idea of its infallibility.

Of the four legates who attended the council, none gave a personal account to the pope of what had passed during its sessions except Morane and Simoneta. The pope gave them several audiences, and caused it to be debated whether he should confirm the decisions of the council. The officers of the court of Rome opposed their confirmation, and some cardinals were of opinion that they should only confirm the decrees of faith, without mentioning those of reformation. The pope chose eight cardinals to advise him what to do in this conjuncture, to whom he afterward joined two others. One gave his opinion that the pope should confirm all the decrees of the council without restriction. One other was of the same mind, and was followed by several others. The pope next called together all the cardinals, and declared to them his approbation of the decrees on reformation, and finally he resolved to confirm the decrees without any reserve, which was accordingly done, not where the council was held, but at Rome, in the consistory, on the 26th of January, 1564.†

In the bull of confirmation the pope declares that the design for calling the council was, “to extinguish heresies, correct manners, restore ecclesiastical discipline, and to procure the peace and unity of Christian people; that he, on coming to the pontificate, had continued that holy work begun by his predecessors, and that by his constant care he had at last brought it to perfection; that his legates left the council so much at liberty, that by his leave they had treated of things reserved to the holy see, and had made several decrees concerning the sacraments and other matters, to extirpate heresies, remove abuses, and reform manners; that every thing passed so unanimously in the

* Le Plat, vii, part 2, p. 389. See Cramp, p. 369.

† Du Pin on sixteenth cent., b. iii, ch. 22, vol. iii, p. 647.

council, that it was plain this was the Lord's doings. He commanded all prelates to cause the decrees of the council to be observed inviolably; he conjured the emperor, kings, princes, and republics, to assist the prelates in the execution and observation of these decrees, and not to permit opinions contrary to the holy doctrine of the council to get admittance into their states. He also forbid the publication or interpretation of the decrees by any one but himself, and appointed a congregation of cardinals to examine points of small importance, but to bring all matters of moment to the decision of the pope himself." Who can wonder that the edict of Nantz was revoked, when Roman Catholic kings are instructed NOT TO PERMIT doctrines contrary to the decisions of the council to get admittance into their states? Surely this confirmation possesses characteristics not very favourable to an infallible decision.*

23. To conclude what we have to say on this point, we would remark that great diversity of opinion exists respecting the number of general councils. The Nestorians believe in the first two general councils, because the third condemned them. The Greeks allow of the first six or seven. The Church of England and many Protestants consent with the first four councils; the Church of Rome generally approve of the eighteen councils mentioned above, but they are divided respecting the œcumenical character of several others or parts of them. Our inference is, that amidst such diversity of sentiment, the character of general councils cannot stand high in its claims for the universal reception of mankind.

If the foregoing observations on councils are taken into consideration, and the rules of Roman Catholics concerning their œcumenical character are examined and applied, very few will be their number. Bailly† gives the following rules: "1. That all the bishops of the Christian world should be called to the council. 2. That so many should be present as would be necessary to represent the various churches of the Christian world. 3. That the council should act freely, without constraint." Some say that the confirmation of the pope is necessary, while others are of a different opinion. Amidst such variety of sentiments, what firm foundation is there for resting the truth of doctrines on the decisions of those councils called general?

VI. *Of the AUTHORITY and INFALLIBILITY of general councils.*

1. The authoritative decision of the creed of Pope Pius IV., received by all Romanists, is the following: "I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils: and particularly by the holy Council of Trent. And I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the church has condemned, rejected, and anathematized."

That general councils are infallible is maintained in the foregoing article of Pius's creed, and believed by Romanists generally.

Some maintain that the confirmation of the pope is necessary to constitute infallibility; while others maintain that the decisions of councils are infallible whether confirmed by the pope or not.

We quote the sentiments of some of those who insist that the decrees of a general council with the confirmation of the pope are infallible

* Du Pin on sixteenth cent., b. iii, ch. 22, vol. iii, p. 647.

† De Eccles., c. 8, vol. ii, p. 403.

Ferraris* says, "The definitions of a general council legitimately assembled, issued in the absence of the pope, are not infallible without his confirmation." Cardinal Cusanus declares that "the pope gives authority to the council."† Dens‡ teaches as follows: "That general councils without the approbation of the pope are fallible—that the confirmation of the pope to any particular decrees of a council, impart to these decrees plenary authority—that general councils approved by the pope cannot err in defining matters of faith and morals, is an article of faith, hence they are to be considered as manifest heretics who presume to call in question what is decreed by such councils."

Dens believes that the decisions of particular councils, confirmed by the pope, are also infallible, and that this is founded on the infallibility of the pope.§ But Benedict XIV. thinks that the decisions of such councils are binding only in their own provinces or dioceses.||

Many Romanists, however, maintain strongly that the decisions of general councils are infallible, without the pope's confirmation. It would be endless were we to quote the authorities on both sides. They are generally, however, agreed that what they call general councils are infallible; as some believe them infallible because they are general councils; while others believe the same thing, and add the confirmation of the pope as a necessary part of the authoritative character of the councils.

Against the infallibility of councils we produce the following arguments:

2. There are so many questions to be answered and so many difficulties to be obviated respecting general councils, that the utmost uncertainty is connected with their decisions, and therefore their infallibility is strikingly uncertain. There are so many points to be settled concerning the efficient, the form, the matter of general councils, their manner of proceeding, their final issue, that after a question is determined by a conciliary assembly, there are perhaps twenty more questions to be solved before we can receive the decisions of the council.

How easy is it to elude the pressure of an argument drawn from the question of the pope's or council's superiority. And although it be defined for the council against the pope by the five general councils, of Florence, Constance, Basil, Pisa, and one Lateran; yet the Jesuits to this day account this question as undecided, and furnish many pleas for their sentiment. As, when they acknowledge that a council is above a pope when there is no pope, or it is uncertain who he is; which is Bellarmine's answer, not considering that the Council of Basil deposed Eugenius, who was a true pope, and acknowledged as such.

They say that the popes did not always confirm the decrees of Basil. But this is an exception which the fathers never thought of, when they were pressed with the authority of the Council of Ariminum, or Sirmium, or any other Arian council. Yet the Council of Basil was convened by Pope Martin V.; next, in its sixteenth session, declared by

* *Definitiones universalis concilii etiam legitime congregati editæ absente Romano pontifice, non sunt infallibiles sine ipsius papæ confirmatione.*—*Ferraris, Biblioth. in Concilium*, art. i, No. 66.

† *Summus pontifex confirmat tamquam auctoritatem probens concilio.*—*Cusanus*, lib. iii, c. 15, *de Concord. Cathol.* See Ferraris as above, No. 65.

‡ *De Ecclesia*, No. 89.

§ Dens as above, No. 89.

|| *Bened. XIV. de Synodo*, tom. iii, p. 287–290, c. 3, *Mechl.*

Eugenius IV. to be lawfully continued, and confirmed expressly in some of its decrees by Pope Nicholas, and so stood, till it was at last rejected by Leo X., many years after. Now if one pope confirm it and another reject it, as it happened in this case and many more, does it not destroy the competency of the authority?

Another evasion is on the word *conciliariter*, in a council-like manner. The decrees of the Council of Constance were confirmed by Martin V. But Bellarmine tells us he only confirmed those things "which were done in a conciliar manner, the thing being diligently examined." *Quæ facta fuerant concialiter, re diligenter examinâtâ.* And as there was no certain rule to judge of this matter, what was done conciliariter, may have been done in almost any manner the performer thought fit. Some councils, as one of the Laterans, is made general or not, to suit their convenience. The Council of Pisa is neither approved nor disapproved.

Their doctrine of *intention* presents another source of uncertainty. For it is uncertain whether the bishops and pope were lawfully baptized and ordained, that is, whether the *intention* of the administrators was such as to confer the sacraments.

Unless the council *proceeded lawfully*, it may not be infallible. So Bellarmine says, "That a lawful council may err, in case it doth not proceed lawfully."* If one or a few sway the rest, can it be said that the Spirit of God governed the council? Especially if one preside and control the rest, and these are bound implicitly to obey him; who can then expect that freedom which is requisite to a general council? The Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia are condemned, because some controlled the others, and by their subtlety persuaded them to subscribe that confession of faith which Pope Liberius subscribed. And if so great a council as this must be reprobated on that account, why not all others where the same arts are used?

And should we have the assurance that the proceedings of the council were lawful, another difficulty arises from the *meaning of the decrees*. For they are as liable to as many interpretations as other writings are. If the Scriptures cannot put an end to controversies on that account, how can general councils do it, when their decrees are as liable to a private sense and wrong interpretation as the Scriptures are? Nay, the interpretation of the Scriptures has the advantage; for in them we have many other places to compare, the help of original tongues, the consent of the primitive church. But the decrees of councils are purposely framed in general terms, and with ambiguous expressions, to suit some party in the church and council. Disputes have been raised concerning the decrees of the Council of Trent, about which the several parties neither are, nor are like to be agreed. And though the pope appointed a committee or congregation to explain the decrees of this council, their vagueness remains nevertheless.

If we consider *the rules* by which the true and uncertain councils are distinguished, and what part of the decisions of one council is to be received and what rejected, additional uncertainty is presented. Denst† adopts the following from Estius: "All things which are expressed in any manner in the decrees of councils are not to be received as definitions, but those things only to which the intention of the

* Bel. de Concil, lib. ii, c. 7.

† De Eccles., No. 89.

ordainers or definers was properly directed. But this is known only from the circumstances of things, and the causes or occasions of making the decrees.”* Dens, also, adopts the following rules of Melchior Canus,† by which, he says, the definitions of a council pertaining to faith may easily be distinguished:

“1. If those who assert the contrary are judged as heretics.

“2. When the synod expresses its decisions according to this form, *‘If any one shall assert this or that, let him be accursed.’*

“3. If the sentence of excommunication is rightly pronounced against those who contradict the decree.”

The application of the foregoing regulations in judging of the true and false councils, and of the true and false decisions of the same councils, will present insuperable difficulties to the minds of sober persons. And yet these are the rules which their famous divines, Estius, Canus, Dens, and others, furnish, in order to ascertain the proper character of councils and their decisions.

It were endless to go through all the questions which the candid inquirer will make respecting councils. He must begin and examine what makes a general council; whether all the bishops must be present in person or proxy; what share the princes and laity are to have in councils. It is to be inquired whether a general citation is enough to make the council general, were the number of bishops ever so small at their first opening. It is next to be considered whether deputies may have seats there; or if the votes are to be reckoned according to the number of bishops, or those who send them. And whether nations should vote apart, or every bishop individually. Whether the decisions of councils must be unanimous, before they can be esteemed infallible. These are only a part of the questions which affect the infallibility of councils.

3. The discordant sentiments of Romanists respecting those characteristics of general councils necessary to constitute infallibility furnish a strong argument against the inerrancy of councils. The four following opinions were strongly held by those of the Church of Rome:

1. Some asserted that the diffusive, and not the representative body of the church possessed infallibility. So Occam, Petrus de Aliaco, Cusanus, Antoninus of Florence, Panormitan, Nicholas de Clemangis, Franciscus Mirandula, and others, were of this opinion.‡

2. Some say that councils are no farther infallible than as they adhere to Scripture and universal tradition.

3. Some say that councils are of themselves infallible, whether the pope confirm them or not. This was the *common opinion* before the Council of Lateran, under Leo X., as appears from the Councils of Basil and Constance.

4. Others make the pope’s confirmation necessary to the infallibility of a general council.

There is an irreconcilable difference between the last two opinions. For those who make councils infallible without the confirmation of the pope, believe councils to be above the pope, and that the pope is fallible; while those who are of the opinion that the confirmation of the

* Estius, lib. ii. Sent. dist. 17, sec. 6.

† Locis Theol., lib. v, c. 5, q. 4.

‡ See references to these in Stillingfleet’s Grounds, p. 509.

pope is necessary to the infallibility of the council, believe the pope to be infallible and superior to a council.

4. The violence and disorder entering into the management of some councils, and the craft and artifice into the doings of others, furnish slender grounds for infallibility.

Numbers of factious and furious monks came to some councils, and drove matters by their clamours. So it was at Ephesus. We see gross fraud at the second Council of Nice, both in the persons set up to represent the absent patriarchs, and in the books and authorities vouched for the worship of images. The intrigues of the Council of Trent, even as they are exhibited by Cardinal Pallavicini, were more subtle, but not less apparent, nor less scandalous. Nothing was trusted in a session till it was first canvassed in a congregation, or rather a caucus of the pope, so that every man's vote was known beforehand. This alone, if there had been nothing else, showed plainly that they themselves knew they were not guided by the Spirit of God, or by infallibility; since a session was not thought safe, without a long and previous preparation of decisions according to the pope's will.

5. No general council hath determined that a general council is infallible, no scripture hath recorded it, nor has history transmitted to us any certain account of it. That the decrees of councils should be esteemed infallible is strange, when it is not infallibly certain that the councils themselves are infallible, because the belief of the council's infallibility is not proved to us by any medium but such as may deceive us. If a general council had been the body to whom Christ had left this infallibility, it cannot be imagined but that some definition or description of the constitution of it would have been given to us in Scripture. And the profound silence that is about it gives just occasion to think, that however wise and good such a constitution may be if well pursued, yet it is not of divine institution; otherwise something concerning so important a matter must have been mentioned and defined in Scripture.

6. Another reason against the infallibility of councils is found in the discordant views of Romanists respecting the confirmation of the pope. Some consider this necessary to make the council infallible, while others maintain that a council is infallible without the pope's confirmation. Let us examine the true value of this act of the pope.

Is it after the decree, or before it? It cannot be supposed before; for there is nothing to be confirmed before the decree is made. But if it be after, the decree is true or false before the pope's confirmation, and is not at all altered by his confirmation, which is posterior thereto. The confirmation might be necessary to make the decree canonical or lawful, but it cannot make it true. That is, it may possibly, by such means, become a law, but not a truth. This is said on the supposition that the pope's confirmation were necessary to legalize the decrees of councils.

Suppose a heresy should invade and occupy the chair of Peter, what remedy can the church have in that case, if a general council be of no authority unless the pope confirm it? Will the pope confirm a council against himself? Will he condemn his own heresy? That the pope may be a heretic appears from the canon law,* which says he may be

* Dist. 40, Can. si Papa.

deposed, and therefore by a council, which in this case hath plenary authority without the pope. And therefore in the Synod of Rome, held under Pope Adrian II., the censure of the sixth general synod against Honorius, who was guilty of heresy, is approved, with this addition, that in the case of heresy, “*minores possint de majoribus judicare*,” “the less may judge the greater;” and therefore, if the pope were above a council, yet when the question is concerning heresy, the case is altered, the pope may be judged by his inferiors, who in this case become his superiors. In the sixth general council, where Honorius was condemned, did that council stay for the pope’s confirmation before they sent forth the decree? Certainly they did not think it so needful, as that they would have suspended the decree in case the pope had refused to confirm it. For, besides the condemnation of Honorius for heresy, the 13th and 55th canons of that council are expressly against the customs of the Church of Rome.

And it is little better than impudence to pretend, that all councils were confirmed by the pope, or that there is a necessity in respect of divine obligation that any should be confirmed by him, more than by another member of the council. For the Council of Chalcedon, as Bellarmine* acknowledges, is rejected by Pope Leo, who, in his fifty-third epistle to Anatolius, and in his fifty-fourth to Martian, and in his fifty-fifth to Pulcherria, accuses it of ambition and inconsiderate temerity, and therefore no fit assembly for the habitation of the Spirit. The Council of Chalcedon is one of those four which Pope Gregory revered next to the four evangelists. And Gelasius in his work, *De Vinculo Anathematis*, affirms that the council is in part to be rejected, and compares it to heretical books of a mixed character, and proves his assertion by the place of St. Paul: “Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.” Of the same opinion was Bellarmine.† And though this council, by an *ex post facto* consent of after ages, obtained great reputation, yet they who lived immediately after it, that observed all the circumstances, the disabilities of the persons, the uncertainty of the truth of its decrees, were of another mind. An old author said, “The condition of the Council of Chalcedon, at the time of the emperor Anastasius, was, that it was not openly acknowledged in the holy churches, nor yet rejected by all; but each bishop received it according to his own judgment.”‡ And so did all unprejudiced men in the world; they judged upon those grounds which they had and saw, and suffered not themselves to be bound to the dictates of other men, who are as uncertain in their determinations on these questions as others are. There is great cause of suspicion when the decrees of a council shall have no authority in the estimation of those who composed it, nor from the reasonableness of the decision, but from the accidental approbation of posterity. If posterity had pleased, according to this position, Origen had believed well, and had been orthodox. And Papias was right for two centuries, and wrong ever since. Just so it was in general councils, particularly in this of Chalcedon, they changed according

* De Roman. Pontiff., lib. ii, c. 22. † De Laicis, l. iii, c. 20, sec. ad hoc ult.

‡ Quod autem ad concilium Chalcedonense attinet illud id temporis, (viz., Anastasii Imp.,) neque palam in ecclesiis sanctissimis prædicatum fuit, neque ab omnibus rejectum; nam singuli ecclesiarum præsides pro suo arbitratu in ea re egerunt.—*Evag.*, lib. iii, c. 30. See Taylor, *Liberty of Prophecy*, sec. vi, vol. ii, p. 344.

to the varying opinions of men; which proves incontestibly that the business of infallibility is a later device, and commenced to serve such ends as cannot be maintained by true and just reasons: and the necessity of the pope's confirmation is only carrying the error a little farther.

The confirmation of the council by the pope involves a new question, viz., *whether the pope be above a council*. This question involves Romanists in constant controversies. Since it was first contested, there never was any free or lawful council that determined for the pope; and it is very unlikely the pope will confirm a council that decrees for the superiority of a council above the pope: for the Council of Basil is condemned by the last Lateran, which was an assembly in the pope's own palace. The Council of Constance is variously estimated by those on each side of this question. Augustine decides this question against the pope, in his one hundred and sixty-second epistle to Glarius: "If we believe those bishops who have judged at Rome not to be good judges, a plenary council remains for the universal church, where the cause may be discussed with these judges; so that if they are convicted of having judged wrong, their decisions may be annulled."* For since popes may be parties, may be Simoniacs, schismatics, heretics, it is unreasonable that in their own causes they should be judges, or that in any cause they should be superior to their judges. And as it is against reason, it is also against experience; for divers councils were held at Rome, to give judgment in the causes of Damasus, Sixtus III., Symmachus, and Leo III. and IV., as is to be seen in Platina and the tomes of the councils. And it is no answer to this and the like allegations to say, that in matters of fact the pope may be judged by a council, but in matters of faith all the world must stand to the pope's decision. For if the pope can pretend to any thing, it is to a supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters and matters of fact; and if he fails in this, he fails in every thing else. For the ancient bishops derived their faith from Christ, their fountain and head. But because Rome was the imperial city it became the principal see, partly by the concession of others, and partly by the pope's own accidental advantages; and yet, even in these things, although he was *major singulis*, greater than other individuals, yet he was *minor universis*, less than the whole.

But not only have some councils made their decrees without the pope's confirmation, but they have had such confirmation, and yet have not been the more legitimate or obligatory, but are known to be heretical. For the canons of the sixth general council were confirmed by a pope, and yet the canons are impious and heretical in the estimation of the Church of Rome as well as of Protestants. I instance, in the second canon which approves of that Council of Carthage, under Cyprian, for rebaptization of heretics, and the seventy-second canon, that dissolves marriage between persons of different religious sentiments. And yet these canons were approved by Pope Adrian I., who, in his epistle to Therasius, which is in the second action of the seventh general council, calls them *canones divinè et legalitur prædicatos; canons divinely and lawfully enacted*. And these canons were used by Pope Nicholas I.

* Ecce puternus illos episcopos, qui Romæ judicaverunt, non bonos judices fuisse. Restabat adhuc plenarium ecclesiæ universæ concilium, ubi etiam cum ipsis iudiciis causa possit agitari, ut si malè iudicasse convicti sunt, eorum sententiæ salverentur.—August., *Epist.* 162, *ad Glorium*.

in his epistle to Michaelis, and by Innocent III.* So that now there are seven general councils, which by the Church of Rome are condemned for error. The Council of Antioch,† in 345, in which Athanasius was condemned; the Council of Milan, in 354, of about three hundred bishops; the second Council of Ephesus, in 449, in which the Eutychean heresy was condemned, and the patriarch Flavianus killed by the faction of Dioscorus; the Council of Constantinople, under Leo Isaurus, in 730; and another at Constantinople, in 765; and lastly, the Council of Pisa, held since that time. Now that these general councils were condemned is proof that councils may err. And it is no answer to say they were not confirmed by the pope, for the pope's confirmation was shown to be unnecessary; or if it were, even then general councils may become invalid, either by their own fault or something extrinsic. And whether all that is necessary toward the legitimacy of a council was actually observed in any council is so hard to determine, that no man can be certain whether any council is authentic.

7. Because some councils have been corrupted, and others pretended, considerable doubt arises respecting the genuineness of the decisions of several councils.‡

8. If we consider the *consent* of bishops in deciding in councils, and the manner in which this is held by the Romish divines, we shall have no very high opinion of their infallibility.

Bailly§ delivers the following doctrines on "the requisite unanimity of bishops, that the decision concerning faith should be full and decretory; or whether the majority of the bishops can err in matters of faith." After defining *physical* unanimity to mean a universal consent, without exception, and a *moral* one to consist of the consent of nearly all the bishops, he lays down the following two propositions: "1. The majority of bishops joined with the pope, though a few object, cannot err: or this is the rule of truth, even in time of persecution. 2. A moral unanimity, and not a physical one, is absolutely necessary to a full and decretory decision of the church." Respecting the *tacit consent* of bishops he lays down the following proposition: "A dogmatic constitution of the pope, sent to all the churches of Catholic name expressly, or by pastoral mandates or other writings received by the bishops where the controversy arose, though other bishops of the world are silent, is the irrevocable judgment of the church: the silence of bishops, in this case, is a proof of tacit consent and a true approbation." While this system would associate infallibility with the majority, yet it is not properly the majority that the infallibility is associated with, but the pope, who carries it with him; so that without him there is no infallibility. Hence the pope alone, according to Bailly's system, which is adopted by almost all modern Romanists, possesses the gift of infallibility.

Accordingly, the latest oracle of the Church of Rome places it in the pope; so that whether the majority be with him or not, the prerogative of infallibility belongs to him and those with whom he agrees, although

* C. a multis: extra de ætat. ordinandorum.

† Vid. Socr., lib. ii, c. 5. Sozom., lib. iii, c. 5. See Bishop Taylor's Works, vol. ii, p. 346, note h.

‡ Bishop Jer. Taylor's Works, vol. ii, p. 347.

§ De Eccles., c. 10, 11.

these may be the minority. Such is the doctrine of Dens, who says, "That the pope is not bound to follow the majority of bishops in making a decree; for though the bishops are true judges, yet the supreme authority is bestowed by Christ to his vicar on earth, and intrusted to him, so that he may confirm and direct his brethren. So a king is not bound to follow the greater part of his judges."*

This is properly resolving the power of councils into that of the pope, and vesting him with infallibility, and therefore denying it to bishops and councils; consequently this destroys the infallibility of councils. For when they make decrees, are they authoritative immediately on their being made, or must they stay for the confirmatory bulls? If they must stay for the bulls, then the infallibility is not in the council, but in the pope. If they are infallible before the confirmation, then the infallibility is wholly in the council; and the subsequent decree, in the place of confirming the decrees, derogates much from them. For to pretend to confirm them, imports that they wanted that addition of authority which destroys the supposition of their infallibility, since what is infallible cannot be stronger or confirmed. And the pretending to add strength to it implies that it is not infallible. Human institutions may indeed be so modelled that there must be a joint concurrence before a law can be made. And though it is the last consent that settles the law, yet the previous consents were necessary steps toward giving it the authority of law. So it may be in the church. But in her this must take place only in matters of order and government, which are left to be modified by the church, but not in decisions about matters of faith. For if there is an infallibility in the church, it must be by a special grant made by Christ to the church. And it must go according to the import of this grant, unless it can be proved that there is a clause in that grant, empowering the church to dispose of it and model it at pleasure. For if there be no such power, as it is plain there is not, then Christ's grant is either to a single person or to the whole community. If to a single person, then the infallibility is wholly in him, and he may manage it as he thinks best. If he call a council, it is only an act of humility, prudence, or courtesy; the infallibility must be only in him, if Christ placed it with him. Whereas, on the other hand, if the infallibility is granted to the whole community, or to their representatives, it rests wholly in their decision, and belongs wholly to that; and any other confirmation that they desire, unless restrained singly to the execution of their decrees, is a wound given to their own infallibility, if not a direct disclaiming of it.

Thus infallibility must be transferred to the pope from the council, when his confirmation is made an indispensable part of the decisions of a council, whether he decides with the minority or majority. And in this light the Jesuits, and with them the greater part of modern Romanists, view this matter. So Bellarmine saith, "It cannot be answered that these councils erred because they were not lawful; for to most of them there was nothing wanting but the pope's assent. The second at Ephesus was altogether like that of Basil: for both were called by the pope; in both of them the pope's legate shortly after went away; in both of them the pope was excommunicated; and yet, that the Council of Ephesus erred, the adversaries will not deny."

* Dens, de Eccles., No. 86.

Hence he concludes, that "the chief power ecclesiastical is not in the church, nor in the council, the pope being removed."* The same Bellarmine in the same chapter declares: "We must know that the pope is accustomed to send legates, instructed concerning the judgment of the apostolical seat, with this condition, that if the council do consent to the judgment of the apostolic seat, it shall be formed into a decree; if not, the forming of the decree shall be deferred till the pope of Rome, being advised with, shall return his answer. In the Council of Basil, session 2, it was decreed by common consent, together with the pope's legate, that a council is above the pope; which certainly is now judged erroneous." Pighius, in his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, says, "The Councils of Constance and Basil went about, by a new trick and pernicious example, to destroy the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and instead of it to bring in the domination of a promiscuous, confused, popular multitude; that is, to raise again Babylon itself, subjecting to themselves or to the community of the church which they falsely pretend that they represent, the very prince and head of the whole church, and him that is the vicar of Christ himself in his kingdom; and this against order and nature, against the clearest light of the gospel verity, against the undoubted faith and judgment of the orthodox church itself."† Thus the creatures of modern popes refer all the infallibility of the Church of Rome to the person of the pope.

9. From the *representative* character of a council we argue against its infallibility.

Because all the power an œcumenical council hath, is from the universal body of the church, whose representative it is. This principle is inviolable, because the government of the church is not monarchical, but as Christ is its head. Every collective representative body receives its power from the body which is represented. So there is no power in the council, but what it receives from the church. And the representative body cannot be so free from error as the whole church, because in all such assemblies many able men are left out. Hence the representative body is more liable to err than the represented; because those left out of the representation possess a portion of the wisdom and piety of the church which are preservatives against error. In a general council, as the representative body of the whole church, we must have the divine institution of it as a representative body, and the promises made to it under that notion; or else we may still say that all the power it hath is by virtue of that body which it represents.

But though the decree which is decided by the many, other things being equal, may be more perfect than that which is decided by one or few; yet it cannot be infallible except by some special and promised assistance of the Holy Ghost. This consideration conducts us to those texts of Scripture which are adduced to prove the infallibility of general councils, viz.: "I will send you the Spirit of truth, and he will lead you into all truth," John xvi, 13. "This Spirit shall abide with you for ever," John xiv, 16. "Behold, I am with you to the end of the world," Matt. xxviii, 20. "The founding of the church upon the rock against which the gates of hell shall not prevail," Matt. xvi, 18. "Christ's prayer for Peter that his faith should not fail," Luke xxii, 32. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in

* Bellarm. de Conc., l. ii, c. 11.

† Pighius, Eccles. Hierarch., l. vi.

the midst of them," Matt. xviii, 20. "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," Acts xv, 28.

They attempt, from these texts, to prove that the church is infallible, and councils by virtue of that. But suppose we grant that infallibility was promised to the church, it does not follow that general councils are infallible; unless it can be proved that by the infallibility of the church is meant the church representative, and not the church diffusive, which cannot be done. For it is not enough to say, that the body of the church is bound to believe the doctrine taught by the representatives, and therefore, the representative body must be infallible; it must be first proved that there is a necessity for such an infallible representative body. That none of these texts doth infer, much less prove the infallibility of general councils, we are certain. For all these places taken together speak of the church including the apostles; and then all grant that the voice of the church is infallible. Or else they are applicable to private assemblies as well as to general councils, which none allows to be infallible. Or if they granted infallibility, yet they granted it not to every general council, but to the body of the church of Christ. And if a general council will depart from the institutions and standards of the church, it will be destitute of the church's truth. On the foregoing passages, we furnish the following remarks:

First. There can be nothing drawn from promises made to the diffusive body, for the benefit of the representative, unless the maker of these promises did institute that representation. Supposing, therefore, that infallibility was by these promises bestowed on the universal church, yet it cannot be inferred that it belonged to a general council, unless it is proved that a general council represents the church, and in that representation is infallible. For this infallibility coming merely by promise, belongs only to those to whom the promise is made, and in that capacity in which it is made. For spiritual gifts are not to be transmitted to heirs, or made over to assignees; and if the church be possessed of infallibility, she cannot pass it over to a general council, unless that power of devolution be contained in the original grant. On this point the Roman Catholic Pighius argues conclusively as follows: "It cannot be demonstrated on theological grounds, that a general council, which is so far from being the whole church, that it is not the thousandth part of it, should represent the whole church. For either it hath this from Christ or from the church: but they cannot produce one tittle from Scripture, where Christ hath conveyed over the power and authority of the whole church to a hundred or two hundred bishops. If they say it is from the church, there are two things to be shown; first, that it is done; and secondly, that it is *de jure*, or ought to be done."* It can never be shown that such a thing was ever done by the universal church; for if it were, it must have been by some formal act of the church, or by tacit consent.

It could not be by any formal act of the church; for then there must have been some formal act of the church preceding the being of any general council; for by that act they receive their commission to appear in behalf of the universal church. And this could not be done in a general council, because that is not pretended to be the whole church, but only to represent it. Now that the universal church did ever agree in

* Hierarch. Eccles., lib. vi, c. 4.

any such act, is utterly impossible to be demonstrated. Yet such a delegation of a general council must have been supposed in order to its representation of the whole church; and this delegation must have been before the first general council, and, for aught that I know, before every general council. For how can the church, by its act in one age, bind the church in all ages succeeding to the acts of those several councils which shall be chosen afterward?

If it be said, that such a formal act is not necessary, but the tacit consent of the whole church is sufficient for it, then such a consent of the church must be made evident, by which they transferred the power of the whole church to such a representative body. It cannot be sufficient to say, that those who choose bishops for the council do this; as their number falls far short of the whole church. But suppose such a thing were done by the whole church, we must farther inquire by what *right* this is done, for the authority of the church, being given it by Christ, it cannot be disposed of without his commission. The utmost, then, that can be supposed in this case is, that the parts of the church may voluntarily consent to accept the decrees of such a council; and by such act, these decrees may bind them. But what is this to an infallibility in the council because it represents the whole church?

Secondly. What belongs to the representative body of the church by virtue of a promise made to the diffusive, can in no other sense be understood of the representative than as it belongs to the diffusive. Therefore, supposing a promise of infallibility made to the church, it is necessary to know in what way and manner that promise is made to it; for in no other way and manner can it belong to the council which represents it. If the church's infallibility doth not imply, that all the church, or a majority of it should be infallible, but though the greater part err, yet all the church shall not err; then neither can it be true of a general council, that all, or the greater part should be infallible, but that there should be no such general council, wherein all the bishops should err. But this is destructive to the infallibility of the decrees of general councils; for these must pass the majority.

Canus, one of the acutest of our opponents, was sensible of this, and grants, that the majority in a general council may err, and the minority may hold the truth; but then the pope is not bound to follow the majority.* Denst† maintains the same. This takes away all infallibility from the decrees of a council, and places it wholly in the pope. And hence, as many or most of them now teach, the pope and a provincial council, or a congregation of cardinals, may be as infallible as the pope and a minority of a general council.

Bellarmino dislikes this answer, and gives therefore another; but then it is as destructive to the council's infallibility as this is. He says, "In case the majority resist the better part in a general council, as in that of Ariminum, and the second at Ephesus, yet it cannot conquer it; for these decrees are afterward made void by him to whom it belongs to confirm his brethren.‡ Here it might be asked, Who reversed the decrees of the council of Sirmium, to which the pope subscribed? And as it respects the decrees of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, Hilary did more to reverse them than ever the pope did.

Others say it is in the power of the church to make void the decrees

* Canus, *Loc. Theol*, lib. v, c. 5. † De Eccles. ‡ Bellar. de Concil., lib. ii, c. 9.

of general councils, as she did in the decrees of the Arian councils. If so, the infallibility does not lie in the representative, but in the diffusive body of the church; if that have the power to repeal the decrees of general councils. So that all the decrees of councils are merely *probationary*, and depend for confirmation on the diffusive body. Hence the decrees of a provincial council, being accepted by the church, are as infallible as those of a general council.

In all these ways there is no proper infallibility in the majority of a general council, but it lies wholly in the pope or in the diffusive body of the church.

Thirdly. If these places which mention a promise of infallibility to the church, must imply the infallibility of general councils, as the church's representative, it will follow that the decrees of a council are infallible whether the pope confirm them or not. For if they be infallible in representing the church, they are infallible whether there be any pope or not; for the act of the pope doth not make them any more represent the church than they did before.

10. The infallibility which Romanists challenge for general councils implies as immediate an inspiration and revelation as the apostles had.

If a general council is infallible, then its infallibility is either in the conclusion or the means that prove it; or in the conclusion, not the means; or in the means, not the conclusion. But it is infallible in none of these. Not in the first, for there are divers deliberations and proceedings in general councils where the conclusion or the decree is good, but the means by which they prove it fallible. Not in the second, for the conclusion must always follow the nature of the premises or principles out of which it is deduced; therefore, if those which the council uses be sometimes uncertain, the conclusion cannot be infallible. Not in the third, for the conclusion cannot but be true and necessary, if the means be so.

Though the Church of Rome does not formally lay claim to immediate revelations, nevertheless the manner in which she professes infallibility devolves upon her the guilt of this claim. Indeed, her infallibility, which she professes by virtue of a divine assistance and direction, cannot exist without an immediate revelation. For it requires a higher discovery of truth than nature or ordinary grace can ever attain; and it is such as demands the assent of all men when it is declared. Now what difference is there between this and the inspiration which the apostles had in writing the books of the Scripture? If they say the one was immediate and the other not, they only beg the question, for what they profess implies that it is as immediate as that which the apostles had. Nay, it is as immediate as that which the apostles had in council. For when they said, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," can any thing more be understood, than that the Spirit of God did so far assist them that they should not err in their definitions? It is true, they say that their infallibility was bestowed by virtue of Christ's *promise*, which does not suppose an immediate revelation. But what the apostles possessed came also by *promise*, and therefore its being promised does not prevent it from coming by revelation. They tell us indeed that "neither church nor council publish immediate revelations, nor create any new articles of faith, but only

declare, by their definitions, that doctrine which Christ and his apostles in some manner first revealed." But all this does not prevent, but the council's infallibility must imply an immediate revelation. For hath the council greater certainty and higher assistance than an ordinary believer? If not, it can be no more infallible. If it hath, it must be immediate, for it hath a higher degree of certainty than can be attained by the use of the ordinary means. For to say, as they do, that the council is fallible in the use of means, but infallible in the conclusion or in their definitions, is a contradiction. For it is to assert a certainty beyond and above the use of means, and yet not immediate. The principal mistake consists in this, that nothing can be an immediate revelation, but what is a revelation of some doctrine never revealed before; whereas, if there be a farther explanation of that doctrine in as infallible a manner as the apostles at first revealed it, that explanation is by as immediate a revelation as the first discovery of it. The non-obligation of the ceremonial law was in some manner revealed to the apostles before the council or meeting of Jerusalem; yet they had an immediate revelation as to what they decreed in that council. When, therefore, Romanists say, "General councils neither have erred nor can err in their definitions," they assume as great a privilege as the apostles had, and, in order thereto, must have as immediate a revelation. Inspiration was no permanent gift with prophets or apostles, but a temporary one; and when removed, or before it was bestowed, they were liable to error as well as others in similar circumstances, and of the same acquirements. Hence it follows, that where revelations were most immediate, they did no more than what Roman Catholics ascribe to their church, viz., *to preserve them from actual error in declaring God's will*. So that nothing can be more evident than that they challenge to themselves as great an infallibility and as immediate assistance of God's Spirit in councils as ever the prophets and apostles had.

Therefore that divine was in the right, of whom Canus* speaks who asserted, "that since general councils were infallible, their definitions ought to be equalled to the Scriptures themselves." And though Canus and others dislike this, it is rather because of the odium which would follow it, than for any just reason they give against it. For they not only suppose an equal certainty in the decrees of both, but an equal obligation to internal assent in those to whom they are declared.

Now as Romanists disclaim generally this immediate inspiration in as plenary manner as prophets and apostles possessed it; and as the decisions of general councils to be infallible must be under the influence of such immediate inspiration; the consequence is, that as the inspiration is disavowed, the infallibility of general councils must be rejected as a consequence of such disavowal.

If it be said, as some pretend, that the infallibility depends on a full discussion, then we must examine what makes a full discussion, and whether they have made it. If we find opinions falsely represented; if spurious books have been relied on; if passages of the Scriptures, or of the fathers, on which the decision has turned, have been manifestly misunderstood and wrested, so that in a more enlightened age no person pretends to justify the authorities that determined them; can we imagine there should be more truth in the conclusions than is in the

* Canus, lib. v, c. 5.

premises from which they have been drawn? So it must either be said that they vote by an immediate inspiration, or all persons cannot be bound to submit to their judgments, till they have examined their methods of proceeding, and the grounds on which they built their conclusions.

11. As an indubitable proof that councils may err, we adduce the *contradictions of one council to another*. For in this case both cannot be true; and which of them is true is difficult to decide, as far as they have decided. Of such contradictions we have many instances.

We all know how differently councils decreed in the Arian controversies; and what a variety of them Constantius set up against that of Nice.

So it was in the Eutychian heresy, which was approved in the second council at Ephesus; but soon after condemned at Chalcedon.

And in the point in hand, the *authority of general councils*, it was asserted at Constance and Basil; but condemned in the Lateran, and laid aside as undecided at Trent.

The Council of Trent* allows picturing of God the Father; the second Council of Nice, or seventh general, altogether disallows it. The same Nicene Council allows of picturing Christ in the form of a lamb; but the sixth council by no means will endure it. The doctrine of the second Council of Nice was condemned by a numerous council at Frankfort, held not long after.

The Council of Neocæsarea, confirmed by Leo IV.,† and approved by the first Nicene Council, as it is said in the seventh session of the Council of Florence, (can. 82,) forbids second marriages, and imposes penances on them that are married, forbidding priests to be present at such marriages. Besides that this is expressly against the doctrine of St. Paul, it is also against the doctrine of the Council of Laodicea, which took off such penances, and pronounced second marriages to be free and lawful.

Nothing can be more discordant than the third Council of Carthage and the Council of Laodicea about assigning the canon of Scripture, and yet the sixth general council approves both.

If we look into the law *de consiliis*, called *concordantia discordantium*, we shall find instances enough to convince us that the decrees of some councils are contradictory to others, and that no human skill can reconcile them.

And that councils might disagree, and former councils be corrected by later, was the belief of the doctors of those ages in which the best and most famous councils were convened, as appears from the following notable passage from St. Augustine: "For who is ignorant that holy canonical Scripture is contained in the defined limits of the Old and New Testaments, and is so to be preferred to the later letters of bishops, that concerning any thing which stands written in it there can be no doubt or controversy, whether it is true or right? But the letters of bishops, which have been written, or are written, since the confirmation of the canon, may be corrected by the wiser decision of any one more skilled in this particular point, by the more weighty authority of other bishops, the wisdom of more learned persons, and by general councils; if these latter deviate from truth. And, without

* Sess. 25.

† Dist. 20, delibellis.

- doubt, councils themselves, which are held in single regions or provinces, must yield to the authority of plenary councils, which are held by the whole Christian world. And these former plenary councils themselves are to be amended by later councils ; when, by some experiment of events, that which was shut is opened, and that which was hid is made known. And all this can be done without any tinge of pride, without arrogance, contention, or envy. But, on the other hand, it can be done with holy humility, with catholic peace, with Christian charity.”*

From this notable quotation from Augustine we learn that he taught, “that whatever was found written in Scripture may neither be doubted nor disputed. But the letters of bishops may not only be disputed, but corrected by bishops and others who are more learned than they, or by national or provincial councils, and national councils by plenary or general. And even the former plenary councils may be amended by the later.” Hence has arisen a question, “Whether the former or latter councils are to be received, in case they contradict each other?” The uncertainty here is such as to leave every person in doubt ; yet it serves an adroit purpose for Rome, as it gives them an opportunity to shift their ground when necessary. Hence Bellarmine† prefers the Council of Carthage to the Council of Laodicea, because it is later ; and yet he prefers the second Nicene Council before the Council of Frankfort, because it is elder.‡ Augustine would have the former general councils to be mended by the latter ; but Isodore (in Gratian) says the older are to be preferred. Thus the uncertainty respecting the decisions of general councils is made use of to answer the purpose of those who hold opposite sentiments.

We have a remarkable specimen of Jesuitical evasion in the answer which Dens‡ gives to the foregoing quotation from Augustine, and which is in substance the following : “Many answers can be given to this place of Augustine. 1. He speaks of plenary councils generally, as well those not approved as those approved. 2. He does not seem to speak of general councils properly, but improperly, as national councils are sometimes called general. 3. If he is to be understood of true general councils, it may be said that he only wished that the former might be amended by the latter in pure matters of fact, and in those things which pertain to discipline, ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical usages. 4. Some latter councils may more clearly define some things

* Quis autem nesciat sanctam Scripturam canonicam, tam veteris quam Novi Testamenti certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita præponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum, vel utrum rectum sit, quicquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit ? Episcoporum autem literas quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiorum, cujuslibet in ea re peritioris et per aliorum episcoporum graviolem auctoritatem, doctorumque prudentiam et per concilia licere reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est. Et ipsa concilia quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt, plenariorum conciliorum auctoritati, quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere, ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat, sine ullo typho sapilegæ superbix sine ullâ inflata cervice arrogantix, sine ulla contentione lividæ invidiæ, cum sancta humilitate, cum pace catholicâ, cum charitate Christianâ.—*Aug. de Baptism., Contra Donat.*, lib. ii, c. 3, tom. vii, p. 260. Basil, 1528.

† De Con., lib. ii, c. 8, sec. respondeo imprimis. ‡ Ibid. Taylor, ii, 346, note q.

§ De Eccles., No. 89, vol. ii, p. 428.

not yet sufficiently defined in former councils, and thus the former may be elucidated by the latter." The reader who examines the passage of Augustine, quoted above, will at once perceive that the explanation of this master in the Church of Rome is a mere evasion or sophistical explanation.

12. It is notorious that some general and national councils, that is, such as were either general originally, or by the adoption of the universal church, did err and were actually deceived.

The first Council of Toledo admits to the communion him that hath a concubine, provided he hath no wife besides; and this council is approved by St. Leo, in his ninety-second epistle to Rusticus, bishop of Narbona. For though the Jews distinguish wives from concubines by dowry and legal solemnities, yet Christianity rejects such distinctions. But adultery was so common in the time of the council, that it chose rather to endure simple fornication, than by permitting a less they might check a greater sin; just as, at Rome, they permit stews to prevent unnatural sins. But that, by public sanction, habitual and notorious fornicators should be admitted to the holy communion was an act that admits of no excuse.

The sixth general council* separates persons lawfully married, upon an accusation and crime of heresy.

The Roman council, under Pope† Nicholas II., defined, that not only the sacrament of Christ's body, but the very body itself of our blessed Saviour is handled and broke by the hands of the priest, and chewed by the teeth of the communicants; which is a manifest error, opposed to the resurrection of Christ and his glorification in heaven, and disavowed by the Church of Rome herself. But Bellarmine,‡ who answers all arguments in the world, whether possible, probable, or impossible, says the decree means that the body is broken, not in itself, but in the sign; and yet the decree says that not only the sacrament, but the very body of Christ itself, is broken and masticated with hands and teeth respectively.

13. Some councils have decided contrary to Scripture, and therefore have actually erred.

The thirteenth session of the Council of Constance decreed in favour of communion in one kind, in defiance of Christ's institution and of various passages of Scripture. For in the preface of the decree Christ's institution, and the practice of the primitive church, are expressed and acknowledged; and then, *notwithstanding these*, communion in one kind is established.

Is it possible for any man to reconcile the decree of the Council of Trent, commanding the public offices of the church to be in Latin, with the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians?

The pope hath erred by teaching in and by the Council of Lateran, confirmed by Innocent III., that Christ is present in the sacrament by way of transubstantiation; which was never heard of in the primitive church, nor till the Council of Lateran; nor can it be proved out of Scripture. This is confessed by many Roman Catholics, several of whom Stillingfleet§ quotes. They acknowledge that transubstantiation

* Can. 72.

† Can. Ego Berengar. de consecr., dist. 2.

‡ De Concil., lib. ii, c. 8.

§ Grounds, p. 526.

cannot be sufficiently proved, either from Scripture or fathers, till the church had defined it in the Council of Lateran.

The wisest of them have failed to reconcile the foregoing and many others with Holy Scripture. And all the arguments in the world that can be brought to prove the infallibility of councils, cannot make it so certain that they are infallible, as the above and such instances prove infallibly that they were deceived. Experience proves that councils have erred, and all the arguments against experience are nothing else than sophistry.

14. Finally, to conclude this series of arguments, if infallibility is supposed to be in councils, the Church of Rome may safely conclude that she has lost it. For as there has been no general council since that of Trent adjourned on the 4th of December, 1563, to the present, embracing a period of two hundred and seventy-five years, so there is no great probability of our ever seeing another. The disorders and chicanery of Trent have taught the world to expect nothing from another council. They plainly see that the management of the pope and the Roman court must carry every thing in a council. Neither princes, nor people, nor bishops desire or expect to see one.

The claim set up and exercised at Rome for infallibility not only makes a council useless, but it would imply that the pope is not infallible, which will always be unacceptable to those who assume infallibility and act as if they possessed it. Nor can it be supposed that the popes and their dependants will desire a council to reform those abuses in discipline which are all occasioned by that absolute and universal authority of which the popes are possessed.

So that from all that can be concluded from the state of things, the interests of men and the management at Trent, we may, without the spirit of prophecy, conclude, that unless Christendom puts on a new face, there will be no more general councils. So infallibility is here at an end, and has left the church at least for a long time.

VII. *The origin and use of general councils.*

1. The origin and use of general councils will now claim our attention. That they are of *divine origin* we cannot admit, as the Scriptures do not clearly teach us that they are. We will consider, however, those passages of Scripture on which their divine institution is said to be founded. We have already given some general reasons against their divine authority, in our remarks on the texts of Scripture quoted for this purpose. In our article on infallibility several of the passages have been particularly considered. Two passages, Matt. xviii, 17-20, and Acts xv, 28, not as yet having been noticed, will now be considered.

To prove that all are bound to hear general councils, they adduce, "Tell the church, and if he neglect to hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and publican," Matt. xviii, 17. When the occasion upon which these words were spoken, and the subject of which they treat, are considered, nothing can be plainer than that our Saviour is speaking of such private difficulties as may arise among men, and of the practice of forgiving injuries, and composing such differences. *If thy brother sin against thee*; first private endeavours were to be used, then the interposition of friends was to be tried; and finally, the matter was to be referred to the body or assembly to which they belonged: and those who would not be corrected by such methods, were no more to be

considered as brethren, and were to be looked on as bad men, like heathens.

Another portion of Scripture connected with the former is produced to prove the divine authority of councils: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," Matt. xviii, 20. On this they argue as follows: "If two or three gathered in the name of Christ obtain what they ask in the name of Christ; how much more shall all the bishops gathered together in council obtain what is necessary for the direction of the whole church?" To this we answer: 1. Infallibility does not belong to the less assembly; therefore it does not belong to the greater. 2. Because it depends upon conditions here expressed by being gathered in the name of Christ; and these conditions must exist before infallibility is to be looked for, even allowing it is promised. 3. But Christ's promise of God's presence in the midst of them, is to grant what is needful for them, and not what they may see fit to ask. 4. The phrase, *there am I in the midst of them*, and the like, such as, *being with them, walking with them, never leaving nor forsaking them*, are expressions often used in Scripture to signify, not infallibility, but the guidance, support, and protection from God which does not confer infallibility; otherwise all true Christians would be infallible.

The argument of the Romanists on this and kindred texts of Scripture depends on a false supposition, viz.: that there is a necessity of infallibility to continue in the church, and that all persons are bound to believe the decrees of councils to be the infallible oracles of truth: but we maintain neither of these is necessary in the church, and therefore there is no reason for extending this promise to the infallibility of councils. If we argue according to human prudence in favour of the infallibility of councils, the same prudence would lead us to extend it to every individual and every particular congregation of Christians. For it would seem to be far more for the peace and unity of the church, if every particular congregation had this infallibility, than if only general councils had it: because, by that means, many disputes about the calling, authority, proceedings, confirmation, reception, &c., of general councils would be prevented. Nay, from the argument from the goodness, wisdom, and power of Christ, it might be inferred that every true Christian should be infallible, and so councils would be altogether useless. For whatever arguments can be adduced for the inerrancy of councils will apply to individuals and all companies of Christians; for the peace and unity of the church would be far better secured this way.

If it be said, that experience shows, that Christ never intended the promise should extend to individuals or small companies of men, we answer, that experience also shows, that bishops met in council have been grossly deceived, as they themselves allow in all the Arian councils; and as Protestants have demonstrated in the popish councils, from the first Lateran down to the Council of Trent inclusive. Should it be said in addition, that "the Arian councils erred because they did not observe the conditions requisite in order to Christ's hearing them:" the same answer will apply to Trent and the Lateran councils. And until it can be proved that a general council has observed all these

conditions, nothing can be inferred from this place as to Christ's being in any sense *in the midst of them*.

From the following passage: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," (Acts xv, 28,) they infer that the Holy Ghost is present with councils, and that what seems good to them is also approved by the Holy Ghost. But it will not be easy to prove, that this was such a council as to be a pattern for succeeding ones. For here we find both laymen and presbyters associated with the apostles. Here was no formal citation, no time set for all churches to send their bishops or proxies. It was an occasional meeting of such of the apostles as then happened to be at Jerusalem, and of the presbyters and Christians of the city. Here is no precedent of a general council; but a decision is made which can have little relation to the judgment of other councils.

Therefore we must conclude that general councils are not constituted by divine authority; since we have no direction given us from God, by which we may know what they are, and what is necessary to their constitution. And we cannot suppose that God has granted any privilege, much less infallibility, which is the greatest of all, to a body of men, of whom, or of whose constitution he has said nothing to us. For suppose we should grant that God has lodged infallibility somewhere in the church diffusive, so that the church in some part or other shall be preserved from error; yet the restraining it to the greater number of such bishops as shall happen to come to a council, unless there is divine authority for doing it, is unauthorized, and therefore a presumption.

2. General councils are of human origin, and not by divine right.

During the first century of Christianity we find no trace of any assemblies corresponding to what were afterward called general councils. The meeting at Jerusalem was only of one church; but a council is an assembly of deputies sent from several churches, associated into a general body, and united by certain bonds.

During the first century, and a great part of the second, the Christian churches were independent of each other; nor were they joined together by association, confederacy, or any other bonds but those of charity. A bishop during the first and second centuries was one who had the care of a single Christian assembly. In it he acted, not with the authority of a master, but with the diligence of a servant. He instructed the people, performed the several parts of divine worship, attended the sick, and inspected the circumstances of each individual in his charge. But in process of time, all the Christian churches of a province were formed into one large ecclesiastical body, which, like confederate states, assembled at certain times, in order to deliberate upon the common interests of the whole. This institution had its origin among the Greeks, with whom nothing was more common than this confederacy of independent states. These associations became universal, and were called by the Greeks *synods*, and by the Latins *councils*, and the laws enacted were called *canons*, that is, *rules*.

These councils, of which we find no trace till the middle of the second century, changed the face of the whole church, and gave it a new form; for by them the privileges of the people and presbyters were considerably diminished, and the authority of the bishops greatly enlarged. They imperceptibly extended the limits of their authority,

turned their influence into dominion, and their rules into laws; and openly asserted, at length, that Christ had empowered them to prescribe to his people authoritative rules of faith and manners.

Another effect of these councils was, the gradual abolition of that perfect equality which reigned among all bishops, or rather, pastors of the primitive times. For the order and decency of these assemblies required that some one of the provincial bishops met in council should be invested with a superior degree of authority; and hence the right of metropolitans derives its origin.

To the lesser councils, which were composed of one or more provinces, were afterward added *œcumenical* or *universal* councils, consisting of commissioners from all the churches of the Christian world. These were established by the authority of the emperor, who assembled the first of them at Nice, in the year 325. There were never, indeed, any councils held which could properly be called *universal*; those, however, whose laws were generally received are commonly called *œcumenical* or *general councils*.*

General councils themselves are but novelties, though they are the foundation of the faith of the Roman Catholics. So Pighius affirms that they are not of divine origin: "General councils have not a divine, supernatural, but merely a human origin, and are the invention of Constantine; profitable, indeed, sometimes to find out in controversy which is the orthodox catholic truth; though to this they are not necessary, seeing it is a readier way to advise with the apostolical seat."† Indeed, many of those Romanists who go for the infallibility of the pope deem councils superfluous, for the same reason that Pighius gives, namely: "It is a readier way to advise with the apostolical seat."

3. General councils do not prevent *controversies*; for it cannot be expected that men will yield their judgments to the decrees of every such combination of men as shall call itself a general council, unless it be proved it is impossible they should err in their decisions. Nothing but truth can end controversies; and the more men pretend to unreasonable ways of deciding them, instead of ending one they beget many. Indeed, the history of councils and of the church proves that little has been done in these assemblies to promote the cause of truth.

4. General councils do not *restore peace* to the church.

The following extract from Du Pin will express this very clearly, as all history testifies: "It rarely happens that general councils held about matters of faith restore peace to the church by their decrees. Men have so great inclination to their own sentiments, and do so hardly endure the affront of a condemnation, that instead of yielding to the decision given against them, they become more obstinate. They begin to look upon their judges as parties, and, by all manner of ways, either to prove that they were not condemned, or that their opinion was not rightly understood, nor their reasons fairly heard; or, lastly, to weaken the authority of the decision given against them. The Council of Nice had condemned the Arians; yet how many disputes followed this decree! How was the church tossed with many commotions! The

* See Mosheim, cent. i, p. 2, ch. ii, sec. 11-13; cent. ii, p. 2, ch. ii, sec. 1-3; cent. iv, p. 2, ch. ii, sec. 1-3. Waddington, p. 43. Bingham's Christ. Antiq., b. iv, ch. ii, sec. 2, 3, 4, &c., and the authorities cited there.

† Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles., lib. vi, c. 1.

Council of Ephesus, by proscribing Nestorius and the Origenists, seems rather to have inflamed than appeased the difference. The seeming peace that followed was only feigned, for the fire of division still raged in men's minds, which broke forth in a little time after, and set the whole East in combustion. The Council of Chalcedon having treated of these things with moderation, and explained them in very intelligent terms, should have reconciled men's minds: Marcianus caused it to be received everywhere; yet this emperor was no sooner dead, but the troubles of the church revived again with greater violence than before."*

5. The following declaration of Gregory Nazianzen, though sufficiently severe, contains much truth: "I, if permitted to write the truth, am so affected in my mind, that I would fly from all councils of bishops, since I never saw a happy or prosperous end of one council; for each terminated not so much to the expulsion of evil as to its accession and increase."† The first four general councils have been acknowledged by Protestants in general, because they have taught doctrines contained in Scripture. We reverence these councils because of their doctrine; but do not believe the doctrine for the authority of the councils. There appeared too much frailty in some of their proceedings to give us such an implicit submission to them as to believe things only because they so decided them.

* Du Pin, *Ecc. Hist.*, tom. i, p. 699.

† "Ego, si vera scribere oportet, ita animo affectus sum, ut omnia episcoporum concilia fugiam, quoniam nullius concilii finem lætum faustumque vidi, nec quod depulsionem malorum potius quam accessionem et incrementum habuerit."—*Greg. Nazian.*, *Epist. ad Procopium*.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPREMACY OF THE POPE—STATEMENT OF THEIR DOCTRINE.

I. DIFFICULTY OF ASCERTAINING THEIR SENTIMENTS. Particularly so on supremacy. The subject not permitted to be agitated in the Council of Trent.—**II. SOME ROMAN CATHOLICS TEACH THAT THE POPE HATH ABSOLUTE POWER, BY DIVINE RIGHT, OVER ALL PERSONS, IN ALL MATTERS, SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.** 1. Explanation of this: 2. Bellarmine cited: 3. Aquinas cited: 4. And Ferraris: 5. Baronius quoted: 6. Antoninus: 7. Charles Butler on Transalpine opinions: 8. Benedict XIV.: 9. Dens quoted: 10. Bellarmine's *common opinion*, as he calls it, or the *indirect power* of the pope amounts to the same.—**III. THIS UNIVERSAL AND ABSOLUTE POWER HAS BEEN CLAIMED BY DIVERS POPES SUCCESSIVELY FOR MANY AGES.** 1. The first bishops of Rome did not hold this opinion or practise accordingly. P. Symmachus I. P. Gelasius I. Felix III. cited: 2. The deposition of kings and absolving of subjects from their oath of allegiance, taught and practised first by Gregory II., in 730: 3. By Gregory VII. in 1075: 4. Urban II. in 1088: 5. Paschal II. in 1099: 6. Innocent III. in 1212: 7. Gregory IX. in 1239: 8. Innocent IV. in the Council of Lyons: 9. Pope Boniface VIII. cited: 10. Paul III., in 1535 and 1538, deposed Henry VIII.: 11. Pius V., in 1570, deposed Elizabeth: 12. Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. renewed the deposition: 13. Sixtus V., in 1585, deposed Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.—**IV. SOME ROMAN CATHOLICS ASCRIBE TO THE POPE VERY LIMITED POWERS, ESPECIALLY IN TEMPORAL OR CIVIL AFFAIRS.** 1. Bishop Milner's opinion: 2. Bishop Hay's doctrine: 3. Declaration of the English Roman bishops: 4. Cisalpine sentiments: 5. Those of the universities of Sorbonne, Louvain, Douay, Alcalá, and Salamanca.—**V. THE ABSOLUTE POWER MAY BE CONSIDERED AS THE DOCTRINE OF ALL POPES FOR MORE THAN EIGHT HUNDRED YEARS.** 1. The popes have declared for it: 2. None have condemned it: 3. Their controversialists have maintained and defined it: 4. Their councils have taught it: 5. The popes insist on it: 6. And have practised on it: 7. Bishops swear to uphold it, and persecute and oppose the opposers of it: 8. It grows out of the doctrine of supremacy.—**VI. ALL ROMANISTS ARE, CONSISTENTLY WITH THEIR TRUE PRINCIPLES, BOUND TO HOLD TO THE ABSOLUTE POWER OF THE POPES IN SPIRITUALS AND TEMPORALS.** 1. Their councils have declared for it: 2. Their popes have, *ex cathedra*, declared and defined it: 3. Their great divines have maintained it: 4. They affect unchangeableness in their doctrine. C. Butler cited. Pope Gregory XVI., in 1832, cited. Heretical character of the doctrine: 5. Those who deny it are called heretics by the true sons of their church.—**VII. DIVERSITY OF SENTIMENT AMONG THEM ON THIS POINT.** 1. Sentiments of the Gallic Church. Butler quoted: 2. Enumeration of their various sentiments. Eight varieties given. Council of Pisa in 1409. Council of Constance. Of Basil. Declaration of the faculty of divinity of Paris, in 1663: 3. Even popes have shifted their pretences: 4. Reason of these various opinions: 5. Difficulty of stating the question fairly.—**VIII. THE DOCTRINE DISCUSSED HERE WILL BE THAT IN WHICH THE CORDIAL SONS OF THEIR CHURCH ARE AGREED.** 1. Mode of ascertaining their true doctrine: 2. Council of Florence cited. Mr. Butler quoted. Lateran Council. Council of Trent: 3. The episcopal oath defines it: 4. All the clergy profess the same.—**IX. THE ABSOLUTE POWER OF THE POPE FORMS THE TRUE DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME, AS FAR AS THEY CAN BE DEFINED.** 1. No regard will be had to semi-Romanists: 2. Enumeration of their principles: 3. They should give us full proof of their doctrine: 4. Division of the subject and order of discussion.

WE shall now state at large the doctrine of the Church of Rome on the supremacy of the pope, as held and explained by their creeds, popes, councils, divines, and acknowledged authorities.

I. It is not easy to ascertain the real sentiments of the Church of Rome concerning the supremacy of the pope.

They maintain that controversies should be decided, and boast of their unity and certainty of doctrine, as things peculiar to themselves, and which other men have no means of obtaining. Yet many contro-

versies of great weight still remain undecided. This is no more than what may be expected ; indeed, it is impossible it should be otherwise, as they are governed by principles discordant in themselves, and derived from uncertain or opposite sources. Some things are supported by councils ; others are founded on tradition, custom, or common agreement ; others depend on the opinions of eminent divines or schoolmen ; while other things are sustained by the court of Rome and its zealous dependants. Hence it is frequently difficult to know their real sentiments on some points of great importance.

They are particularly confused in their creed respecting the supremacy of the pope, though this is a subject on which unanimity is of great importance. The nature and extent of the pope's power is still controverted ; and no one question has caused so many controversies as this, even among Romanists themselves. This disagreement of their doctors, and councils, and synods, and bishops, and popes, about the supremacy, is a strong presumption against it. If a man should sue for a piece of land, and neither he nor his advocates could tell where it lies, how it is bounded, and from whom it was conveyed to him, his title would depend on very slender grounds. Yet the Romanists cannot decide with any accuracy concerning the nature or extent of the pope's supremacy. It has baffled all their infallible methods of deciding controversies. Scripture utters doubtful or contrary testimony concerning it ; tradition leaves it uncertain ; councils contradict each other on this point ; their divines are continually wrangling about it ; and the most serious members of their communion are in doubt respecting it.

In consequence of the great uncertainty, and consequent diversity of opinions on this subject, the pope and his warm partisans, in modern times, have studiously avoided any decisive course that would involve controversy. Hence the anathematizing Council of Trent, which was not backward to decide controversy, waived this point. The pope's legates were enjoined to advertise the council, "that they should not, for any cause whatever, come to dispute about the pope's authority." Indeed, the authority both of the pope and council was not sufficient to decide the controversy. This appears from what took place in another case. The council incidentally enacted, that any prince should be excommunicated, and deprived of the dominion of any city or place where he should permit a duel to be fought.* The prelates of France, in the Convention of Orders, A. D. 1595, declared against that decree, as well as a number of others, as infringing the king's authority.† The opinions concerning the pope's authority are very different, and are likely to continue so.

II. *Some Roman Catholics ascribe to the pope an absolute, universal, and boundless authority over all persons, and in all matters, spiritual and temporal, conferred on him by divine right ; so that all men are obliged, in conscience, to believe whatever he doth authoritatively dictate, and obey whatever he commands.*

1. Hence if princes or magistrates refuse obedience to his will, he may excommunicate, depose, and extirpate them. If he require subjects to hold no communion with their sovereign, to renounce allegiance

* Con. Trident., sess. 25, ch. 19, *Of Reformation*.

† Du Pin, *Eccl. Hist.* xvi. cent., b. iii, ch. 22, vol. iii, p. 650.

to him, to abandon, oppose, and persecute him, even to death, he must be obeyed, under pain of anathema or damnation. If he forbid whole nations from worshipping God, they must obey him. So that, according to them, the pope is sovereign lord over the whole world; and superior, even in temporal or civil matters, to all kings, princes, legislatures, constitutions, and laws.

2. Many canonists and many divines maintain this doctrine. Bellarmine says, in reckoning the several opinions entertained by them on the supremacy, "The first opinion is, that the pope, by divine right, hath supreme power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the opinion of Augustinus Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, and many others."* Augustine Triumphus, a native of Ancona, who flourished in 1290, wrote on *ecclesiastical power*. From the preface of his work, dedicated to Pope John XXII., we find an extract in Barrow,† which is as follows: "It is an error not to believe that the Roman pontiff is pastor of the universal church, the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, and that he hath not universal supremacy over temporal and spiritual matters. Into this error many fall, through ignorance of this power, which is infinite, because *great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end*; for every created intellect is found deficient in his sight."‡

3. Their leading theologian, Thomas Aquinas, says, "In the pope is the summit of each power."—"When any one is denounced excommunicate by his decision on account of apostacy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion and their oath of allegiance to him."§ Aquinas, in his book on the *Rule of Princes*, as quoted by Bellarmine,|| says, "St. Thomas affirms that the pope, by divine right, hath spiritual and temporal power, as supreme king of the world; so that he can impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of Christianity."¶

4. Ferraris, in his *Ecclesiastical Dictionary*, which is used as a standard for Roman Catholic divinity, and whose authorities are deduced from the acknowledged standards of the Church of Rome, gives the following outlines of papal power under the word *papa*, article 2: "The pope is of such dignity and highness, that he is not simply man,

* Prima sententia est, summum pontificem jure divino habere plenissimam potestatem in universum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus ecclesiasticis quam civilibus. Ita docent Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, et alii non pauci.—*Bell. de Pontiff*, v. i. *Barrow*, p. 16.

† On Supremacy, p. 16, N. Y., 1834.

‡ Error est, non credere pontificem Rom. universalis ecclesiæ pastorem, Petri successorem, et Christi vicarium, supra temporalia et spiritualia universalem non habere primatum; in quem quandoque multi labuntur, dictæ potestatis ignorantia; quæ cum sit infinita, eo quod *magnus est Dominus, et magna virtus ejus, et magnitudinis ejus non est finis*, omnis creatus intellectus in ejus perscrutatione invenitur deficere.—*Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccles. in præfat., ad P. Joh. XXII.*

§ In papa esse apicem utriusque potestatis.—Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi a dominio, et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt.—*Th. Secund.*, qu. 12, art. 2, cited by Bellarm. v. 1.

|| De Pontiff., v. 5.

¶ S. Thomas affirmat summum pontificem jure divino habere spirituales et temporales potestates, ut supremum totius mundi regem, adeo ut etiam tales omnibus Christianis possit imponere, et civitates ac castra destruere pro conservatione Christianitatis.—*De Regim. Princip.*, lib. iii, c. 10, 19.

but, as it were, God, and the vicar of God. Hence the pope is of such supreme and sovereign dignity that, properly speaking, he is not merely constituted in dignity, but is rather placed on the very summit of dignities. Hence also the pope is *father of fathers*; and he alone can use this name, because he only can be called *father of fathers*, since he possesses the primacy over all, is truly greater than all, and the greatest of all. He is called *most holy*, because he is presumed to be such. On account of the excellency of his supreme dignity, he is called *bishop of bishops, ordinary of ordinaries, universal bishop of the church, bishop, or diocesan of the whole world, divine monarch, supreme emperor and king of kings*. Hence the pope is crowned with a triple crown, as king of heaven, of earth, and (*infernorum*) of hell. Nay, the pope's excellence and power is not only about heavenly, terrestrial, and infernal things, but he is also above angels, and is their superior; so that if it were possible that angels could err from the faith, or entertain sentiments contrary thereto, they could be judged and excommunicated by the pope. He is of such great dignity and power, that he occupies one and the same tribunal with Christ; so that whatsoever the pope does, seems to proceed from the mouth of God, as is proved from many doctors. The pope is, as it were, God on earth, the only prince of the faithful of Christ, the greatest king of all kings, possessing the plenitude of power, to whom the government of the earthly and heavenly kingdom is intrusted. Hence the COMMON DOCTRINE teacheth, that the pope hath the power of the two swords, viz., the *spiritual* and *temporal*, which jurisdiction and power Christ himself committed to Peter and his successors, Matt. xvi: *To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.*—where doctors note that he did not say *key*, but *keys*, and by this comprehending the temporal and spiritual power: which opinion is abundantly confirmed by the authority of the holy fathers, the decision of the canon and civil law, and by the apostolic constitutions; so that those who hold to the contrary, seem to adhere to the opinion of the heretics reprobated by Boniface VIII., in his *Extravagant*, entitled, *Unam Sanctam*. Hence infidel princes and kings, by the decision of the pope, may be deprived, in certain cases, of that dominion which they have over the faithful, as if they have occupied the country of the Christians by violence, or endeavour to draw away their faithful (Catholic) subjects from the faith, or any such thing, as Bellarmine, Suarez, Barbara, Gonzalez, Cardinal Petra, &c., very fully demonstrate. And hence the pope may cede those provinces, which formerly belonged to Christians, that were subsequently occupied by infidels, to any Christian princes to be redeemed. And if a king becomes heretic, he can be removed from his kingdom by the pope, to whom the right of appointing his successor belongs, if his sons and nearest relatives are heretics. Nay, in cases in which, on account of the heresy of the king, the religion of his kingdom, and the faith of others seem to be in danger, if he can in no other way prevent this loss, the pope may not only deprive him of his kingdom, but he may also concede it to a Christian prince and his successors, if this prince will fight for it, and conquer it. Hence it is not wonderful, if to the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Him whose is the earth, and its fulness, the world and all they who dwell therein, to whom supreme authority and power are given, not only by the spiritual, but also by the material unsheathed

sword for just cause, of transferring empires, breaking sceptres, and taking away crowns. Which plenitude of power, not only once, but often, the popes used, whenever it was necessary, by binding, most courageously, the sword on their thigh, as is sufficiently manifest not only from the most ample testimonies of theologians, the asserters of pontifical and regal right, but also of innumerable historians of undoubted credibility, as well profane as sacred, as well Greek as Latin.”*

5. The same doctrine is asserted by Baronius, the distinguished annalist, and acknowledged defender of the Church of Rome. He says that “there can be no doubt but that the civil principality is sub-

* *Papa tantæ est dignitatis et celsitudinis, ut non sit simplex homo, sed quasi Deus, et vicarius Dei.—Ferraris in Papa, art. ii, No. 1.*

Unde papa adeo summæ et supremæ dignitatis est, ut proprie loquendo non sit in dignitate constitutus, sed potius in ipso culmine dignitatum, positus.—*Idem, No. 2.*

Hinc papa idem est ac *pater patrum*. Et hoc nomine uti potest solus summus pontifex; quia vere solus ipse dici potest *pater patrum*, cum contineat primatum omnium, omnibusque sit vere major, omniumque maximus.—*Idem, Nos. 3, 4.*

Papa *sanctissimus* appellatur; quia talis vere præsumitur.—*Idem, No. 5.*

Papa præ excellentia suæ supremæ dignitatis vocatur *episcopus episcoporum, ordinarius ordinariorum, episcopus universalis ecclesiæ, episcopus, seu diæcesanus totius orbis*. Item *divinus monarcha, ac imperator supremus, rex regum*. Hinc papa triplici coronâ coronatur, tamquam rex cæli, et terræ et infernorum.—*Idem, Nos. 8–13.*

Immo Romani pontificis excellentia et potestas nedum est circa cælestia, terrestria et infernalium, sed etiam super angelos, quorum ipse major est. Ita, ut si foret possibile, quod angeli errarent in fide, vel contra fidem sentirent, per papam judicari, et excommunicari possent.—*Idem, Nos. 14, 15.*

Tantæ enim est dignitatis, et potestatis, ut faciat unum et idem tribunal cum Christo. Adeo, ut quidquid facit papa, ab ore Dei videatur procedere, ut post plurimos doctores ratiocinatur.—*Idem, Nos. 16, 17.*

Papa est quasi Deus in terra, unicus Christi fidelium princeps, regum omnium rex maximus, plenitudinem potestatis continens, cui terreni simul, ac cælestis imperii gubernacula ab omnipotenti Deo credita sunt.—*Idem, No. 18.*

Hinc jam *communis* docet opinio, quod papa utriusque gladii habeat potestatem, *spiritualem* scilicet, et *temporalem*, quam jurisdictionem et potestatem Christus ipse commisit Petro et ejus successoribus, *Math. cap. xvi: Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, &c.*; ubi notant doctores, quod non dixit *clavem*, sed *claves*, per hoc comprehendens temporalem, ac spiritualem potestatem. Quæ opinio auctoritate s. s. patrum, juris canonici et civilis dispositione, ac apostolicis constitutionibus latissime confirmatur;—adeo, ut contrarium affirmantes videantur adhærere fere illi opinioni hæreticorum reprobatae per Bonifacium VIII. in *Extravagant, Unam Sanctam*.—*Idem, Nos. 23–25.*

Unde principes et reges infideles possunt per sententiam papæ privari in certis casibus dominio, quod habent super fideles, ut si terras Christianorum vi occupaverint vel subditos fideles a fide; avertere satagant et hujusmodi, ut satis aperte demonstrant Card. Bellarm., &c.—*Idem, No. 26.*

Et inde papa provincias, quæ olim Christianorum erant, ab infidelibus occupatas alicui ex principibus Christianis emendas concedit. Regem effectum hæreticum posse per papam amoveri a regno, et ad eum spectare jus eligendi, si ejus filii, et propinquiiores sint quoque hæretici.—*Idem, No. 27.*

Immo, papa in casibus, quibus propter hæresim regis videat periclitari religionem illius regni, fidemque aliorum, nec aliter tanto damno succurri possit, tunc potest non solum a rege regnum, sed etiam ab ejus successoribus in totum auferre, et principi Christiano, suisque successoribus, si illud debellaverit, concedere.—*Idem, No. 28.*

Unde nil mirum, si Romano pontifici, tamquam vicario ejus, cujus est terra, et plenitudo ejus, orbis terrarum et universi, qui habitant in eo, &c., non solum spirituali, sed etiam gladio materiali evaginato, attributa sit, justa suadente causa, plenissima auctoritas, atque potestas transferendi imperia, sceptrâ frangendi, coronas auferendi. Qua plenitudinis potestate non semel, sed sæpius Romani pontifices usi sunt toties, quoties opus fuit, accingendo gladium suum super femur suum potentissime, ut satis superque palam est, atque de hoc amplissimum testimonium faciunt theologi, quam juris pontificii, ac cæsarei professores, atque innumeri inculpatæ fidei historici, tam profani, quam sacri, tam Græci, quam Latini.—*Idem, No. 29.*

ject to the sacerdotal.”* And again: “God hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church.”†

6. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, who is counted a sound Roman Catholic divine, inculcates as strongly as Ferraris, and the popes themselves, the sovereign authority of the bishop of Rome in all matters, both spiritual and temporal. After applying the eighth Psalm to the pope, *Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels*, and saying that *all power in heaven and earth* was given to the pope, he proceeds: “For the pope is greater than man, as saith Hostensius, but less than an angel, because he is mortal; but greater in authority and power. For an angel cannot consecrate the body and blood of Christ, nor absolve or bind, the jurisdiction of which exists in a plenary manner in the pope; nor can an angel ordain, grant indulgences, or any such thing. He is crowned with *glory* and honour; the *glory* of commendation, because he is not only called blessed, but most blessed, as saith the canon law. *Who can doubt that he is holy*, whom the summit of such great dignity hath exalted? He is crowned with the *honour* of veneration, that the faithful may kiss his feet; for greater honour cannot exist than that mentioned by the psalmist: *Adore his footstool*, Psa. xcvi. He is crowned also with the greatness of authority, *because he judges all persons, and is judged of none, unless he is found an apostate from the faith*. Hence also he is crowned with a triple crown. And is constituted *over all the works of his hands*, to regulate concerning all inferiors; he opens heaven, sends the guilty to hell, confirms empire, orders the clerical orders.”‡ The foregoing is only a *specimen* of what is taught by Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, who wrote with the approbation of the cotemporary and succeeding popes. Pages might be filled from his *titulus*, or *tract* on the power of the pope; but our limits do not allow us to enlarge.

7. Mr. Charles Butler gives us the following outlines of the doctrines of that class of divines called *Transalpine*, or those who dwell in or near Rome, and are distinguished from the *Cisalpine*, or those on the French side of the Alps. The *Transalpine* are those who are under the immediate direction of the pope, or who compose his court, and are therefore sounder in the faith concerning the supremacy than the French, or those who live at a distance from Rome. Mr. Butler says: “*Transalpine* divines attributed to the pope a divine right to the exercise, indirect at least, of temporal power, for effecting a spiritual good; and, in consequence of it, maintained that the supreme power of every

* *Politicum principatum sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio.*—*Am. 57, sec. 23.*

† *Politicum imperium subiecit spiritualis ecclesiæ dominio.*—*Ibid., sec. 53.*

‡ *Est enim papa, ut ait Hostensius, major homine, sed minor angelo, quia mortalis homo, major tamen auctoritate et potestate. Neque enim angelus potest consecrare corpus et sanguinem Christi, neque absolvere, vel ligare, cujus rei jurisdictio plenarie est in papa, nec ordinare vel indulgentias dare et hujusmodi. Est gloria et honore coronatus; gloria commendationis, quia non solum beatus dicitur, sed et beatissimus. Quis cum sanctum dubitet, quem apex tantæ dignitatis attollit? Dist. 40, Non nos. Honore coronatur venerationis, ut osculentur fideles pedes ejus, major veneratio fieri non potest, (Psa. xcvi.) Adorate scabellum pedum ejus. Coronatur et magnitudine auctoritatis, quia cunctos ipse judicaturus, a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur e fide devius. Dist. 40, Si papa. Unde triplici corona aurea coronatur. Et est constitutus super omnia opera manuum suarum ad disponendum de omnibus inferioribus; ipse aperit cælum, mittit reos ad infernum, confirmat imperium, ordinat totum clerum.*—*Anton. Archiepis. Floren., part ii, tit. 22, c. i. sec. 1.*

state was so far subject to the pope, that, when he deemed that the bad conduct of the sovereign rendered it essential to the good of the church that he should reign no longer, the pope was then authorized, by his divine commission, to deprive him of his sovereignty, and absolve his subjects from their obligation of allegiance; and that even on ordinary occasions he might enforce obedience to his spiritual legislation and jurisdiction by civil penalties. . . . In spiritual concerns the Transalpine opinions ascribe to the pope a superiority, and controlling power over the whole church, should she chance to oppose his decrees, and consequently over a general council, her representative; and the same superiority and controlling power, even in the ordinary course of business, over the canons of the universal church. They describe the pope as the fountain of all ecclesiastical order, jurisdiction, and dignity. They assign to him the power of judging all persons in spiritual concerns; of calling all spiritual causes to his cognizance; of constituting, suspending, and deposing bishops; of conferring all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, in or out of his dominions, by paramount authority; of exempting individuals and communities from the jurisdiction of their prelates; of evoking to himself, or to judges appointed by him, any cause actually pending in an ecclesiastical court; and of receiving immediately appeals from all ecclesiastical courts, though they be inferior courts, from which there is a regular appeal to an intermediate superior court. They farther ascribe to the pope the extraordinary prerogative of personal infallibility, when he undertakes to issue a solemn decision on any point of faith.”*

8. The following sentiments are clearly in keeping with the foregoing, from which they may be consistently deduced. Benedict XIV., in his book on synodical affairs, has the following: “The pope is the head of all heads, and the prince, moderator, and pastor of the whole church of Christ which is under heaven. He is also the patriarch of the west, the primate of Italy, the archbishop and metropolitan of the Roman province, and bishop of the city of Rome.”†

9. Peter Dens says, “The Roman pontiff is called by this name, not only because he has the supreme honour and dignity in the church, but especially, because he hath the supreme and universal authority, power, and jurisdiction over all bishops and the universal church.”‡ Again: our author says, “The pope hath the plenitude of power, so that his power extends itself to all who are in the church, and to all things which pertain to the government of the church. Hence it follows that all the faithful, also bishops and patriarchs, are bound to obey the Roman pontiff; he is, moreover, to be obeyed in all those things which concern the Christian religion, as well in faith and morals, in

* Book of the Roman Catholic Church, pp. 106, 107. Baltimore, published by James Myers, 1834.

† Romanus pontifex est omnium capitum caput, atque universæ, quæ sub cælo est, Christi ecclesiæ princeps, moderator, et pastor; est etiam patriarcha occidentis, primus Italiæ, archiepiscopus, et metropolitanus Romanæ provinciæ, atque episcopus urbis Romæ.—*Benedict XIV., de Synodo.*, lib. ii, cap. i.

‡ Pontifex Romanus, non tantum quia supremum honorem et dignitatem obtinet in ecclesiæ, sed præcipue quia summam et universalem habet auctoritatem, potestatem et jurisdictionem in omnes episcopos et universam ecclesiam.—*Dens, de Eccles.*, No. 90, tom. ii, p. 430.

rites, ecclesiastical discipline, &c. The pope hath also not only a directive, but also a coactive power over all the faithful.”*

10. What Bellarmine lays down as the *common opinion* of Romanists, will necessarily involve the same amount of power for which the transalpine divines contend. He says, that “by reason of the spiritual power, the pope, at least indirectly, hath a certain supreme power in temporal matters.”† This *common opinion*, as Bellarmine calls it, does not differ from that expressed by the transalpine divines, except that the phraseology is more guarded; for the qualifying expressions, *by reason of the spiritual power*, and *at least indirectly*, are illusive in regard to practice. Every matter can easily be referred to some spiritual account; as the pope is judge in things of this kind. How easy is it to infer the supreme spiritual and temporal power of the pope, from the guarded expressions of Benedict XIV.; of Dens, and of Bellarmine; as a legitimate inference will lead to the conclusion that the power allowed by them will necessarily embrace all the power for which the most bigoted transalpine doctors contend!

III. *That a universal and absolute power in things temporal and spiritual has been claimed by divers popes successively for many ages.*

This will appear manifest from their most solemn declarations, and most notorious practices.

I. As a previous remark to what we have to say on this point, we would observe, that the early popes, or rather the first bishops of Rome, did not hold these opinions, nor did they practise accordingly. There were many instances in which such excommunication could be practised; but there are none where it actually took place. Why did not Pope Felix, or Gelasius, or Symmachus, or Hormisdas excommunicate the emperor Anastasius for countenancing the oriental bishops in their opposition to the papal authority? They did indeed disagree with the emperor, but they expressly deny that they did excommunicate him. “We,” saith Pope Symmachus, “did not, O emperor, excommunicate thee, but Acacius. If you mingle yourself, you are not excommunicated by us, but by yourself.”‡ And Gelasius saith, “If the emperor pleaseth to join himself with those condemned, this cannot be imputed to us.”§ Wherefore Baronius mistakes in affirming that Pope Symmachus anathematized Anastasius; whereas Symmachus plainly denies it in the following words: “You say, that I excommunicated thee by the joint consent of the senate. This I deny; but I undoubtedly fol-

* *Papa in ecclesia habet plenitudinem potestatis; adeo ut ejus potestas sese extendat ad omnes qui sunt in ecclesia, et ad omnia quæ ad ecclesiæ regimen spectant.*—Hinc sequitur, quod omnes fideles, etiam episcopi et patriarchæ, Romano pontifici obediri teneantur; item quod ei obediendum sit in omnibus quæ religionem Christianam concernunt, ac adeo in fide et moribus, ritibus, ecclesiastica disciplina, etc. Summus pontifex habet potestatem non solum directivam, sed etiam coactivam super omnes fideles. —*Idem*, No. 94, p. 439.

† *Tertia sententia inedia et Catholicorum communis, pontificem, ut pontificem non habere directe et immediate ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spiritualement, tamen ratione spiritualis habere saltem indirecte potestatem quandam, eamque summam in temporalibus.*—*Bell.*, v. 1.

‡ *Nos te non excommunicavimus, imperator, sed Acacium. Si te misces, non a nobis, sed a te ipso excommunicatus es.*—*P. Symmachus I.*, Ep. vii.

§ *Si placet miscere damnatis, nobis non potest imputari.*—*P. Gelasius I.*, Ep. iv.

low what was done with good reason by my predecessors.”* The words of Symmachus are corrupted by Baronius and Binius; as *ego*, which hath no sense, or one contradictory to the former assertion, is put for *nego*, which is good sense, and agreeable to what other popes of the same age affirm concerning such matters. We do not read that, in consequence of the rejection of images, the popes excommunicated emperors. Indeed an illustrious bishop, Otho Frising, who flourished in 1184, declared concerning the early bishops of Rome, as follows: “I read and read again the records of the Roman kings and emperors, and I nowhere find that any of them before this was excommunicated or deprived of his kingdom by the Roman pontiff.”†

The single passage of Felix III., in the year 483, does not amount to the doctrines taught by Gregory II. and his successors. “It is certain that, in causes relating to God, it is the safest course for you, that, according to his institution, you endeavour to submit the will of the king to the priests.”‡ Indeed, while the emperors retained any considerable authority in Italy, the popes did not pretend to such supreme power as they afterward assumed. In early times too the bishops of Rome had too much piety to entertain such sentiments, or to practise accordingly.

2. The exercise of the supremacy, in deposing kings and absolving their subjects from their allegiance, was practised extensively by Gregory II., and his successors.

In the year 730, Gregory II. excommunicated the emperor Leo Isaurius, because he was against the worship of images. The Italians were absolved of their oath of allegiance to him. Baronius saith, “That he did effectually cause both the Romans and Italians to recede from obedience to the emperor.”§ And “he left to posterity a worthy example, that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign in the church of Christ, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error.”|| This is the highest source to which this extravagant doctrine can be traced.

3. Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., who was made pope in 1073, deposed Henry IV. in the year 1075, and repeats the excommunication in 1080. The following is his language: “For the dignity and defence of God’s holy church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, King Henry, son of Henry, some time emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy church; and I absolve all Christians, subject to the empire, from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings; for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity, who doth endeavour to diminish the majesty of the church.”¶

* Dicis quod, mecum conspirante senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem nego sed rationabiliter factum a decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor.—*P. Symmachus*, Ep. vii.

† Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum. *Otho Frising*, *Chron.*, lib. vi, c. xxxv.

‡ Certum est, rebus vestris, hoc esse salutare, ut, cum de causis Dei agitur, juxta ipsius constitutionem, regiam voluntatem sacerdotibus Christi studeatis subdere.—*P. Felix III.*, dist. x, c. 3.

§ Baronius, anno 730, sec. 40.

|| Idem.

¶ Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro dignitate et tutela ecclesie sue sancte, omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Henricum regem, Henrici quondam

“Go to, therefore, most holy princes of the apostles, and what I said, by interposing your authority, confirm; that all men may now at length understand, if you can bind and loose in heaven, that you also can upon earth take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatsoever mortals can have: for if you can judge things belonging to God, what is to be deemed concerning these inferior and profane things? And if it is your part to judge angels, who govern proud princes, what becometh it you to do toward their servants? Let kings now, and all secular princes, learn by this man’s example, what you can do in heaven, and in what esteem you are with God; and let thenceforth fear to slight the commands of holy church: but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all men may understand, that not casually, but by your means, this son of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom.”*

This pope is by many held to be the inventor of this doctrine, and is, in consequence, called the author of this new schism or heresy, by the Catholics of his day. But Gregory himself disclaims the invention or introduction of it, and professes to have followed the opinions and examples of his predecessors.†

4. In 1088 Urban II. taught the deposition of emperors; for he recommended in his decrees, that “subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who opposeth God and his saints, or violateth their precepts.”‡

5. In the year 1099 Pope Paschal II. deprived Henry IV., and excited his enemies to *persecute him*, telling them, that they could not “offer a more acceptable sacrifice to God, than by impugning him who endeavoured to take the kingdom from God’s church.”§

6. Innocent III., in the year 1212, affirmed, “that the pontifical authority so much exceeded the royal power as the sun doth the moon.”¶ He also applied to the former that of the prophet Jeremiah: “See, I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down,” &c. This pope deposed the emperor Otho IV. And the doctrine of the deposition of princes, and the absolving of subjects from their allegiance, was maintained by this pope and the first Council of Lateran. For they ordained, “That if a temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should, by the metropolitan and the other comprovincial bishops, be

imperatoris filium, qui audacter nimium et temerarie in ecclesiam tuam manus iniecit imperatoria administratione regiaque dejicio; et Christianos omnes imperio subjectos juramento illo absolvo, quo fidem veris regibus præstare consueverunt dignum enim est, ut is honore careat, qui majestatem ecclesiæ imminuere causatur.—Plat. in Greg. VII., et tom. vii., Conc. Rom. iii., apud Binium, p. 484. See Barrow on the Supremacy, p. 23.

* *Agite igitur, apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi, etc.—Plat. in Greg. VII., Conc. Rom. vii., apud Bin., tom. vii., p. 491.*

† *Greg. VII., Ep. viii., 21, Cans. xv., qu. 7, c. 4.*

‡ *Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, eorumque præcepta, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere.—Caus. xv. qu. 7, cap. 5.*

§ *Nam in hac non tantum parte, sed ubique, cum poteris, Henricum, hereticorum caput, et ejus fautores proviribus persequens. Nullum profecto gratus Deo sacrificium, quam si eum impunges, qui se contra Deum erexit, qui ecclesiæ regnum auferre conatur.—P. Paschal II., Ep. vii., ad Rob. Fland. Com. See Barrow, p. 22.*

¶ *Ut quantæ sit inter solem et lunam tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur.—P. Innocent III., in Decret. Greg., lib. i., tit. 33, c. 6.*

bound in the bands of excommunication; and if he should neglect to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the pope, that he might from that time pronounce the subjects to be absolved from their allegiance to him, and expose the territory to be seized on by Catholics," &c.*

7. In the year 1239 Gregory IX. excommunicates the emperor Frederick II., absolves his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, lays an interdict on all his cities, castles, and villages, excommunicates all that favour him, or any way assist or obey him, commands the German bishops, upon pain of excommunication, solemnly to publish the excommunication, with all their solemnities, such as ringing of bells, lighting and extinguishing candles, &c.†

8. Pope Innocent IV. both held and exemplified the same doctrine, declaring the same Frederick II. to be his vassal, and pronouncing, in his General Council of Lyons, a sentence of deprivation against him in these terms: "We having about the foregoing, and many other his wicked miscarriages, had before a careful deliberation with our brethren and the holy council, seeing that we, although unworthy, do hold the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and that it was said unto us in the person of St. Peter the apostle, 'Whatever thou shalt bind on earth'—the said prince (who had rendered himself unworthy of empire and kingdoms, and of all honour and dignity, and who for his iniquities is cast away by God; that he should not reign or command, being bound by his sins and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all honour and dignity) do show, denounce, and accordingly, by sentence, deprive; absolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from such oath for ever; by apostolic authority firmly prohibiting that no man henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king; and decreeing that whoever hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him, as emperor or king, shall immediately lie under the band of excommunication."‡

9. Pope Boniface VIII. hath a decree extant in the canon law running thus: "We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be necessary to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."§ 'This subjection, according to him, reacheth to all matters. "One sword," saith he, "must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to spiritual power; whence, if the earthly power go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power."|| 'This definition is expressly confirmed by one of their general councils, the Lateran, under Leo X. "We," say the council, "do renew and approve that holy constitution, with approbation of the present holy council."¶ Accordingly Melchior Canus declares: "The Lateran Council did renew and approve that extravagant constitution."** And Baronius saith of it,

* Si vero dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus, etc.—*Concil. Lat. I, cap. 3, in Decret. Greg.*, lib. v, tit. 7, cap. 13.

† See Bullarium Romanum, tom. i, pp. 89, 90.

‡ Nos itaque super præmissis, &c.—*P. Innoc. IV. in Concil. Lug.*

§ Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—*Extrav.*, lib. i, tit. 8, cap. i.

|| Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subijci potestati. Ergo, si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali.—*Ibid.*

¶ Constitutionem ipsam, sacro presenti concilio approbante, innovamus et approbamus.—*Concil. Later. V.*, sess. xi, p. 153.

** Quam extravagantem renovavit et approbavit Concilium Lateranense sub Leone X.—*Canus*, loc. vi, 4.

that "all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth who doth not fall from the church."* Boniface, however, did not invent the doctrine, but borrowed it from the school; for Aquinas, in his work against the Greeks, attempts to prove that *it is necessary for salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff.*

10. Pope Paul III., in 1535 and 1538, excommunicated, cursed, deposed, and damned Henry VIII. of England, and all who adhere to, favour, or obey him; absolves his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; commands them all, under pain of excommunication, not to obey him, or "any magistrate or officer under him; nor to acknowledge the king, or any of his judges or officers, to be their superiors."† The same bull farther declares King Henry, his accomplices, and favourers, with their children and descendants, to be infamous, incapable to be witnesses, make wills, or be heirs to any; incapable to do any legal act, and that "in any cause of debt, or any other cause, civil or criminal, none should be bound to answer them, and yet they bound to answer every body."‡ Omitting other things in this famous bull, he commands the ecclesiastics, secular and regular, "to quit the kingdom, and not return till the persons excommunicated, deprived, cursed, and damned be absolved from their censures."§ This bull, though drawn up and ready to be published in 1535, yet the execution of it was suspended for three years, and then published in 1538, which was the fifth year of Paul V. The reader who has not access to the regular Bullaries of the Church of Rome may see a copy of this bull in Burnet's History of the Reformation.||

11. Pope Pius V., in the year 1570, in his bull against Elizabeth, entitled, "The damnation and excommunication of Elizabeth, queen of England, and her adherents, with an addition of other punishments," declares as follows: "He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, committed one holy, catholic, and apostolic church (out of which there is no salvation) to one alone upon earth, namely, to Peter, the prince of the apostles, and to Peter's successor, the bishop of Rome, to be governed in fulness of power. Him alone he made prince over all people and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build."

The bull furthermore declares: "We do, out of the fulness of our apostolic power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, being a heretic and a favourer of heretics, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ."

* *Hæc Bonifacius, cur assentiuntur omnes. ut nullus discrepet, nisi qui dissidio ab ecclesia excidit.*—*Baron.*, ann. 1053, sec. 14.

† *Mandantes, ut ab Henrici regis, suorumque officialium, judicum et magistratuum quorumcunque obedientia penitus et omnino recedant, nec illos in superiores recognoscant, neque illorum mandatis obtemperent.* Vide Bullam. 7 Pauli III., dat. Romæ, 3 calend. Sept., anno 1535, in Bullario Romano, tom. i, p. 514, editionis Rome, 1638.

sec. 10.

‡ *Et nulli ipsis, sed ipsi aliis super quocunque debito et negotio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure respondere teneantur.*—*Ibid.*, sec. 11.

§ *Prelatis quoque et cæteris personis ecclesiasticis mandat sub pœnis in bulla contentis, quatenus de regno Angliæ discedant, nec revertantur, donec dicti excommunicati, privati, maledicti, et damnati meruerint absolutionis beneficium.*—*Ibid.*, sec. 13.

|| Collection of Records attached to vol. i, book iii, No. ix, p. 211.

"And moreover we do declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever."

"And also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others which have in any sort sworn to her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and all manner of duty, dominion, allegiance, and obedience; as we also do, by the authority of these presents, absolve them, and deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom and all other things above said. And we do command and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws. And those which shall do the contrary we involve in the same sentence of anathema."*

12. Pope Gregory XIII., who immediately succeeded Pius V., renewed and confirmed the bull for deposing Elizabeth, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance. Sixtus V., who immediately succeeds, confirms the damnatory sentences of his two predecessors, and in addition published a crusade against England, as against Turks, and gave a plenary indulgence to all who would assist in the war.†

13. In the year 1585, the bull of Sixtus V. against *the two sons of wrath*, Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, declares: "The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes. It passeth uncontrollable sentence upon them all. And if it find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance on them, casting them down from their thrones, however powerful they may be, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer."

He then proceeds to thunder against them: "We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms."

He next formally absolves their subjects from their allegiance: "By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge

* Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam, catholicam, et apostolicam ecclesiam (extra quam nulla est salus) soli in terris, videlicet, apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes, et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, dispendat, plantet, et ædificet.—*P. Pius V. in Bull. contra R. Eliz.*

Qui nos in hoc supremo justitiæ throno, licet tanto oncri impares valuit collocare, de apostolicæ potestatis, plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elizabeth hæreticam, hæreticorumque fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis unitate præcisos.—*Ibid.*, sec. 3.

Quin etiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti jure, necnon omni et quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam.—*Ibid.*, sec. 4.

Et etiam proceres, subditos, et populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque juraverint. A juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus Domini, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium auctoritate absolvimus et privamus eandem Elizabeth prætenso jure regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdicimus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis, populis, et aliis prædictis, ne illi ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire. Qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententiâ innodamus.—*Ibidem*, sec. 5.

† See Observations on the Bull against Elizabeth, p. 12.

and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands.”*

IV. *There are some professed Roman Catholics who ascribe to the pope very limited powers, especially in temporal or civil affairs.*

1. Bishop Milner, in his *End of Controversy*, says: “It is not, then, the faith of this church that the pope has any civil or temporal supremacy, by virtue of which he can depose princes, or give or take away the property of other persons out of his own domain: for even the incarnate Son of God, from whom he derives the supremacy which he possesses, did not claim, here upon earth, any right of the above-mentioned kind: on the contrary, he positively declared that his *kingdom was not of this world*. Hence the Catholics of both our islands have, without impeachment even from Rome, denied upon oath that the pope has any civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.† But it is undeniable that different popes, in former ages, have pronounced sentence of deposition against certain contemporary princes, and great numbers of theologians have held (though not as a matter of faith) that they had a right to do so.”‡

2. Bishop Hay§ says, that “the pope is the supreme head and pastor of the church under Christ, the spiritual father and teacher of all Christians, with full power to feed and govern the whole flock; therefore he is the supreme judge and lawgiver in all things relating to religion, whether as to faith, manners, or discipline. And all the members of the church are bound to pay the greatest respect, veneration, and obedience to his decrees and orders in all things belonging to religion.” This declaration gives a guarded view of the supremacy; yet it virtually contains all the elements of the spiritual and temporal authority of the pope.

3. From the “Declaration of the Catholic bishops, the vicars apostolic, and their coadjutors in Great Britain,” we give the following on allegiance to the king and obedience to the pope: “They acknowledge in the sovereign, and in the constituted government of these realms, a supreme civil and temporal authority, which is entirely distinct from and totally independent of the spiritual and ecclesiastical authority of the pope and of the Catholic Church. They declare that neither the pope nor any other prelate or ecclesiastical person of the Roman Catholic Church has, in virtue of his spiritual or ecclesiastical character, any right, directly or indirectly, to any civil or temporal jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority within this realm; nor has any right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the civil government of the United Kingdom, or any part thereof; nor to oppose in any manner the performance of the civil duties which are due to his

* Ab immensa æterni regis potentia B. Petro ejusque successoribus tradita auctoritas omnes terrenorum regum et principum supereminet potestates. Inconcussa profert in omnes judicia. Et si quos ordinationi Dei resistentes invenit, severiore has vindicata ulciscitur, et quamvis potentiores, de solo dejiciens, veluti superbientis Luciferi ministros, ad infima terræ deturbatos prosternit.

Dominiis, regnis, &c., nos illos illorumque posteros privamus in perpetuum.

A juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii fidelitatis et obsequii debito, illos omnes tam universe quam singulatim auctoritate præsentium absolvimus et liberamus; præcipimusque et interdiciamus eis universis et singulis, ne illis eorumque monitis, legibus et mandatis audeant obedire.—*Bulla Sixti V. contra Henr. Navarr., &c.*

† 31 Geo. III., c. 32.

‡ End of Controversy, letter 46, p. 283.

§ Sincere Christian, vol. i, p. 183.

majesty's subjects ; nor to enforce the performance of any *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical* duty, by any *civil* or *temporal* means. They hold themselves bound in conscience to obey the civil government of this realm, in all things of a temporal and civil nature, notwithstanding any dispensation or order to the contrary had or to be had from the pope, or any authority of the Church of Rome.

"Hence we declare, that by rendering obedience in *spiritual* matters to the pope, Catholics do not withhold any portion of their allegiance to their king, and that their allegiance is entire and undivided ; the *civil* power of the state and the *spiritual* power of the Catholic Church being absolutely distinct, and being never intended by their divine Author to interfere or clash with each other."

This declaration was made on the publication of Blanco White's book in England, and republished in the United States when the same work was issued from the American press. It is not an authoritative declaration from the supreme power of the Church of Rome ; it is only from the English bishops, and published in America in an anonymous pamphlet, and therefore has not received the sanction of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

4. Mr. Charles Butler, Esq.,* says : "On the other hand, the Cisalpine divines affirmed that the pope had no right either to interfere in temporal concerns, or to enforce obedience to his spiritual legislation or jurisdiction by temporal power ; and consequently had no right to deprive a sovereign of his sovereignty, to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, or to enforce his spiritual authority over either by civil penalties."

5. The following are the opinions of the universities of the Sorbonne, Louvain, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca on the temporal power of the pope, and furnished to the English Roman Catholics at their request.

"1. That the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, has not nor have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever within the realm of England.

"2. That the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, cannot absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatever.

"3. That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions, either of a public or private nature."†

It is gratifying to find these liberal and Christian sentiments expressed and avowed from such respectable sources ; nevertheless, these opinions are at variance with the standard doctrines of the Church of Rome, as authoritatively defined by her highest ecclesiastical authority ; and the sentiments of the universities have not yet received the sanction of the supreme power, nor have the opposing doctrines been disavowed.

The foregoing are only the sentiments of modern Roman Catholics, adapted for circulation in a Protestant country ; and are so modified generally as to leave out of sight the most forbidding parts of the supremacy, yet so expressed as to retain its fundamental principles, which may be asserted at a future time, when necessary or safe.

* Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 106.

† Idem. p. 287.

V. *The doctrine of the pope's supreme and universal power in all matters, and over all persons, may reasonably be supposed to be the sentiments of all popes, from the time of Gregory II., in 730, or at any rate from Gregory VII., in 1080, to the present day.*

1. No popes openly disclaim, condemn, or refute the doctrine.

If it be false it is a great error, and of dangerous consequence. It involves great arrogance and iniquity, and produces great wrongs and mischiefs. Hence, if any pope should believe it to be false, he ought to oppose it openly, lest his connivance and the authority of his predecessors should lead others into the error. But all popes, since the time specified, have either openly declared for it, or have tacitly consented to it. Therefore the doctrine may safely be ascribed to all popes, from the time mentioned above to the present.

2. Every pope disapproving the tenet was bound to renounce communion with those who held it, or at least to check or discountenance it. On the contrary, they have suffered it to be maintained in their presence; they have specially patronised those who upheld it; and they have frowned on those who have shown opposition to it.

3. The chief authors and zealous defenders of this doctrine, whether popes, synods, doctors, bishops, &c., have retained the greatest authority in the church governed by the pope.

4. The decrees containing it stand in the canon law, and in their collections of synods, without any mark of disapprobation; which is a sufficient indication of their constant adherence to this doctrine.

5. The common style of the papal edicts or bulls declares their sense, which is imperious in regard to all persons without exception. They imperatively say: "Let no man presume to infringe on this our will and command."

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications have been ready to *practise* according to these principles when occasion permitted; interdicting princes, absolving subjects from their allegiance, raising or encouraging insurrections; which shows that the see of Rome is thoroughly imbued with the doctrine.

7. They oblige all bishops most solemnly to avow this doctrine, and *practise* accordingly. For in the oath prescribed to all bishops they are required to avow that "they will observe the apostolic commands with all their power, and cause them to be observed by others; that they will aid and defend the Roman papacy and the royalties of Saint Peter against every man; that they will to their utmost persecute and oppose heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the pope or his successors," without any exceptions, together with other points importing their acknowledgment and abetting the pope's universal domination.

8. It grows out of the doctrine of the supremacy. This challenges for the pope the exercise of *the fulness of power*, and the delegation of power from above, corresponding to the power possessed by Christ, to whom was committed *all power in heaven and earth*. And a favourite text in the mouths of the popes and their defenders is the application of the following to the popes for the purpose of maintaining their prerogative of erecting and overturning kingdoms: "Behold I have set thee over the nations, to pull up and throw down, to scatter and destroy, to plant and build," Jer. i, 10.

VI. *All Romanists, in consistency with their principles, are obliged to hold this opinion concerning the pope's universal power.*

1. Their most famous councils, which they hold to be universal, and which their great Council of Trent doth allege for such, as the Lateran under Innocent III., that of Lyons under Innocent IV., the other Lateran under Leo X., have asserted this doctrine of the universal supremacy.

2. The popes, their standing *judges of controversy*, have expressly, *ex cathedra*, declared and defined it, all of them for ages consenting to it and countenancing it, none signifying any dissent or dislike. For if in any thing they may deserve belief, it is in this point, which concerns the nature of their own office. And how can the pope be admitted to be an authorized judge of controversies, or master of Christian doctrine, if he has erred so foully, and seduced the Christian world?

3. Their principal controversialists have asserted and defined it. This they have done for so long a time, with a general concurrence, that it may be said it was confirmed by tradition or prescription. Why then should it not be admitted as a doctrine of the holy Roman Catholic Church, the mother and mistress of all churches? How can they who disavow this doctrine be true sons of this mother, or diligent scholars of this mistress?

4. As they affect that their doctrine is *unchangeable*, how can they have the face to contradict the general councils, and popes, and divines, who have maintained the universal power of the pope? How can Mr. Charles Butler declare, "The Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their church to be unchangeable, and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it ever will be?"

If the Church of Rome does not now hold to the deposition of princes, and the absolving from allegiance to them, how could Pope Gregory XVI., in the year 1832, in his Encyclical Letter declare: "Ever bearing in mind, 'the universal church suffers from every novelty,' as well as the admonition of Pope St. Agatho, 'that from what has been regularly defined, nothing can be taken away, no innovation introduced there, no addition made; but that it must be preserved untouched as to words and meaning.' It is no less absurd than injurious to her, that any thing by way of restoration or regeneration should be forced upon her as necessary for her soundness or increase, as if she could be thought obnoxious to decay, or to obscurity, or any other such inconvenience."*

If then the Church of Rome has taught by her highest authorities

* Illud assidue revolventes animo, universalem ecclesiam quacumque novitate pulsari, atque ex S. Agathonis pontificis monitu, "nihil de iis, quæ sunt regulariter definitæ, minui debere, nihil mutari, nihil adjici, sed ea et verbis et sensibus illibata esse custodienda." Absurdum planè est, ac maximè in eam injuriosum, restaurationem quamdam obtrudi, quasi necessariam, ut ejus incolumitati et incremento consulatur, perinde ac si censeri ipsa possit vel defectui, vel obscuritati, vel aliis hujusmodi incommodis obnoxia."—*P. Greg. XVI., Epistola Encyclica, ad omnes Patriarchas, Prælatos, Archiepiscopos et Episcopos, anno 1832.*

The English of this bull was published in the *Laity's Directory*, England, for 1832, and copied into the *London Protestant* for 1833, p. 66. The reader may also find the Latin in *Affaires de Rome*, par M. F. De la Mennais, Bruxelles, 1837, p. 6, of *Justificatives*

the doctrine in question, and if it be also true that her doctrines can never change, and this is a doctrine, the inference is plain that she still *holds* to the doctrine, though, for prudential reasons, or for want of power, she does not practise it.

Besides, if it be so, that they hold the doctrine, the inference is, that the popes and their adherents are the teachers and abettors of the highest violations of the divine commands, and most enormous sins; of usurpation, tyranny, imposture, perjury, rebellion, murder, rapine, and innumerable other crimes. For if he that would teach adultery, incest, simony, theft, murder, or the like crimes to be lawful would be a heretic, how much more would he be such who would recommend perjury, rebellion, regicide, and the crimes growing out of these, as duties.

5. Indeed, those who deny the supreme power of the pope over all persons and in all things have been called *heretics* by the true sons of the church. Thus Baronius, their great historian, and Bellarmine, their acknowledged defender and great controversialist, have denominated those heretics who do not maintain the supreme authority of the pope over all persons and in all cases. The French have been set down in former times for unsound members of the Church of Rome, because they contended against the exercise of the papal power in political matters, and even in some church affairs. And though most modern Romanists, when questioned, denounce the civil or temporal power of the pope, nevertheless, they hold in high esteem those who maintained it, and the supreme power in the church has never renounced it. Consequently, to deny it may be said with justice to be a heresy.

Since the Hildebrandine age there have been in every nation, Italy not excepted, divers historians, divines, and lawyers, who, in elaborate treatises, maintained the civil sovereignty against the pontifical. This sort of heretics are now so much increased, that the Hildebrandine doctrine is commonly exploded. Such heretics are *tolerated*, though not approved. This shows that they as well as others are liable to change their sentiments, according to time and circumstances.

VII. *Hence there is great diversity of sentiments among Roman Catholics concerning the supreme power of the pope.*

We have already seen that his supreme power over all persons and in all things has been strongly maintained by the popes and their leading divines. It may be proper to state more particularly the diversity of sentiment, especially among those who have rejected the temporal authority of the pope.

1. The sentiments of the Gallic Church on this point deserve our special attention. The faculty of divinity at Paris, in their declaration in 1683, maintain that the pope has no power over the temporalities of the king, and cannot depose bishops against the rules of the canons; that the pope is not above a general council; that the pope is not infallible, unless he has the concurrent consent of the whole church.*

The power of the pope in spiritual matters, as held by the Cisalpine or French divines, is given by Mr. Butler, p. 107, as follows: "The Cisalpines affirm, that in spirituals the pope is subject in doctrine and discipline to the church, and to a general council representing her;

* Du Pin, Hist., xviiith cent., p. 149.

that he is subject to the canons of the church, and cannot, except in an extreme case, dispense with them; that even in such a case his dispensation is subject to the judgment of the church; that the bishops derive their jurisdiction from God himself immediately, and not derivatively through the pope; that he has no right to confer bishoprics, or other spiritual benefices of any kind, the patronage of which, by common right, prescription, concordat, or any other general rule of the church, is vested in another. They admit that an appeal lies to the pope from the sentence of the metropolitan; but assert that no appeal lies to the pope, and that he can evoke no cause to himself, during the intermediate process. They affirm that a general council may without, and even against the pope's consent, reform the church. They deny his personal infallibility, and hold that he may be deposed by the church or a general council, for heresy or schism; and they admit that in an extreme case, where there is a great division of opinion, an appeal lies from the pope to a future general council."

Multitudes of quotations might be given, in which the jarring sentiments of the Roman Church might be presented, but time and space would fail to record them. From those already given, and many more that will be quoted in our future pages, it will be seen that they are far from being of one mind on this point.

2. We will give an enumeration of the most prominent sentiments of the Roman Church and divines who reject the temporal or civil power of the pope; for they are divided on the pope's authority even in spiritual matters.

(1.) The *extent* of the pope's spiritual power is a matter of dispute. For though the popes themselves plainly claim an absolute supremacy over the church; though the greater number of divines have favoured their pretensions; though, according to their principles, (if they have any clear and fixed principles on this point,) this seems to be the doctrine of their church, yet there is among them a large party which does not allow him such a supremacy, but lays great restraints on his authority. And as the other party charges this with heresy, so this returns on that the same charge.

(2.) Some affirm that the pope, in doctrine and discipline, is subject to the church, or to a general synod representing it. The sixth declaration of the French Church, expressed in 1631, by their faculty of divinity, is, "that it is not the doctrine of the faculty that the pope is above a general council." But Bellarmine, the faithful son of the pope and the church, says: "The pope is simply and absolutely above the universal church: this proposition is almost an article of faith."* The cardinal Lorain, on the contrary, affirms: "But I cannot deny but that I am a Frenchman, and bred up in the church of Paris, which teaches that the Roman pontiff is subject to a council, and those who teach the contrary are there branded as heretics."† In reference to the sentiments of Bellarmine, the popes, and the court of Rome, the French Church, in the year 1631, as a confirmation of the *Six Propositions*,

* Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam: hæc propositio est fere de fide.—*Bell. de Concil.*, ii, 17.

† Ego vero negare non possum quin Gallus sim, et Parisiensis ecclesiæ alumnus, in qua Romanum pontificem subesse concilio tenetur, et qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur.—*Card. Loth. apud Laun.*, ep. i, 1.

holds the following language : " Nobody is ignorant of the efforts and artifices practised by the partisans of the court of Rome above thirty years to advance the power of the pope, by fictitious prerogatives, and to introduce into those parts of the world the new opinions of the Ultramontanes. The Six Propositions contain not only the condemnation of every thing that could establish any superiority of the pope in temporals, but also whatever could be brought to support the chimera of infallibility, and also of an imaginary dependance of a council upon the pope ; it being certain that if the faculty does not believe that the pope is infallible, it must, by a necessary consequence, believe that he may fall, or be seduced into error, and corrected by a superior power, which can be no other than that of a council and the universal church."^{*}

(3.) Some believe that the popes, unassisted by a council, may *teach heresy* ; and consequently Christians are sometimes not bound to believe their doctrines or observe their injunctions. Bellarmine says, " This opinion closely borders on heresy."[†]

(4.) Others affirm that the pope, as well as other bishops, is *subject to the canons*, or bound to observe the constitutions of the church. This is taught by the *fourth* declaration of the Gallic Church. This opinion implies that the pope is not to infringe, overrule, or dispense with the canons ; and if he attempts to do so he is not to be believed or obeyed.

(5.) Some maintain that the pope cannot subvert or violate the liberties or rights of particular churches, settled in them agreeably to the ancient canons of the universal church.

(6.) Some ascribe to general councils a power of reforming the church, without or against the pope's consent.

(7.) Others believe the pope is merely president of the church, and therefore that he has but a very limited and subordinate power.

(8.) Consequently there are those who believe that the pope, either for heresy or misconduct, may be called to an account, judged, corrected, or deposed by a general council.

Such sentiments as the foregoing have prevailed in a great part of the Roman communion, and were maintained by most divines in the French Church ; and they may be supposed to be the common opinion in most places where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the inquisition does not reign.

At some times they have so far prevailed as to be defined by general councils for Catholic truths. In the first great synod of Pisa, in 1409, it was declared " that councils may reform the church sufficiently, both in head and members."[‡] Accordingly the council judged two popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., who contended for the papacy, deposed them both, and elected Alexander V.

The Council of Constance declared that " the synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a general council representing the Catholic Church militant, hath immediately power from Christ ; to which every one, of whatever state or dignity he be, although it be papal, is bound to obey in those things which belong to faith, and the extirpation of (the said) schism, and the general reformation of the

^{*} Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., seventeenth cent., book ii, ch. ix, p. 150.

[†] *Quæ sententia videtur omnino erronea et hæresi proxima.*—*Bell.*, iv, 2.

[‡] *Conc. Pisæ, anno 1409, sess. 16, 17.*

church of God in head and members.”* The council put their doctrine into practice, deposing for heresies, misdemeanors, contumacies, &c., three popes, and choosing another, who afterward passed for a true pope, and confirmed the acts of the council. Of him the council says: “Our most holy lord the pope said, in answer to the foregoing, that he would maintain and inviolably observe all and every of those things that were decided by the council in matters of faith.”†

The Council of Basil declared in favour of the same sentiments: “That councils are superior to popes is a truth of Catholic faith, which whoever doth pertinaciously deny is to be accounted a heretic.”‡ Again they say: “Nor did any wise man ever doubt the pope to be subject to the judgment of general councils in things concerning faith.”§ And “by virtue of such doctrine, and by its irresistible authority,”|| the council pronounced Eugenius to be criminal, heretical, and contumacious.

These synods, although reprobated by popes and counter synods, are by many Roman Catholic divines retained in great veneration; and their doctrine was so current in France among the doctors of the Sorbonne, that the contrary doctrine, according to the cardinal of Lorraine, was accounted heretical. The declaration of the faculty of divinity of Paris, made to the king on the third of May, 1663, will show the sentiments of the Gallic Church at the period when they were delivered. This declaration embraces the six following propositions:—

“1. That it is not the doctrine of the faculty that the pope has any authority over the temporalities of the king; but, on the contrary, she has always resisted even those who would only ascribe an indirect power to him.

“2. That it is the doctrine of the faculty that the king doth not acknowledge, and hath no other superior in temporals than God alone; and that this is her ancient doctrine, from which she will never depart.

“3. That it is the doctrine of the same faculty, that his subjects owe the most Christian king such fidelity and obedience, that they cannot, on any pretence whatever, be dispensed with from paying them to him.

“4. That the same faculty does not approve, and that it has never approved any propositions contrary to the authority of the king, or the true liberties of the Gallican Church, or the canons received in the kingdom; for example, that the pope may depose bishops contrary to the canons.

“5. That it is not the doctrine of the faculty that the pope is above a general council.

* *Primo declarat quod ipsa synodus, &c., sess. 4, 5.*

† *Sanctissimus dominus noster papa dixit, respondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia et singula determinata, conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per presens concilium conciliariter tenere, et inviolabiliter observare volebat.—Conc. Const., sess. 45, p. 119.*

‡ *Veritas de potestate concilii supra papam—est veritas fidei Catholicæ—cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.—Concil. Basil., sess. xxxiii, p. 95.*

§ *Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt iudicio eorundem generalium synodorum esse subjectum.—Idem, sess. xlv, page 117.*

|| *Vigore cujus, ac ineffabili et inexpugnabili autoritate.—Idem, sess. xxxviii, p. 101.*

"6. That it is not the doctrine or opinion of the faculty that the pope is infallible, when he has not the concurrent consent of the church."

3. Even the popes themselves have shifted their pretensions and varied their opinions, to suit circumstances of time, their humours, designs, and interests.

In time of prosperity, when it could be safely done, almost any pope would assume much to himself; but when they stood in fear of contradiction or powerful opposition, their tone was lowered, and the boldest popes would speak with submission and moderation. For instance, Leo I., after the second Ephesine Council, when opposed by Theodosius II., became suppliant to the emperor; but after the Synod of Chalcedon, when the emperor and most of the bishops became favourable to him, his tone and language were much changed. And even Gregory VII., who treated with such arrogance the emperor Henry, was calm and mild with William the Conqueror, king of England, who was beyond his reach, and was of as high a temper as the pope himself. Popes of arrogant tempers, such as Leo I., Nicholas I., Gregory II., Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII., Julius II., Paul IV., Sixtus V., Paul V., &c., as they attempted to screw papal authority to the highest pitch, so they would strain their language in commendation of their see to the highest degree. But other popes, of a more meek and modest disposition, such as Julius I., Anastasius II., Gregory I., Leo II., Adrian VI., &c., were content to let things stand as they found them.

The pretences of popes varied according to several periods of time. In the first ages, while the emperors were pagans, their pretences were suited to their condition. The division of the empire, the Sardican canons, the fall of the western empire, the usurpation of Phocas, the spurious decretals, and the untameable spirit of Gregory VI., presented favourable opportunities of extending the power of the pope.

4. It is not wonderful that their doctrine is so various and uncertain, seeing the principles on which it is founded are uncertain, and the interests of men are concerned in the decision.

It is difficult to reconcile their dissensions, or the theological grounds and authorities to which they refer; for not only their schools and theologians differ, but their synods, whether general or provincial, also disagree.

Contrary *interests* will not suffer the point to be decided, nor indeed to be freely disputed on either hand. The pope will not allow his prerogatives to be discussed, according to that maxim of Pope Innocent III.: "When there is a question concerning the privileges of the apostolical see, we are unwilling that others should judge about them."*

Hence the pope commanded most peremptorily his legates at Trent in no case to allow any dispute concerning his authority. On the other hand, the French would never permit the supremacy of their king in temporals to be contested in their kingdom. The following is the language of the French Church in 1663, in defence of the *Six Propositions*, quoted above: "That all persons shall be prohibited to maintain and dispute, to read and teach, directly or indirectly, in the public schools or elsewhere, any propositions contrary to the ancient doctrine

* Cum super privilegiis sedis apostolicæ causa vertatur, nolumus de ipsis per alios judicari.—*Greg. Decret.*, lib. ii, tit. 1, cap. 12.

of the church, the canons of general councils, the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the ancient decrees of the faculty of divinity, under pain of exemplary punishment.”*

5. On account of the great variety of opinion concerning the nature and extent of the pope’s power, there is great difficulty in stating the question, or in knowing at what particular point to direct discussion. But seeing the pretence to the temporal sword is so palpably vain, and many Romanists reject it, and others confute it, we shall omit that point in the general discussion, confining our remarks to the spiritual power of the pope. This, we are persuaded, is no less groundless and no less injurious than his temporal power. We shall now attempt to show that the spiritual power of the pope is not of divine institution, or of any immutable right.

VIII. *The doctrine particularly discussed will be that in which the most cordial partisans of their church are agreed.*

1. The doctrine which we shall contest is that which is taught in their creeds and catechisms; which their highest ecclesiastical bodies, as general councils, have authoritatively defined; which their popes have solemnly published for standing law or rule of jurisdiction; which their subordinate synods or councils have received; which the general tenor of their discipline and practice holds forth for general observance; which their principal-theological schools receive, applaud, and teach; which their chief theologians maintain; which their clergy, by most solemn professions and engagements, are bound to receive, hold, and teach; which all the true followers of Rome profess; and which no man can disclaim without being a heretic, or an enemy to the apostolic see.

Such is the doctrine, and the only doctrine on the supremacy, which we will ascribe to the Church of Rome and oppose. We will not ascribe to them what they term the misrepresentations of Protestants, nor the sentiments of those whom their church discards. The doctrine held as above, and described in the following paragraphs, will be that which we shall ascribe to them, and which none of them can say is not held by their church.

2. Their doctrine is defined by the Council of Florence and Eugenius IV. as follows: “The apostolical chair and the Roman pontiff doth hold a primacy over the whole world; and that the Roman pontiff is the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the church; and that he is the father and teacher of all Christians; and to him in Peter full power is committed, by our Lord Jesus Christ, to feed, direct, and govern the universal church, according as it is contained in the acts of general councils and in the holy canons.”† Mr. Charles Butler, speaking on the decree of this council, says: “This is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church on the authority of the pope, and beyond it no Roman

* Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., xviiith century, book iii, ch. 9, p. 150.

† Sanctam apostolicam sedem, et Romanum pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri principis apostolorum, et verum Christi vicarium, totiusque ecclesiæ caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem, et doctorem existere, et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi, et gubernandi universalem ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse, quemadmodum etiam in actis œcumenicorum conciliorum, et in sacris canonibus continetur.—*Concil. Flor.*, sess. x.

Catholic is required to believe." Benedict XIV., in his bull dated 1742, recites this, and ranks it among his articles of *Catholic faith*.*

The Lateran Council and Pope Leo X. declare that "Christ, before his departure, did, in solidity of the rock, institute Peter and his successors vicars, whom it is so necessary to obey, that whosoever does not obey must die the death."†

The Council of Trent declares that the supreme power in the church was delivered to the popes.‡

3. How far the papal authority, in the pope's own sense of it, and according to the spirit of the church, doth extend itself, is more explicitly defined in the oath which all bishops at their consecration, and all metropolitans at their instalment, are required to take. This oath has already been given, and need not now be quoted, as the reader may refer to it as quoted in the introductory chapter of this work.

4. All beneficed clergymen ~~also~~ the supremacy who take the oath prescribed to them by papal appointment. For this surely is designed in the profession ordained by Pius IV., wherein every clergyman is enjoined to say, "And I do promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Jesus Christ," which profession was made in pursuance of a sanction made by the Council of Trent, that all such persons "should vow and swear to abide in obedience to the Roman Church."§

IX. *The absolute power of the pope in spiritual matters forms the true doctrine of the Church of Rome.*

1. The doctrines of those semi-Romanists who hold and teach contrary to the absolute power will be considered only incidentally, or in part. We will acknowledge and confirm that part of truth which they hold, and confute the errors which they embrace. Our arguments will be principally levelled at such pretensions of the pope as his firm adherents and the laws and constitution of the Church of Rome ascribe to him.

2. To the pope, as sovereign monarch of the whole church, do appertain *regalia Petri*, *royalties of Peter*, or *royal prerogatives*, as they are called in the bishop's oath. Such are the following: to be superior to the whole church, and to its representative, a general council; to call general councils at his pleasure, all bishops being obliged to attend on his summons; to preside in general councils, so as to propose matter for discussion to promote, obstruct, or overrule the debates; to confirm or invalidate their determinations; to define points of doctrine, or to decide controversies authoritatively, so that none may contest or dissent from his dictates; to enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, or dispense with ecclesiastical laws and canons; to relax or do away ecclesiastical censures, by indulgences, pardons, &c.; to dispense with the obligations of promises, vows, oaths, legal obligations, &c.; to be the fountain of all pastoral jurisdiction and dignity; to constitute,

* Bened. XIV. Bullar. de Dog. et Fid., sec. 1, tom. i, p. 347.

† Christus, migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in soliditate petræ Petrum ejusque successores vicarios suos instituit, quibus ex libri regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur.—*P. Leo X. in Concil. Lat.*, sess. xi, p. 151.

‡ Pontificibus maximis supremam potestatem in ecclesiâ traditam esse.—*Concilium Trid.*, sess. xiv, de Pœnitent., c. 7.

§ Provisi de beneficiis, in Romanæ Ecclesiæ obedientia se permansuros spondeant ac jurent.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxiv, cap. 12.

confirm, judge, censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore, and reconcile bishops; to exempt colleges and monasteries from the jurisdiction of their bishops and ordinary superiors; to judge all persons in all spiritual causes, by calling them to his presence, delegating judges, reserving to himself a final and decisive judgment; to receive appeals from all ecclesiastical judicatories, and reverse or confirm their decisions; to be accountable to no one for his acts; to erect, transfer, and abolish episcopal sees; to exact oaths of obedience from the clergy; to found religious orders; to summon and commission soldiers by crusade to fight against infidels or persecute heretics.

That the pope doth claim and exercise such prerogatives is manifest from experience, and declared in their canon law.

3. He that challenges such powers to himself should be able to make out a clear commission; for "no man taketh this honour to himself but he that is called by God, as was Aaron," Heb. v, 4. Such prerogatives cannot be allowed without clear and undoubted Scripture authority. We ought not to yield up the liberty of the church to the will of a pretender upon slight grounds. And it will not excuse us though such a power be boldly claimed, and for a long time usurped or exercised. Confident assumptions, subtle distinctions, blind traditions, or loose conjectures, furnish no proofs in such a case. They cannot, therefore, evade the demand which Protestants make in answer to their pretensions. They should show us a clear and direct Scriptural warrant for these high claims.

4. The following is the order in which we will discuss this subject:

I. That Peter did not possess or exercise a primacy of superiority, in power, command, or jurisdiction, over the other apostles: or Peter had not, by our Lord's appointment, or by divine right, supremacy over the other apostles.

II. That the primacy of Peter, of whatever kind it was, could not be transferred to others.

III. That Peter was not bishop of Rome.

IV. That the bishops of Rome have not a universal supremacy over the whole church, according to God's appointment.

V. That all ecclesiastical presidencies, or subordinations of some bishops or chief pastors over others in spiritual affairs, were introduced merely by human ordinances, and established by law and custom, for prudential reasons, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, and not by divine appointment.

VI. That the supremacy of the pope is a usurpation, which will appear by tracing it out in its origin, progress, and establishment.

VII. That the popes of Rome, since Peter's time, in fact, have not possessed or exercised the several prerogatives or branches of power embraced in the supremacy of the pope.

CHAPTER V.

SUPREMACY—SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Peter had not, by our Lord's appointment, supremacy over the other apostles.

Order of discussion.—I. OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PRECEDENCE OR EXCELLENCE.

1. Enumeration of them : 2. Peter may have possessed an excellence of *personal worth* or *merit*. Incidents to illustrate this : 3. Or of external reputation : 4. Or of honour or bare dignity. Probable reasons of this : 5. He did not possess a primacy of command or jurisdiction over the other apostles.—II. THE ARGUMENTS ADDUCED TO PROVE IT ARE INSUFFICIENT. 1. An express Scripture warrant necessary. They can adduce none without *wresting Scripture* : 2. "Thou art Peter," considered. Ten arguments on this : 3. The power of the *keys* considered. Twelve reasons against their gloss : 4. "Feed my sheep," &c., answered. Seven reasons against their sense : 5. Peter is called *primus, first*. This answered : 6. The *prerogatives* ascribed to him considered.—III. THE TITLES GIVEN TO HIM BY THE FATHERS CONSIDERED. 1. Enumeration of them. Their impertinence as arguments : 2. *First*. A rigid interpretation of these titles is absurd : 3. *Secondly*. The turgid eulogies are not found in most of the ancient fathers : 4. *Thirdly*. These titles are ambiguous : 5. *Fourthly*. And applicable to others : 6. *Fifthly*. Paul is joined with Peter : 7. The title *Head* : 8. *Apostolic* : 9. *Apostolic seat* : 10. *Successor of Peter* : 11. *Prince* : 12. *Vicar of Christ* : 13. *Pope* : 14. *Chief priest, or pontifex maximus* : 15. Impertinence of these names : 16. The fathers are brought to testify by corrupting them.—IV. ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE SUPREMACY OF PETER. 1. For it there ought to be a clear institution of Christ : 2. There is no express mention of it in Scripture : 3. No time assigned for its institution : 4. No title or name given to it : 5. There was no office above that of apostle : 6. Our Lord declared against it : 7. All the apostles were equal in authority : (1.) All were ambassadors ; (2.) Rocks ; (3.) Builders ; (4.) All had the keys ; (5.) All fed the flock ; (6.) Their commission universal ; (7.) Had all extraordinary gifts ; (8.) Common prerogatives ; (9.) Councils recognise this ; (10.) Were all co-ordinate in power : 8. No intimation of the supremacy in Peter's epistles : 9. Nor in the Acts or apostolic epistles : 10. No appeal to Peter in any controversies mentioned in Scripture : 11. He does not act as judge of controversies : 12. He was not the source of power : 13. The proceedings of the apostles are at variance with the supremacy : 14. The apostles acted independently : 15. Behaviour of Paul to Peter is against it. Nine circumstances given : 16. If Peter were pope he should outlive the other apostles : 17. Other apostles might assume the supremacy on the same grounds on which it is claimed for Peter.

PETER did not possess or exercise a primacy of superiority, in power, command, or jurisdiction, over the other apostles : or, Peter had not, by our Lord's appointment, or by divine right, supremacy over the other apostles.

In establishing the foregoing proposition we will

I. Give an enumeration of the different kinds of primacy or precedence which may belong to a person in respect to others.

II. Show that the arguments brought to prove that Peter did possess a superiority of power, command, or jurisdiction over the other apostles, are insufficient.

III. Adduce the testimony of the fathers concerning it.

IV. Present the arguments against it.

I. Let us, in the first place, enumerate the different kinds of supremacy or precedence which one person may have in regard to others.

1. There are several kinds of primacy, precedence, excellence, &c., which one person may have in respect to others.

There is a primacy or excellence of *personal worth*.

There is a primacy of *external reputation*, or *esteem*.

There is a primacy of *honour* or *precedence* for the sake of order.

There is a primacy of *power* or *jurisdiction*.

We will examine what right Peter had to each of these, and ascertain whether he possessed such a supremacy over the other apostles as the Church of Rome ascribes to him.

2. As to the first of these, a primacy or excellence of *personal worth* or *merit*, it may be granted to Peter.

It is probable he excelled all or most of the other apostles in personal endowments and capacity, both natural and moral, qualifying him for the discharge of the apostolic office in an eminent degree. Particularly he was a man of a quick apprehension, bold spirit, active, and industrious; he was zealous; he loved his Lord much. The following may serve as instances in which some of the foregoing traits are manifested.

When our Lord, referring to the different opinions of men concerning him, asked the apostles, "Who say ye that I am?" Peter (*προπηδάει και προλαμβάνεται*) *steps up first, and anticipates* the others, saying, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Matt. xvi, 15, 16. The other apostles were not ignorant of this point, for at their conversion they confessed Christ. John i, 42, 46, 50; Matt. xiv, 33, &c.; xxvi, 63. Nathaniel had confessed it; the others, on seeing Christ walk on the sea, avowed it. St. Peter, even before that, in the name of them all had said, *Ἡμεῖς πεπιστευκαμεν και εγνωχαμεν*, *We have believed and have known that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*, John vi, 69. The others, therefore, had the same faith, but he was more forward to declare it. As Gregory Nazianzen saith, "He was more hot than the others at acknowledging Christ."*

When our Lord walked on the sea, Peter alone had the courage and faith to commit himself to the waters.

At the transfiguration he proposed to erect a tabernacle for their abode, *not knowing what he said*.

When our Lord spoke of his sufferings, Peter pressed him to spare himself.

When our Lord predicted the desertion of his disciples, such was the natural courage of Peter that he was ready to say, "Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended." And, "Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee," Matt. xxvi, 33, 35; John xiii, 37.

When our Lord was apprehended by the soldiers, Peter courageously drew his sword in his defence.

When the report reached him that our Lord was risen from the dead, he first ran to the sepulchre.

From the foregoing particulars, as well as others which need not be mentioned, we may well admit that Peter had a primacy of worth, or personal accomplishments, which rendered him eminent among the apostles. Although afterward there arose one who could say, "he was not behind the very chief apostles;" of whom St. Ambrose saith, "Neither was Paul inferior to Peter, being well to be compared with the first, and second to none."† This is the primacy which Eusebius

* Θερμότερος των άλλων εις επιγνωσιν Χριστου.—*Greg. Naz., orat. 34.*

† Nec Paulus inferior Petro, cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus.—*Ambros. de Sp., S. ii, 12.*

attributes to him when he calls him "the excellent and great apostle, who for his virtue was the prolocutor of all the rest."*

3. As to a primacy of *external reputation*, or *repute*, it may well be ascribed to Peter. St. Paul intends this when he speaks of the *οἱ δοκῶντες*, *those who had a special reputation*, who *seemed to be pillars*, and were *ὑπερλίαν ἀποστολοὶ*, *supereminent apostles*, or *chief apostles*. From which we learn that there were some, even among the apostles, who, on account of their worth, were held in higher reputation than others. To this class Peter belonged, it being a necessary consequence of his eminent qualities and his zealous labours. Hence he obtained considerable renown among the early Christians.

4. In regard to a *primacy of order*, or *bare dignity or honour*, this too may be allowed him without ascribing to him papal supremacy.

That the other apostles gave him the precedence in conducting business may be safely questioned; for instance, in speaking first on any topic, or the like. This would seem to be a privilege which does not suit the gravity of apostles, that they would stand on ceremonies. Our Lord's rules seem also to exclude all kinds of inequality among the apostles. Yet some precedence may be granted as probable. It might be useful to preserve order and expedite business; to promote union and prevent ambition.

As all could not speak or act first, or guide affairs, it was necessary that one should be appointed, either permanently or temporarily, for this purpose. So Chrysostom, in commenting on Acts ii, 14, where Peter speaks for the rest, says: "See the concord of the apostles; they yield unto him the right of speech, for they could not all speak."† And Jerome gives also his sense of this in the following words: "One is chosen among the twelve, that a head being appointed, an occasion of schism might be removed."‡

Cyprian§ ascribes a preference to Peter for the sake of unity. Other African doctors, as Optatus and Augustine,|| speak in the same strains. There is little solidity in their sentiments on this point, and as little harm.

But though the fathers countenance such a precedence in favour of Peter, they do not extend it so as to involve supremacy, nor do they found it on divine right. Divers reasons are given by them. Augustine says: "Peter was by nature one man, by grace one Christian, by more abundant grace one and the same prime apostle."¶ Again he says: "For Peter himself, being the first in the order of the apostles, the most forward in the love of Christ, he alone often answers for all the rest."**

Several probable reasons may be given to show why some precedence should be given to Peter beyond some other apostles.

* Τον καρτερον και μεγαν των αποστολων, τον αρετης 'ενεκα των λοιπων 'απαντων προηγρον.—Euseb. Hist., ii, 4.

† Σκοπαι των αποστολων την 'ομονοιαν, αυτοι παραχωρ ουσιν αυτω της δημηγοριας, ου γαρ εδει παντας φθεγγεσθαι.—Chrysost. in Acts ii, 14.

‡ Inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto, schismatis tolleretur occasio.—Hier. in Jovin., i, cap. 14.

§ Ep. 73.

|| August. de Bapt., iii, 17.

¶ Petrus—natura unus homo erat, gratia unus Christianus, abundantiore gratia, unus idemque primus apostolus.—August. in Joh., tract. 123.

** Ipse enim Petrus in apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sepe unus respondet pro omnibus.—Aug. de Verbis Dom. sup. Matt. i, Sermon. 13.

First. It is probable he was first called to the apostleship, or first named or appointed by our Lord, when out of all his disciples *he chose twelve, and named them apostles*: Simon, whom he named Peter, and Andrew his brother. Luke v, 3; vi, 14; Matt. iv, 18; Mark i, 16. Accordingly one father says, "He first appointed Peter and Andrew, because they were first called."* Epiphanius informs us that our Lord, "knowing who was worthy to be appointed among the first, chose Peter to be the leader."† Hilary says, "He did first believe, and his apostleship is chief or first."‡ "He," says Cyprian, "was the first chosen by our Lord."§ So that, as has been the case in several ancient churches, Peter may have had a certain primacy, because he was first appointed to the apostleship.

Secondly. Peter might have a certain pre-eminence on account of his age. So thought St. Jerome, who speaks thus: "Why was not John elected, being unmarried? It was reserved for age, because Peter was older; for a youth, and one almost a boy, ought not to be preferred to men of mature age."|| Yet Epiphanius says, "Peter was younger than Andrew."¶ There is, however, little stress to be placed on these statements concerning the age of the apostles, as their opinions are grounded on tradition; yet the sentiment of Jerome seems probable.

Thirdly. In consequence of the eminent talents and qualifications of Peter, the first place seems to have been frequently awarded him by his colleagues. It is indeed observable, that on most occasions our Lord paid particular respect to him. He directed his discourse to him more frequently than to the others. He promised to Peter those gifts which he meant to confer upon all. There were several other marks of respect paid to Peter, which would intimate that he was considered as first among the apostles.

Fourthly. The fathers ascribed his priority to his faith, in which he excelled others. Hilary saith: "He obtained supereminent glory by the confession of his blessed faith."** Ambrose states: "Because he alone of all the rest professeth his love, therefore he is preferred above all."††

Fifthly. In all the catalogues of the apostles, Peter's name is placed first; and in actions in which he was jointly concerned with others he is usually named first, which would argue some special reason or design. On this account a primacy, for the sake of good order, may be safely assigned him; such as the moderator or president of ecclesiastical bodies, or speakers in legislative bodies.

5. But as to a primacy importing superiority in power, command,

* Προτιθησι δε Πετρον και Ανδρεαν, διοτι πρωτοκλητοι.—*Theoph. in Matt. x.*

† Γινωσκων τις εν πρωτοις αξιος ταπτεσθαι, εξελεξατο Πετρον αρχηγον ειναι.—*Epiph. Har. 51.*

‡ Primus credidit, et apostolatus est princeps.—*Hilar. in Matt., cap. vii, sec. 6, tom. iii, p. 353.*

§ Quem primum Dominus elegit.—*Cypri. Opera, ep. 71, tom. i, p. 227.*

|| Sed cur non Joannes electus est virgo? Ætati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat: ne adhuc adolescens et pene puer progressæ ætatis hominibus præferetur.—*Hier. in Jorin., i, 14.*

¶ Μικροτερον οντος του Πετρον τω χρονω της ἡλικιας.—*Epiph. Har. 51.*

** Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione gloriam promeruit.—*Hilar. de Trin., lib. vi, cap. 37, tom. i, p. 169.*

†† Ideo quia solus proficitur amorem suum ex omnibus, omnibus antefertur.—*Amb. in Luc., cap. ult.*

and jurisdiction, such as Roman Catholics ascribe to the pope, we must deny it, for the following reasons :

II. *The arguments which are produced to prove it are insufficient.*

1. For such a power, it is necessary that a commission from God, in clear and direct terms, should be produced, that no man might have any doubt about believing it, or excuse for not submitting to it. This was necessary, not only for the apostles, but also for us ; because it is made the foundation of duty, which we cannot discharge without being assured of our obligation by clear revelation of God's will in Holy Scripture. But no such commission is extant in Scripture, but on the contrary, many clear passages are against it.

It is true, there are several passages of Scripture adduced by the members of the Church of Rome for the purpose of establishing the supremacy of the pope ; but on a careful examination it will be found that these texts do not support it. The places of Scripture which they allege for it do not contain it by express declaration, by plain implication, or fair consequence. No man can deduce it from them, except by *wresting the Scriptures*.

2. They all allege these words of our Saviour, uttered by him on the occasion of Peter's confessing him to be the Son of God : "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church," Matt. xvi, 18. Here they say Peter is called the foundation, that is, the sole supreme governor of the church. On this text Dens says : "Although the name of the primacy may not be expressed, yet it is manifestly promised under two metaphors : the first metaphor is taken from the nature of a foundation and edifice ; and what the foundation of an edifice is, the same in the community is a king in his kingdom, &c. The other is taken from the delivery of keys ; for he to whom the keys of a city are delivered is constituted or declared to be the king or governor of the city."*

On the foregoing interpretation we observe :

(1.) All they say on this subject is said gratuitously, without any pretence of proof ; for they bring no evidence to sustain their exposition of the text, such as will bear examination. The words of the text are metaphorical, and hence capable of divers interpretations, none of which are sufficient to ground the papal interpretation upon. No legitimate interpretation, founded on the philology of language, the current of Scripture truths, and the sober sense of grave interpreters, supports their exposition. Hence a bare denial of it is a sufficient answer to their assertion.

(2.) The fathers and divines, both ancient and modern, have differed much in their exposition of these words. Some say that this rock is Peter, others that it is Christ, and others that it is the confession of faith which Peter made.

Some interpret *this rock* to be Christ, of whom Paul says, "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus," 1 Cor. iii, 11. Augustine, in his *Retractations*, expounds the words to this purpose, though he did not reject the interpretation which made Peter the rock, leaving it to the reader to choose the more probable.

* *Quamvis nomen, &c.*—Dens, *De Ecclesia*, No. 99, tom. ii, p. 431.

The most eminent fathers, however, have taken the rock to be St. Peter's faith or confession. Of this opinion was Chrysostom.*

Theodoret says: "Our Lord did permit the first of the apostles to be shaken, whose confession he fixed as a prop or foundation of the church."†

Hence Origen‡ says that "every disciple of Christ is the rock," in virtue of his agreement with Peter in that holy confession.

Hilary says: "This, therefore, is the one immovable foundation; this is the one happy rock of faith confessed by the mouth of Peter, *Thou art the Son of the living God.*"§ Erasmus in his edition put this note in the margin: "Petram interpretatur ipsam fidei professionem;" "He interprets the rock to be the very profession of faith." Erasmus on Matt. xvi, 18, cited Augustine for the same sense of the place which Hilary gives, and put in the margin, "Ecclesia non est fundata super Petrum;" "The church is not founded on Peter." The Spanish inquisitors order this to be blotted out of Erasmus's exposition, although Hilary and Augustine, and many others, said the same thing.||

Several popes held the opinion that the rock on which the church was built was not Peter's person, but his faith, or confession of it.¶

Some of the most learned men among them maintain the exposition of Chrysostom. Among these we mention *John Semeca*, in his gloss upon Gratian, and *Nicholaus Lyranus* and *Ansel*.**

The Church of Rome seems to be sometimes at variance with herself in interpreting the passage under consideration. The fathers of the Council of Trent say: "The creed or profession of faith which the Church of Rome useth is the firm and only foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail."†† Such is the declaration of the infallible Council of Trent, which is plainly contrary to the exposition generally given by their divines and in their standard writers of this text of Scripture.

Now seeing there is such diversity of opinion concerning the true interpretation of this passage, especially among those of the Church of Rome, how can we be obliged to fall into their mode of interpretation, unsupported as it is by the philology of language, and even some of the brightest ornaments of the ancient church? And why may we not, therefore, without blame, refuse their doctrine, because unsupported by the strongest Scripture testimonies which are brought to support it?

(3.) The apostles themselves did not understand these words as promising to Peter a supremacy over them. Would they have *contended*‡‡ for the chief place, had they understood that this, by our Lord's determination, was bestowed on Peter? Would they have *disputed* about a question which, to their knowledge, had been *decided*

* Chrys. in Matt. xvi, 18, and John i, 50. See T. L.'s authorities, p. 38.

† Theod., ep. 77.

‡ In Matt. xvi.

§ Unum igitur hoc est immobile fundamentum, una hæc felix fidei petra Petri ore confessa, *Tu es Filius Dei vivi.*—Hilar. *Pictav. de Trinit.*, lib. ii, cap. 23, tom. i, page 46.

|| Index Libr. Proh., Madritii, 1667, in Desid. Erasmi., p. 289, col. i.

¶ See instances in Barrow on Supremacy, p. 97, and T. L., p. 40.

** See quotations in T. L., p. 39.

†† Synodus statuit, præmittendum esse confessionem fidei—symbolum fidei; quo Romana Ecclesia utitur, tamquam principium—ac fundamentum firmum et unicum, contra quod portæ inferni nunquam prævalebunt.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. 3

‡‡ Luke xxii, 24.

by their Master? * Would they have troubled our Lord by inquiring who should be the greatest, had they known that this matter had by him already been decided? † Would the sons of Zebedee have been so foolish as to ask for themselves the place which they knew had been given to Peter? ‡ And would Peter have been uneasy at this had he known the place was assigned to himself? Now if none of the apostles understood the words in the Roman Catholic sense, who then is now obliged to receive them in that sense? For surely they had as many opportunities of knowing the sense of Christ as any men since could have: their ignorance, therefore, of the popish sense of *Thou art Peter, &c.*, is a very strong argument against it.

(4.) Their interpretation doth not consist with the answers which our Lord gave to the inquiries of his disciples concerning the point of superiority. For if the Roman interpretation be good, our Lord seems on these occasions not only to dissemble his own word and promise, but to disavow them. Can we suppose that he would in such a case of doubt forbear to deliver clear instructions on what is claimed to be an article of the Christian faith, and necessary to salvation?

(5.) The word *rock* doth not mean *government*, allowing Peter was the rock. For what resemblance was there between being a rock and a governor?

(6.) But admitting that being such a rock doth imply government; the other apostles were *foundations* as well as Peter.

(7.) It is not said that the apostles or apostolic office should be built on him; for the apostles were appointed and their office founded before the promise was made to Peter. The words, therefore, can only mean, that in some sense he was a rock, upon which the church afterward to be collected was built.

(8.) If we take Peter himself for a rock, then the best meaning of the passage is, that our Lord designed him as a first and principal instrument in propagating his gospel by supporting its truth, and converting men to its dominion. In this sense the other apostles are called foundations. The church is a "spiritual house," (1 Pet. ii, 5,) "built on the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone," Eph. ii, 20. And St. John, speaking of the church, the new Jerusalem, says: "The city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb," Rev. xxi, 14. The apostles were termed foundations, because upon their testimony concerning the person, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, the faith of Christians was grounded; and because it was maintained and propagated by their preaching, their holy practice, and their miraculous performances; in all which Peter, in the beginning of Christianity, was most eminent, and displayed them to the greatest advantage. This interpretation agrees with matter of fact, which is the best interpreter of right and privilege in such cases. For we may reasonably understand our Saviour to have promised that which in effect was accomplished. So Tertullian says: "For so the effect sheweth, the church was built on him, that is, by him." § But this does not imply a superi-

* Mark ix, 34.

† Matt. xviii, 1.

‡ Matt. xx, 24.

§ Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extructa est, id est per ipsum, &c.—Tert. de Pudicit., cap. 21.

ority of power granted to Peter above his brethren, though it did imply a superiority of worth, or privilege.

(9.) It will here be proper to make a few observations on the import of the words used in the text under consideration, namely, the words *Peter* and *rock*.

First. The Greek word *πετρος*, *Petros*, or *Peter*, does not mean a *rock*, though it has a relative meaning to the word *πετρα*, *petra*, a *rock*; for it signifies a *stone*, or little piece of a rock; whereby the dignity of the *real foundation*, expressed by the figure of *petra* or *rock*, is superior in dignity to the preceding word *petros* or *stone*; as *petra*, a real rock, is superior to a mere *stone*, or a piece from the rock: because a *rock* is the regular figurative expression in Scripture to express the supreme Jehovah: "Jehovah is my rock," 2 Sam. xxii, 2; Psa. xviii, 2. Again: "My God is my rock;" and, "Who is a rock except our God?" 2 Sam. xxii, 32. Many other examples might be brought to show that, by the expression used by our Lord on the occasion, nothing less was understood than our Lord's divine dignity, as declared by Peter in the preceding context, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*.

That our Lord referred to this declaration of Peter, relating to his own divine dignity, as being the true *rock* on which he would build his church, is established by the clear distinction made by Christ between the *stone*, *πετρος*, *petros*, and the *rock*, *πετρα*, *petra*, by the accurate grammatical manner in which both the words are expressed. For whatever may have been the language in which they were at first spoken, whether Chaldee or Syriac, yet in this point the Greek is an authoritative instructor. The first word, *petros*, *πετρος*, being a masculine noun, signifies merely a *stone*; and the second word, *πετρα*, *petra*, a feminine noun, signifies a *rock*. The true meaning of the name *petros* was declared by our Lord to be Cephass, a *stone*, and *petros* doth always signify a stone, and perhaps never a rock.

With respect, then, to the word *petros*, when it is applied figuratively to Peter, it can represent only *one* out of the many believers who, as figurative stones, form the spiritual building of the church, and not the foundation on which the church is built; because in this sense the foundation refers to God alone, or to Christ. And though Christ himself is sometimes called a *stone*, (*λιθος*, *lithos*, but not *πετρος*, *petros*,) yet whenever this figurative expression is applied to him it is always with such a clear distinction of superiority over all other figurative stones as will not admit the idea of any *vicarial stone* in his place. For instance, he is called "the head stone of the corner," Psa. cxviii, 22; "a precious corner stone," Isa. xxviii, 16. And Peter declares, "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Christ," 1 Pet. ii, 5. He here plainly acknowledges the true foundation on which the other living stones of the primitive catholic church of Christ were built. He then proceeds: "Wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture, Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded. Unto you therefore which believe he is precious; but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner."

From this whole argument of Peter, it is manifest there can be no

other head of the church than Christ himself; so that a vicarial head is not only contrary to Peter's instructions to the eastern churches, long after Christ's resurrection, but it is also contrary to our Lord's own instruction to his disciples, when he promised them that "where two or three are gathered together in his name, there he is in the midst of them." So that the appointment of any *vicar upon earth* to represent that *rock*, or *eternal Head* of the church, whose continual presence even to the smallest congregations on earth is expressly promised, would be superfluous and vain.

Thus the true sense of the noun *petros*, a stone, is fairly stated, and its *relative* meaning to the second noun, *petra*, a rock, as far as it is applicable to the apostle Peter.

(10.) *Secondly.* A due consideration of the second noun, *πετρα*, *petra*, a rock, will lead us to the same result; that is, it will show that the name rock, which in other texts is applied to Jehovah or God alone, was not intended to be applied by our Lord to Peter, but only to that true testimony which Peter had given concerning the divinity of Christ, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*

It has already been noticed that *petra*, a rock, was a feminine noun; and that a clear distinction is to be made between it and the masculine noun *petros*, by the grammatical terms in which *petra*, in its *relatives* and *articles*, is expressed, which are all regularly feminine throughout the whole sentence. This shows that our Lord did not intend that the new appellation of *petros*, a stone, which he had just before given to Simon, should be construed as the character of which he spoke in the next part of the sentence. For if he had really intended that construction, the same masculine noun *petros* must have been repeated in the next part of the sentence with the masculine pronoun, namely, *ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέτρῳ*, instead of *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ*, the present text; wherein the gender is not only changed from the masculine to the feminine, but also the figurative character itself, which is as much superior in dignity to the apostle Simon, and also to his new name, as a solid rock is superior to a moveable stone. For the word *petros* cannot signify any thing more than a *stone*; so that the popish application of it to Peter as the foundation of Christ's church is not only inconsistent with the real meaning of the name which Christ at that very time conferred upon him, and with the necessary grammatical construction of it, but also with the figurative sense of the other word *petra*, the *rock*; *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ*, upon this rock, the declared foundation of the church, a title of dignity which is applicable only to God or to Christ.

Furthermore, the application of the title rock to Peter is inconsistent with the plain reference to the preceding context made by our Lord in the beginning of this verse—*And I also say unto thee*—which points out to our Lord's divine dignity in the preceding sentence, *Thou art the Christ*, the true foundation or rock on which alone the true catholic church of Christ is built; because our faith in Christ, "the Son of the living God," is the only security or rock of our salvation. And hence a true faith builds on a rock or foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. Matt. vii, 24, 25. For he who hears the sayings of Christ and doeth them builds upon a rock. And John tells us that such faith is victorious. 1 John v, 4, 5.

Christ was also the rock of the primitive church of Israel; for Paul

says, "They did all drink of that spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ," 1 Cor. x, 4. And the apostle in a preceding chapter says, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. iii, 11.

The conclusion to which we are brought by the preceding is, that an attempt to set up any man as the rock or foundation of the true catholic church must be attributed either to extreme ignorance of the Holy Scriptures or to extreme wickedness.

3. They allege the latter part of the verse discussed above: "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." On this passage Dens says: "That Peter did not receive the keys as a private person, but as supreme pastor, and for the benefit of the church; and from him, by ordinary right, the power of the keys is derived to other superiors, bishops, and pastors of the church."*

To this we answer:

(1.) The words are figurative, and therefore not sufficiently clear to prove the point in debate.

(2.) They have admitted and received various interpretations of the passage.

(3.) The apostles did not understand these words as conveying to Peter a supremacy over them; Peter himself did not affix this sense to them; our Lord, on an occasion which would require it, did not refer to any promise concerning the supremacy.

(4.) Our Lord speaks in the future tense, *δωσω*, *I will give*, not *I have given*, or *do give*; and therefore they must show some other place in Scripture where the power is actually given to Peter, and to him alone. Otherwise it will be impossible to prove his prerogative and supremacy over the other apostles.

(5.) The keys were given to the other apostles as well as to Peter.

Our Lord, in treating on this very subject, is represented as bestowing the keys on the other apostles: "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," Matt. xviii, 18. This is exactly the power of the keys given to the other apostles as well as Peter.

Again: "Then said Jesus unto them again, Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, even so I send you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained," John xx, 21-23. Here there is no supremacy given to Peter. Thus *parallel* passages favour the Protestant interpretation.

The *context* of the passage does the same. We are informed in the very next verse, namely, the twentieth, that our "Lord THEN charged his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ;" manifestly referring to the declaration of Peter, "Thou art the Christ," in answer to his own question to all the disciples, "Who say ye that I am?" Christ no more promised the keys exclusively to Peter than he promised to bless him exclusively when he said, "Blessed art thou,

* Quod Petrus, &c.—*Dens, de Eccles.*, No. 91, tom. ii, p. 433.

Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven." Christ had put a question to *all* the apostles, "Who say ye that I am?" Then Peter answered in behalf of them all, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." We might then as well say that Christ blessed Peter exclusively of the rest, as that he promised to him alone the keys.

It is absurd to hold that Peter should exercise the power of the keys in reference to the other apostles; because he did not open the kingdom of heaven to them, who were formerly admitted into it by our Lord.

Our Lord said to Peter first, "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men," Luke v, 10; Matt. iv, 19. Is it hence to be inferred that he alone was thus authorized? Many such instances might be given.

But the matter is put beyond doubt by the declared *purpose* for which the keys were given. They refer to the authority which Christ conferred on his apostles with regard to doctrine, worship, government, and discipline in the church; and this was conferred on them all.

(6.) The fathers generally ascribe to all the apostles the power of the keys.*

(7.) Their own authentic offices testify that the other apostles as well as Peter possessed the power of the keys.

The Roman Processional has the following prayer: "Pray for him, all ye holy apostles, to whom the power of binding and loosing is given by the Lord."†

The Roman Catechism, on the tenth article of the creed, assures us "that every bishop and priest has the power of the keys given him by our blessed Saviour."

Hence, in the Roman Pontifical, in the ordination ceremony for a priest, this "power of the keys, of remitting and retaining sins, is given to every one ordained to that office, in the very same words which our Saviour used when he conferred this power on Peter and the apostles."‡

The Council of Trent confirm all this by their decision, as follows: "That Christ, when he was about to ascend into heaven, left all priests his vicars, as presidents and judges, to whom all mortal sins were referred; so that, by the power of the keys, they would pronounce remission and retention of sins."§ The council attempts to prove this from Matt. xvi, 19, the place from which they attempt to prove the pope's supremacy.

(8.) Should we grant that something peculiar belonged to Peter by these words, it can only be this, that he was *first* and *principal* in propagating the gospel, which is the same as opening the kingdom of heaven. So Tertullian says: "So the event teacheth, the church was built in him, that is, by him; he did first use the key; which see, 'Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved

* See many quotations in Barrow on the Supremacy, pp. 103, 104.

† Orate pro eo omnes sancti apostoli, quibus a Domino data est potestas ligandi et solvendi.—*Processionale Rom., In Commendatione Animæ.*

‡ *Pontificale Rom., De Ordin. Presby.*

§ Christus ascensurus in cœlos, sacerdotes sui ipsius vicarios reliquit, tamquam præsidēs ac iudices, ad quos omnia mortalia crimina deferantur; quo, pro potestate clavium, remissionis et retentionis sententiam pronunciant.—*Concil. Trid., sess. 14, de Pœn., cap. 5.*

of God among you,' &c. He in fine, in the baptism of Christ, did unlock the entrance to the kingdom of heaven."*

(9.) Christ exercises the power of the keys in the church by his apostles and the inspired writers. There it was first placed in its plenary fulness, and there it still remains. Christ himself is Lord and king in his own church. He hath the key of David. This symbol of authority is laid on his shoulder. "He openeth, and no man can shut; he shutteth, and no man can open." "The Father hath given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as he hath given him." What the apostles did and taught under the agency of the Holy Ghost was divine teaching and a divine operation. They committed to writing all that the Holy Ghost dictated for the government, instruction, and edification of the church in all future ages. Christ gave authority to them, and they only of the human race have been honoured to carry the keys of the kingdom of God, in the prime and strict sense of the promise.

(10.) What has been said does not interfere with the power of the keys as exercised by church rulers in the proper exercise of a Scriptural discipline. In every church, whether great or small, there must be the power of binding and loosing; of receiving and excluding members; of administering divine ordinances, whether of doctrine, worship, government, or discipline; but whether this be lodged in the hands of many or few, it is only ministerial. This is, in a certain sense, using the keys which Christ gave his apostles. But the written word is the only rule by which the power of Christ is to be administered in the church. There are many who despise church authority; and certainly the usurpations of the Church of Rome are calculated to make men both dread and despise it; but all lawful authority in the church is the authority of Christ, and he who despises it despises Christ.

(11.) It should, however, always be remembered, that Christ himself hath the key of David. This prerogative he claimed for himself after Peter was dead, (Rev. iii, 7,) and he still holds the key in his own hand. He has the entire disposal of the treasures of eternal life. "It pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell;" and this fulness is dispensed, according to the testimony of his apostles, to all who apply to him. "Out of his fulness have we all received, and grace for grace." But were the key of such treasure transferred to the pope, the church would be left to depend on a broken reed, that would afford no help, and would disappoint all who would lean on it.

(12.) As a proof of the error of the Church of Rome in her exposition of Matt. xvi, 18, we need only adduce some of her interpretations of the passage; from which it will appear that the most inconsistent and absurd views are taken by her and her advocates on this text. Innocent III. cites the passage to show that the emperor is subject to the pope. Boniface VIII. produces it for the same purpose in his impious Extravagant, which Bellarmine approves, and Leo X. renews and confirms. Innocent X. pronounced the proposition to be a heresy, which ascribed to Paul as well as Peter a superior power in the

* Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extracta est, id est, per ipsum; ipse clavem imbuat; vide quam, Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico, Jesum Nazarenum virum a Deo vobis destinatum, &c. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo recessit aditum coelestis regni, &c.—*Tert. de Predic.*, cap. 21, tom. ii, p. 232.

church. In short, from the text in question they attempt to prove the supreme power of the pope in all matters, spiritual and temporal, not omitting the power of deposing kings, absolving subjects, of conferring all spiritual gifts, and governing in all things the church. From the same passage, too, every bishop and priest is invested with power to remit sins authoritatively and as a judge, not ministerially, or as an instructor. In short, from this text the Roman clergy, from the highest to the lowest, take their warrant to rule the church of God in all things, and to extend their jurisdiction to all infidels, and Protestants or heretics, so as to establish a complete despotism over the minds, souls, bodies, property, and liberties of all men on the whole earth. So they themselves have frequently expounded this passage of Scripture.

4. For the supremacy of Peter they allege the following words of Christ to him: "Feed my sheep; feed my lambs."

(1.) Our Lord says no more to Peter than what he requires of every minister of Christ or pastor of a flock. So Paul charges the presbyters or bishops of Ephesus: "Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood," Acts xx, 28. And Peter exhorts the pastors "to feed the flock of God which was among them," 1 Pet. v, 2. Here the duty of feeding, implying to govern, feed, &c., belongs to every person having care of souls. And even the Catechism of the Council of Trent expressly says, that "all bishops are pastors, to rule as well as feed the flock and sheep of Jesus Christ." Indeed, the popes, who profess to be the successors of Peter, do not perform the part of pastors of the flock, either by governing or feeding them; for they are principally taken up with governing the clergy, and they never, or very rarely, feed the people by the word and sacraments, or the exercise of a wholesome discipline.

(2.) The words, *feed my sheep*, cannot bear their arbitrary gloss, for it is not said, *Do thou alone feed all my sheep*; and without such a meaning the supremacy of Peter could not be inferred from them. For instance; when Paul instructed the presbyters or bishops of Ephesus *to feed the church of God*, it cannot hence be inferred that each of them was a universal governor of the whole church *which Christ had purchased with his blood*.

(3.) The apostles had previously this warrant, and therefore no new power was given to Peter by the words in question. For our Lord had previously commissioned them all when he said, "As the Father hath sent me, so send I you." Therefore the words, *feed my sheep*, did not add to or take from their commission.

(4.) The following seems to be the proper exposition of the passage. Peter had three times denied his Master, and the last time he denied him upon a solemn oath, and declared that he knew nothing of him. From that time he ceased to be an apostle of Christ. And as Peter had thrice denied him, our Lord three times calls upon him to confess his love to him, and as often renews his commission, *Feed my sheep*. As Judas fell from his apostleship by transgression, Peter as certainly fell from it by denying his Lord by an oath. The commission, *Feed my sheep*, restored him to his apostleship, but nothing more; for it was that commission that made both him and all the rest apostles at first.

The words of our Lord to Peter contain also an exhortation to future obedience and stability.

(5.) The same office belonged to all the apostles. At their first vocation they were commanded "to go unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel, that were scattered abroad like sheep having no shepherd," Matt. x, 6 ; ix, 36. Before our Lord's ascension they were enjoined *to teach all nations* the doctrines and precepts of Christ ; to receive them into the fold ; to feed them with good instruction ; to guide and govern them with good discipline.

(6.) Hence the sheep which our Saviour instructs Peter to feed were not the apostles, who were his fellow-shepherds, but the common believers, or people of God, whom Peter himself calls the *flock of God* ; *Feed*, says he, the flock of God which is among you. Such a work is never performed by popes.

Interpret feeding as you please, for teaching or guiding, the apostles were not objects of it, for they were immediately taught of God, and guided by him.

(7.) Besides, the Roman Catholic interpretation, which extends the government and instruction embraced in the words, *feed my sheep*, to all pastors and to all lay persons, is absurd ; because it requires a thing impossible to be done. There were many thousands of our Saviour's sheep whom Peter never did or could see, nor could they see or hear him.

We know, they say, that Peter did this, partly by himself and partly by others. But this is barely saying so, without showing any reasons. The apostles did not account themselves to be Peter's vicars, but did claim to be accounted *the ministers, stewards, or ambassadors of Christ himself* ; from him they received immediately their commission, in whose name they acted, to whom they constantly refer their authority, without taking the least notice of Peter, or acknowledging any dependence on him. Our Saviour is to his whole church the only *High Priest* ; (Heb. iv, 14 ;) *the prince of all the pastors* ; (1 Pet. v, 4 ;) *the great Shepherd of the sheep*, Heb. xiii, 20.

Besides, the interpretation of papists is contradicted by the practice of the church, according to which it appears that Peter never exercised such a power, and therefore our Lord never conferred it upon him.

5. They plead for the supremacy of Peter, because his name is placed before the other apostles in the catalogues and narratives concerning him and them : "The first was Peter," Matt. x, 2. To this we reply :

(1.) This order is not so strictly observed as to admit of exceptions, as will appear from the following passages : "And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars," Gal. ii, 9. "Whether Paul, or Apollos, or the world," &c., 1 Cor. iii, 22. "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas ?" 1 Cor. ix, 5. "Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter," John i, 44.

Erasmus tells us, from Jerome, that the apostles in the other evangelists are not reckoned in the same order that they are by Matthew ; lest any man should think that Peter was the first of all the apostles, because his name is first mentioned, Matthew places Thomas before himself ; but Mark places him after. Matthew reckons Andrew before

James and John, but Mark after them. So Paul reckons James before Peter and John, though Matthew puts Peter first.

In the Apostolic Constitutions we have the following: "I, Paul, and I, Peter, do appoint."*

(2.) Position of names, therefore, does not argue difference of degree, or superiority in power. Common experience shows that any degree of advantage of age, standing, merit, wealth, &c., serves to ground such precedence on.

(3.) And though Peter, in the gospel, is called *πρῶτος*, *protos*, and in Latin, *primus*, *first*, and among ancient Latin authors, *princeps apostolorum*, *prince of the apostles*, this is too slight a foundation on which to construct supremacy. All that can be inferred from the use of the word *first*, is mere precedence; but no primacy, much less a supremacy, of authority, dominion, or jurisdiction over the other apostles.

For *πρῶτος*, *protos*, or *primus*; so *princeps*, or *prince*, among the best Latin authors usually signifies order only, or some excellent quality, without any authority or jurisdiction over those in reference to whom they are so called. So Homer and Virgil are called *poetarum principes*, *princes of poets*. Cicero calls eminent advocates, *patroni principes*. So Plato and Aristotle are called *philosophorum principes*. And yet no dominion or jurisdiction is meant by this title. And the Roman Breviary,† in the feast of Peter and Paul, calls these apostles, *apostolorum principes*, *princes of the apostles*.

We have already shown what kind of primacy Peter, or any other apostle or bishop, or minister, might have, without involving supremacy over his brethren. And we are willing to ascribe such a primacy or excellence to Peter.

6. They ascribe different *prerogatives* to Peter, drawn from various portions of Scripture history, from which they infer his supremacy. From every incident of his life, aided by some fanciful expositor, they find proofs of Peter's sovereignty. The following list of special prerogatives is given by Dens‡ to Peter, with which he represents him as decorated beyond the other apostles. "From the change of his name; tribute was paid for Christ and Peter; Peter alone walked with Christ on the waters; Christ prayed for him, and he was instructed to strengthen his brethren; he proposed that a new apostle should be chosen in the place of Judas; he first preached the gospel after the reception of the Holy Spirit; he performed the first miracle in testimony of the faith; he first preached to the Gentiles; the church prayed for him without intermission; in the Council of Jerusalem he presided; first uttered his opinion, and all the others follow his opinion." Dens says, "The heretics (that is, the Protestants) make several objections to these arguments."

Others cite for Peter's supremacy, "Here are two swords." So Pope Boniface VIII. Bellarmine gives lengthy lists of such proofs.§

From these and such passages they gravely attempt to prove the authority of Peter. What cause may not be supported by such quibbles? Who would not suspect the weakness of such a cause as needs

* Εγώ Παῦλος καὶ ἐγώ Πέτρος διατασσομεθα.—*Constit. Apost.*, viii, 33.

† *Pars Aestiva ad Diem*, 29 Junii, p. 472.

‡ Dens, *de Eccles.*, No. 91, tom. ii, p. 435.

§ Bellar. *de Rom. Pontif.*, lib. i, c. 10, 11, 12 to 24, inclusive.

such supports? And may we not seriously ask them, Is it honest dealing so to wrest the words of Scripture as to deduce from them principles which they do not contain?

Might we not, with equal certainty, deduce the supremacy of John from similar declarations of Holy Scripture? St. John was the beloved disciple; he leaned on our Lord's breast; Peter requested John to ask Christ a question, because he was the favourite disciple; John performed higher services to the church, by writing not only more epistles than Peter, but also a whole gospel, and a sublime prophecy concerning the church, John xx, 4; John outran Peter and came first to the sepulchre; John was a virgin, and outlived all the apostles. With such trifling as this we could easily prove the supremacy of John, so as to throw that of Peter entirely into the shade.

III. *From the TITLES given by the fathers to Peter, it is inferred that he was endowed with the supremacy over the other apostles.*

1. These honorary titles given to the bishop of Rome and his see, and certain privileges which they ascribe to him, are the following and some others: *prince, apostolic, apostolic see, successor of peter, vicar of christ, chief pontiff, pope, universal father, &c., &c.* These and such modes of proof have been urged by several popes in their bulls—their decretal constitutions and epistles—and have generally been maintained by the clergy, whose interest it is to maintain the papal supremacy; for if that fall, they all fall with it.

In former times, while gross ignorance benighted, and tyranny overawed, the greater part of Europe, such arguments had their full sway: for few had learning enough to answer them, and few of those who could had the boldness to do it. But after Luther arose, and learning revived, all learned impartial men saw and acknowledged that arguments drawn from these sources were not only inconsequent, but impertinent and ridiculous. We shall make appear, by plain instances, that these honorary titles or privileges afford no just ground for the supremacy of Rome.

Before we produce the direct testimony for this, we will make a few preliminary remarks.

2. Our first remark is, that a rigid and strictly literal interpretation of the fathers cannot be given in declarations on this subject. Their hyperbolical flourishes and encomiastic speeches, as orators, must not be construed too closely, so as to give them the exact import which might be attached to more precise language. What will they themselves say to the following declarations of Pope Leo I., viz.: "That Peter was by our Lord received into a participation of his undivided unity;" and that "nothing was bestowed upon any one from God, the Fountain of good things, without the participation of Peter."* In truth, the only and best arguments of the papists in this and several other points are mere flourishes of orators, who spoke heedlessly and hyperbolically.

3. *Secondly.* Such turgid eulogies of Peter are not found in the more ancient fathers, viz., the apostolic fathers, Irenæus, Clemens of Alex-

* Nunc enim in consortium individue unitatis assumptum id quod ipse erat valuit nominari.—*Pope Leo I., epist. 89.*

Nihil a bonorum ponte Deo in quemquam sine Petri participatione transire.—*Pope Leo I., de assump. sua. Serm. 3. Barrow, p. 114.*

andria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Firmilian, &c. When these mention Peter, they make use of respectful language, but not in turgid strains. These are found in the latter fathers, who gave greater latitude to their inventive genius than their predecessors did. Hence we may safely infer that the silence of the first class is of more weight than the flourishes of the second. And we may more properly suppose these titles do not belong to Peter, because the first do not give them, than that they do, because the other bestows them liberally.

Indeed, if we consult the testimonies of this kind alleged by the Romanists, who have ransacked all ancient writings for them, it is strange they cannot find any very ancient ones, and so few plausible ones, and so many impertinent ones; and those they do find are only commendations of his apostolical office, or of his personal merits.

4. *Thirdly*. These titles are ambiguous, and applicable to any sort of primacy or pre-eminency: so that from them nothing can be inferred advantageous to their cause. Cicero calls Socrates, *prince of the philosophers*,* and Sulpitius, *prince of lawyers*.† Would it not from hence be ridiculous to infer that Socrates was a sovereign governor of the philosophers, or Sulpitius of the lawyers? Tertullus calls Paul *πρωτοστατην*, "a ringleader or chief of the sect of the Nazarenes," Acts xxiv, 5. Did Tertullus mean that Paul had universal jurisdiction over all Christians? Certainly not. So neither did *prince of the apostles*, or any equivalent term, in the sense of those who assigned it to Peter, import authority over the apostles, but eminence among them in worth, merit, apostolic performances, or, at most, in mere precedence. Such words are to be interpreted by the state of things, and not the state of things to be inferred from them. Accordingly the fathers do sometimes so explain these terms. So Eusebius‡ calls Peter "the most excellent and great apostle, who for his virtue was prolocutor for the rest."

5. *Fourthly*. Even those who give these titles to Peter affirm other apostles to be equal to him.

Chrysostom believed all the apostles to be *equal in dignity*. The same may be said of Jerome, Cyril, Cyprian, Augustine, &c. If Pope Leo I., or any other ancient pope, means any thing more, we may set down their opinion as singular, and proceeding from partial affection to their see.

And should we rigorously interpret the declarations of the fathers, when they indulge in the eulogy of individual apostles, we might present others as having claims to the supremacy, excelling or equalling those of Peter.

The epistle of Clemens Romanus, an apocryphal but ancient writing, calls James, our Lord's brother, *the bishop of bishops*.§ The Clementine Recognitions call him *the prince of bishops*; Ruffinus, in his translation of Eusebius, *the bishop of the apostles*. Chrysostom says of him, that "he did preside over all the Jewish believers." Hesychius, presbyter of Jerusalem, calls him "the chief captain of the New Jerusalem, the captain of the priests, the prince of the apostles, the top among the heads," &c.||

* Cic. de Nat. Deor, lib. ii.

† Cic. de Clar. Orat.

‡ Hist., lib. ii, ch. 14.

§ Clem. Rec. i, 68. Ruf. Euseb. ii, 1.

|| Hesych. Presb. Apud. Phot. Cod. 275, p. 1525. Barrow, p. 117.

The same Hesychius calls Andrew "the first-born of the apostolic chair, the first settled pillar of the church, the Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the first-fruits of the beginning," &c.*

Chrysostom says of John, that "he was a pillar of the churches through the world, he that had the keys of the kingdom of heaven."†

But their eulogies of Paul are still more numerous and hyperbolical. Take the following from Chrysostom:—

"Paul was the ringleader and guardian of the chair of all the saints." "He was the tongue, the teacher, the apostle of the world." "He had the whole world committed into his hands, and took care thereof, and had committed to him all men dwelling upon the earth." "He was the light of the churches, the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth." "He had the patronage of the world committed into his hands." "He was better than all men, greater than the apostles, and surpassing them all." "Nothing was more bright, nothing more illustrious than he. None was greater than he, yea, none equal to him."‡

We leave papists to reconcile these characters of Paul with those which they claim for Peter.

6. *Fifthly*. Paul is joined with Peter by the fathers, as possessing the same character, as they apply to him the same titles. But surely Paul possessed no supremacy over the apostles, and if he did, this would destroy that of Peter.

Cyril calls Peter and Paul *Οἱ της εκκλησιας προσταται*; § Augustine, Ambrose or Maximus, call them *princes of the churches*.|| The popes Adrian and Agatho, in their general synods, call them "the ringleading apostles."¶

We will now particularly examine the several prominent titles from which Romanists infer the supremacy of Peter.

7. The first that we shall mention is *head* of the church, a title which they uniformly ascribe to the pope. To this we reply, that this title belongs only to Christ, and to him alone the Scripture applies it, Eph. i, 22, and iv, 15.

8. The popes have assumed to themselves the name *apostolic*, and their flatterers ascribe it to them. The Rhemists say (note on Eph. iv, 11) that the papal dignity is a *continual apostleship*.

The names bishop and presbyter in the apostolic age were common to all ministers, while the name apostle was confined to those peculiarly such. There are some traces, however, of the use of the word in designating those who held the first place among their equals, whether in rank or merit and esteem. We collect this much from Theodoret, where he says, "The same persons were anciently called promiscuously both bishops and presbyters, whilst those who are now called bishops were called apostles. But shortly after, the name apostles was appropriated to such only as were apostles indeed; and then the

* Idem, Cod. 269.

† Chrys. in John i, 1.

‡ *Ο των αγιων κορον κορυφαιος και προστατης*.—Chrys. in Rom. xvi, 24.

§ *Ο της οικουμενης Αποστολος*.—Id. in 1 Cor. ix, 2.

|| *Η γλωττα της οικουμενης, το φως των εκκλησιων, ο θεμελιος της πιστεως, ο στυλος και εδραιωμα της αληθειας*.—Id., &c. See Barrow, pp. 117, 118.

¶ Cyr. Cat. 6.

|| *Ecclesiarum principes*.—Aug. *de Sanct.* 27.

¶ *Κορυφαιοι Αποστολων*.—P. Agatho in 6 Syn. Act iv, p. 35. P. Adrian in 7 Syn. Act ii, p. 554. Barrow, p. 119.

name bishop was given to those who before were called apostles.”* Thus he says, “Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians, and Titus the apostle of the Cretans, and Timothy the apostle of the Asiatics.”† And this is repeated in several other places of his writings. Theodoret flourished A. D. 424.

The author under the name of Ambrose asserts that all bishops were called apostles at first.‡ And Amalarius cites another passage out of the same author, which is the following: “They who are now called bishops were originally called apostles; but the holy apostles being dead, they who were ordained after them to govern the churches could not arrive to the excellence of those first; nor had they the testimony of miracles, but were in many other respects inferior to them. Therefore they thought it not decent to assume to themselves the name of apostles; but dividing the names, they left to presbyters the name of the presbytery, and they themselves were called bishops.”§ Ambrose flourished in A. D. 374.

All metropolitans were called anciently *apostolici apostolic*, which was then no peculiar title of the Church of Rome. So Alcuin tells us, “When the bishop of a city died, another is chosen from the clergy or people; they draw up an instrument, and come to the *apostolic* with the elected person, that he might consecrate him their bishop.”|| By the *apostolic* he means not the pope, but the primate or metropolitan of every province, who had the right of consecration put into his hands by the ecclesiastical usage which obtained in the fourth century. And Petrus de Marco, the learned archbishop of Paris, allows that this was the use of the word in the sixth century, in the time of *Gregorius Inno-*
centius, who was made bishop about the year 572.¶ But this title was afterward appropriated to the pope. But the use of it proves nothing in favour of his supremacy, any more than for the supremacy of every archbishop.

Those churches are properly apostolic which held the apostolic faith, and imitate their example. So an ancient bishop of Rome said, “Wo is me, if I preach not the truth of the Lord which the apostles preached.”**

How can the pope be an apostle, or have apostolic authority, seeing he preaches none? Neither can he show his calling from Christ, as the apostles did; because he challenges the apostolic office by tradition or succession from Peter, and not by command from Christ, he can by no means be counted an apostle, or his office an apostleship. For the apostles ordained only evangelists and pastors; they had no authority to constitute new apostles.

9. Roman Catholics maintain that the pope is bishop of the *apostolic see*, called, in ecclesiastical style, *sedes apostolica*, and *cathedra apostolica*. To this we reply, that all the great sees, as Jerusalem, Anti-

* Theod. Com. in 1 Tim. iii, 1.

† Id. Com. in Phil. i, 1, and ii, 25.

‡ Amb. Com. in Eph. iv. Apostoli Episcopi Sunt. Id. in Gal. i, 1.

§ Qui nunc episcopi nominantur, illi tunc apostoli dicebantur, &c.—*Amalar. de Offic. Eccles.*, lib. ii, c. 13.

|| Cum episcopus civitatis fuerit defunctus, eligitur alius a clero seu populo, fitque decretum ab illis, et veniunt ad apostolicum cum suo electo, ut eis consecret episcopum.

—*Alcuinus, de Divin. Offic.*, c. 36.

¶ Petrus de Marco de Concord. Sacerd. et Imper. Tom. ii, lib. vi, c. 3, sec. 3, p. 67.

** Væ mihi est, si veritatem Domini mei, quam apostoli prædicarunt, prædicare neglexero.—*P. Agatho ad Constant.*

och, Alexandria, Ephesus, Ancyra, Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, &c., were called *sedes apostolicæ*, *apostolic seats*. But the bishops of none of them pretended to supremacy.

Indeed, the title seems to be attached to the sees of all bishops in general, as deriving their original and counting their succession from the apostles. "The Catholic Church," says Augustine, "is propagated and diffused over all the world by the apostolical sees, and the succession of bishops in them."* Sidonius Apollinaris uses the same expression in speaking of a private French bishop, who sat forty-five years in his apostolical chair.†

The second Nicene Council speaks of those who "occupy the room of the apostolic thrones of the eastern diocess."‡ Siricius, bishop of Rome, decrees thus: "Without the knowledge of the apostolic see, that is, of the primate, let no one dare to ordain."§

So Tertullian, in his Prescriptions, speaks of the *seats of the apostles*, existing at Corinth, Philippi, &c.||

The bishop of Rome was, therefore, in the early ages no more apostolic than the other bishops of his times.

10. They say the bishop of Rome is Peter's *successor*, and on this they ground his supremacy. But all bishops were styled *successors of the apostles* in the ages immediately succeeding the apostolic age. So Cyprian, Firmilian, and the bishops in the Council of Carthage, call themselves.¶ Jerome speaks in the same style: "Wheresoever a bishop is, whether at Rome or Engubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Tanis, they are all of equal merit; their priesthood is the same; they are all successors to the apostles."** And both he and Augustine apply the forty-fourth Psalm to the bishops, as sons of the apostles, and princes and fathers of the church.††

It could be easily shown that every true minister of Christ is a successor of the apostles.

11. At an early period of the church, the titles given to the chief ministers began to savour much of that worldly spirit which terminated in fixing the name *lords*, or bishops, and of finally confining the title *prince*, or *supreme*, to the bishop of Rome: we know not what terms can express it more strongly. So Optatus calls "bishops the very heads and princes of all."‡‡ And there are several passages in Jerome, which, to distinguish them from secular princes, style them *principes ecclesiæ*, *princes of the church*; applying to them that prophecy of Isaiah lx, 17, which, according to his translation, is, "I will make thy princes peace, and thy bishops righteousness."§§ Upon this last, he has this

* Christianorum societas per sedes apostolorum et successiones episcoporum certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur.—*Aug. Ep. 42, ad Fratres Madurens.*

† Sidon., lib. vi, ep. 1, ad Sup. Tricassin.

‡ Retinenter locum apostolicorum thronum orientalis dioceseos.—*Concil. Nicen. ii, Act 1.*

§ Extra conscientiam sedis apostolicæ, hoc est primatis, nemo audeat ordinare.—*P. Siricius, Ep. 4, c. 1.*

|| Tertul. de Præscrip., c. 36.

¶ Cypri. epist. 69 or 66 ad Florent. Also, ep. 42 or 45 to Cornel. And ep. 75 from Cyprian.

** Hieron. epist. 85 ad Evag. Item, in Psa. xliv, 16.

†† Aug. Com. in Psa. xliv, 16.

‡‡ Ipsi Apices, et principes omnium Episcopi.—*Optat., lib. i.*

§§ Hieron. Com. in Isa. iii and v, and Tit. i.

note: "That the majesty of the Holy Scripture is to be admired, in that it calls those who were to be bishops in future ages by the name of princes."* In the Greek writers they are called *αρχοντες εκκλησιων*, *governors*, or *princes of the churches*.†

Thus the name of *prince* was formerly common to all the principal pastors; but in process of time, the name was solely applied to the pope, who is called *prince of the apostles*, a title as unfounded in antiquity, as it is unscriptural in its application to the pope or any other clergyman.

12. All bishops and pastors, in a proper sense, are styled *vicars* of Christ, and had as much interest formerly in that name as he who since claims it as peculiarly his own. St. Paul claimed this dignity, 2 Cor. ii, 10, and v, 20. Indeed, pastors and ministers were called Christ's vicars in the ancient church. The author of the Questions, under the name of Augustin, says, "Every bishop, or principal pastor, is the vicar of God."‡ Cyprian says the same in several of his epistles. "That priest properly fills the place of Christ, who imitates that which Christ did."§ The language of Cyprian applies to every pastor in the world, as Rigaltius, his annotator, freely owns.

The Trent fathers, who say they were inspired of the Holy Ghost,|| expressly say, and synodically define, "That Christ, before his ascension, left all priests his own vicars, to whom, as to presidents and judges, all mortal sins were to be confessed."¶ It is manifest that by *sacerdotes*, all bishops and priests are meant; for the decision refers to all who have the power of absolution intrusted to them, which includes all priests and bishops of every grade. This is farther confirmed by the index of the council, in which are set down the words, *sacerdotes sunt vicarii Christi*, referring to the fourteenth session, chapter five, just cited.

In consequence of his vicarship, Pope Innocent IV., in the general council at Lyons, excommunicated and deposed the emperor Frederick. "Seeing we are Christ's vicar on earth, and it was said to us in the person of Peter, Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c., we declare the aforesaid prince deprived of his dignity and honour; we absolve his subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and excommunicate all who show him any favour, or obey him as emperor."** To the same purpose, the Trent Catechism tells us: "As the successor of St. Peter, and the true and legitimate vicar of Jesus Christ, he, therefore, presides over the universal church, the father and governor of all the faithful."†† Pope Alex-

* *Scripturæ Sanctæ admiranda majestas, quod principes futuros ecclesiæ episcopos nominavit.*—*Hieron. Com. in Esai*, 60.

† *Euseb. Hist.*, lib. vi, c. 28. Lib. viii, c. 1, 3. Also, *de Martyr. Palæst.*, c. 1. *Origen Hom. ii*, in *Jer. Contr. Cel.*, lib. iii.

‡ *Antistitem Dei puriorem cæteris esse oportet. Est enim vicarius ejus.*—*Aug. Quæst.*, *Vet. et Nov. Test.*, c. 127.

§ *Ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id, quod Christus fecit, imitatur.*—*Cyp. Ep. 63, ad Cæcil.* See also *Ep. 55 or 59, ad Cornel. Rigalt. in loc.*

|| *Synodus a Spiritu Sancto, qui est spiritus sapientiæ et intellectûs edocta declarat.*—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. 21, *de Communiene*, c. 1.

¶ *Idem, sess. 14, de Pœnitent*, c. 5. Christus a terris ascensurus ad cœlos sacerdotes sui ipsius vicarios reliquit tanquam præsides ac judices, ad quos omnia mortalia crimina deferantur.

** *Cum Jesu Christi vices teneamus, &c.*—*Cap., ad Apostol.*

†† *Catechism*, p. 296.

ander VI., as vicar of Christ, gave all the West Indies to the king of Spain.*

13. The name *pope*, from *παπα*, *father*, is claimed exclusively by the bishop of Rome, and from this application of it, his supremacy is inferred.

But this name was indifferently given to all bishops, anciently, especially to those who were the most famous. Cyprian, Epiphanius, and Athanasius, were called *pape*, *popes*. Augustine† saluteth Aurelius, president of the sixth General Council of Carthage, by the name of pope. Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, writing to Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, calleth him, "Most blessed and honourable pope."‡ So the sixth Council of Carthage calleth Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, *sanctum papam, holy pope*.§ Eutyches, who was but a priest and an abbot, is called *papa, pope*.|| Many specimens may be seen in Bingham,¶ who proves that every bishop was anciently called *papa*, or *pope*.

Baronius, a zealous assertor of the pope's supremacy, or monarchy, over kings and emperors, has confessed, "that anciently, every venerable presbyter was called *papa*. Afterward, the word *papa* became common to all the bishops, though more particularly given to the bishop of Rome." He farther adds, "That the name *papa* continued common to all the bishops for eight hundred and fifty years, till Hildebrand, in a council at Rome, held in the year 1073, decreed that there should be but one pope in the whole world."** Here we see that Hildebrand appropriates the name *pope* to himself and his see, which had been previously given to presbyters and bishops as well as to the bishop of Rome. And how can this name become an argument for the pope's supremacy, which was confessedly no ground of any such supremacy in other bishops, who had this name applied to them as well as the bishop of Rome? And yet our opponents reason no better when they say, "The pope being Christ's vicar, and called pope, has a supremacy over all the world," when all bishops are Christ's vicars, and were anciently called popes.

Objection. "Though the name pope be given to other bishops, yet the bishop of Rome is called pope absolutely, without any addition; but others by adding their name."—*Bellarmino*.

Answer. Jerome, writing to Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, saith: "Do your endeavour, most beloved and blessed pope." Adnitere papa amantissime et beatissime.—*Hieron.*, tom. iii.

Obj. "The bishop of Rome alone, and no other, has been called universal pope."—*Bellarmino*.

Ans. 1. The proud name, universal, in the better ages of the church, was not attributed to the bishops of Rome, but rather condemned by them; for Gregory reproveth Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, for so

* Bullar. Roman., tom. i, p. 347, Col. i, sec. 6.

† Epist. 77.

‡ Papam beatissimum et papam Deo honorabilem.—*Concil. Constantinop.* vi, acti 11.

§ Concil. Carth., vi, c. 4.

|| Synod. Constantinop., sub. Flaviano.

¶ Antiquities, b. ii, c. ii, sec. 7, vol. i, p. 55.

** Nomen papæ transit in dignitatis nomen, ut clerici venerandi eo nomine appellarentur. Postea nomen illud cæpit esse peculiare episcoporum, usque enim ad annum 850. Nomen commune fuit omnibus episcopis, inde peculiariter tribui consuevisset Rom. pontifici. Gregorius, Papa III., in concilio Romæ habito, 1073, statuit, ut nomen papæ unicum esse in toto mundo, &c.—*Baron. in notis ad martyrologium Rom. ad diem Jan. 10*, pp. 35, 36.

writing to him.* 2. But after ambition invaded the church, other patriarchs were called by that name. So Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, calleth Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, "thrice blessed pastor of pastors, and father of fathers, the universal patriarch."†

Obj. "The pope has always been called pope by others; but he himself never called any by that name."—*Bellarmino*.

Ans. This was only a proof of the pope's pride, as far as it was practised. But we find a different practice obtaining even at Rome. For after the death of Fabian, the presbytery of Rome wrote to Cyprian, calling him, "most blessed and glorious pope," as may be seen in their epistle to Cyprian.

In like manner, those two titles of the pope, *most blessed and holy father*, *beatissimus et sanctissimus pater*, were anciently used in the addresses to other bishops. Prosper, in his epistle to Augustine, twice calls him, *Lord, most blessed pope, Dominum beatissimum papam*. Jerome calls Epiphanius, *beatum papam, blessed pope*.‡ This was also the style of the patriarch of Constantinople:§ *To the most holy and blessed universal John, patriarch of Constantinople*. Cornelius, bishop of Rome, writing to one Rufus, a bishop, saith, "These and other things which we know to be necessary, we would not deny your holiness."||

Bishops, anciently, were also called sometimes *pater patrum, father of fathers*, and *episcopus episcoporum, bishop of bishops*. These titles were never kindly received among the Africans, because the bishop of Rome began to abuse them to establish an usurped authority over their neighbours. The council held under Cyprian declares: "For neither does any of us constitute himself bishop of bishops, or force his colleagues, by a tyrannical tenor, to the necessity of obeying."¶ The third Council of Carthage, in Augustine's time, declares to the same amount. Such was the style of the African Church concerning those titles which some were assuming in their day, and which became the basis of the exclusive application of them subsequently to the pope.

14. They call the pope by the name of *prince, princeps, or primus*. If this be taken to signify *chief or sovereign power*, it is applicable, in a proper sense, to Christ alone, (1 Peter v, 4,) and cannot, therefore, in that sense agree to man.

Accordingly, the third Council of Carthage, 26th canon, decreed: "Let not the bishop of the first see be called the prince of priests, or chief priest, but only bishop of the first see."** From the 47th canon it appears that the canons of this council were confirmed by Boniface, bishop of Rome. This council was received by the sixth general Council of Trulla, canon 12. Besides, the above-named canon is approved by their own decrees;†† how, then, can they refuse to admit it?

In ancient times, indeed, this title of *summus, or supreme*, was given

* Dist. 99, c. 5.

† Concil. Constantinop. vi, act. 13.

‡ Hieron. ad Eustach. Fabia.

§ Sanctissimo atque beatissimo œcumenico patriarchœ Johanni Constantinop. &c. Conc. Constantinop. v, act. 1.

|| Hæc et alia quæ necessaria fare cognavimus, tuæ sanctitati nolumus denegare.

¶ Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico tenere ad absequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.—Concil. Carthag., apud Cypri.

** Primæ sedis episcopus non appellatur princeps sacerdotum aut summus sacerdos, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus.—Conc. Carthag. iii, canon 26.

†† Dist. 99, c. 3.

to all bishops, after men began to lose sight of apostolic simplicity. Clemens Romanus, in a very good sense, calls every pastor, or every minister or bishop, in charge of a flock or church, *Ἀρχιερεὺς*, *summus sacerdos*, or *chief priest*.^{*} Ruffinus calls Chromatius, *pontificem maximum*, *chief pontiff*.[†] Anacletus, bishop of Rome, in his second epistle, writes thus: "The high priests, that is, bishops, are to be judged of God." *Summi sacerdotes, id est, episcopi, a Deo judicandi sunt.* Besides, the title, *summum sacerdotium*, *the high priesthood*, is attributed by Fabian, bishop of Rome, to all ministers of the gospel, whether bishops or presbyters. Indeed, the people of God in Scripture are called *βασιλειον ιερατευμα*, *a royal priesthood*. And, therefore, the assumption of this name to the pope exclusively is absurd.

The origin of these names is plainly this: The pastors in charge of flocks, embracing laity, and deacons, and presbyters, were called *summi sacerdotes*, *pontifices maximi*, and *principes sacerdotum*, *chief priests*, *chief pontiffs*, *princes of the priests*. The author under the name of Ambrose gives the bishop or presiding minister the name *chief priest*, and *chief of the priests*.[‡] The name *summus sacerdos*, *chief priest*, is used by Jerome as of common use. Speaking of himself, he says, "In the opinion of all men I was thought worthy of the high priesthood."[§] When, therefore, Tertullian^{||} gives the title of *pontifex maximus* to the bishop of Rome, he does him no greater honour than in those days was done to every bishop, or every principal pastor.

15. From the foregoing it appears that those honorary titles given to the pope or his see, viz., *head*, *apostolic*, *apostolic seat*, *successor of Peter*, *vicar of Christ*, *pope*, *chief pontiff*, *universal father*, &c., having been given to thousands besides the pope, who never assumed any such supremacy, can never prove the supremacy of the pope. It is true, that in more modern times these titles have been appropriated to the bishop of Rome, and made use of to amuse and deceive the ignorant, to cover and give some plausibility to new errors, and employed as arguments to prove the pope's supremacy; yet it is evident that all such arguments are impertinent, inconclusive, and even ridiculous. Hence they conclude nothing, except to show that those who gravely make use of them are destitute of better arguments, and therefore the cause needing their support must be unsound and untenable.

16. But when the testimony of the fathers cannot be brought in favour of the supremacy by legitimate interpretation, they are compelled to witness in its favour by corruptions, false translations, and perverted interpretation.

So when Chrysostom had said, "that the power of the keys" was not given to Peter only, but to the rest of the apostles also," Peter Passinus changes the word *apostles* for the word *successors*, and reads it thus: "the power of the keys was not given only to Peter and his successors."[¶] So in the epistle of Pope Leo to the bishops of France,

^{*} Epist. ad Corinth.

[†] Ruff., Ep. ad Chrom.

[‡] In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est, princeps sacerdotum.—*Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv.*

[§] Omnium pene judicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar.—*Hieron., Ep. 99, ad Asellam.*

^{||} Tertul. de pudic., c. 1.

[¶] Pet. Passinus, Catena Græc. Patr., in Mat., tom. i, p. 232, as quoted by T. L., page 80.

about the condemnation of Dioscorus in the Council of Chalcedon, these words occur in the Latin copies, *Unde sanctissimus et beatissimus papa, caput universalis ecclesiæ, the most holy and most blessed pope Leo, head of the universal church*; where these words, *head of the universal church*, are not in the Greek copies, as *De Marca*, a distinguished Roman Catholic bishop,* acknowledges.* And that we may know that such things are displeasing to the pope, the work of this great man was condemned by the inquisitors, and forbidden to be read, printed, or possessed by any person.†

He who seriously reads and understands the Latin versions of the Greek councils, fathers, and other Greek and Latin writers, may find hundreds of such frauds to maintain the papal sentiments. And their *expurgatorial indices* are authentic testimonies to convict them of concealing the truth, and of attempting to cozen the world into a belief of their pernicious errors.

This is not all, for so desperately are they set on defending the papal interests, that, to accomplish it, they will speak blasphemously of Christ himself. *Campegius*, in his book on the power of the pope, says to *Paul IV.*, "Christ had not been a diligent father of his family, if he had not left for the benefit of his church some one who would fill his place on earth."‡ And he cites *Pope Innocent* and *Aquinas* to justify it. *Albertus Pighius* says to the same purpose: "Christ had been wanting to his church, nor would he have provided for its necessities, if he had not constituted such a monarch and judge."§ And *Peter Bertrand*, the great canonist, if possible, exceeds the two former. He says, "Christ, while in the world, could, by natural right, pronounce sentence of deposition and damnation on the emperor or any other; and for the same reason his vicar also can do it: for our Lord would not appear to have been discreet, if he had not left one such single vicar behind him. But that vicar was Peter: and the same is to be said concerning the successors of Peter."|| And this impious gloss is approved by *Gregory XIII.*¶

IV. Arguments against the supremacy of Peter.

1. For the supremacy of the pope, claiming as it does to be a fundamental article of the Christian faith, it is necessary that a direct and unequivocal commission from God, its author, should be given, that no man might have any doubt of its truth. This was necessary, not only for the apostles, to warrant their obedience, but also for us; because it is made the foundation of duty which cannot be discharged without a

* *Petr. de Marco, de Cericard.*, tom. ii, lib. v, c. 10, sec. 2, p. 35.

† *Index Libr., prohib. Alexandr. VII.*, jussu, edilus, Romæ, A. D. 1664.

‡ *Non fuisset Christus diligens pater familias, si non dimisset in terrâ aliquem qui vice suâ possit subvenire necessitatibus ecclesiæ, &c.*—*Campeg. de Potest. Rom. Pontif.*, c. 1, sec. 3, p. 2.

§ *Christus ecclesiæ defuisset, nec de necessariis prospexisset, nisi monarcham aliquem et judicem constituisset.*—*Albert. Pigh.*, *Controv.* 3, fol. 70–72.

|| *Christus dum fuit in mundo, de jure naturali, in imperatorem et quascumque alios depositionis sententias ferre potuisset, et damnationes; et eadem ratione et vicarius ejus potest. Nam non videretur dominus discretus fuisse, nisi unicum post se talem vicarium reliquisset. Fuit autem iste vicarius Petrus: et idem dicendum est de successoribus Petri.*—*Petrus Bertrandus*, in addit ad glassas ad caput, *Unam Sanctam*, l. De Major. et abed. Extrao. Commun.

¶ *Vide Bullam Greg. XIII.*, dat. Rom., 1 Julii, A. D. 1580, præfixam *Carp. Juris Canon.* Paris., 1612, and 1618.

clear revelation of God's will in Scripture. It was a reasonable demand which was made to our Saviour, "Tell us by what authority thou doest these things, or who is he that gave thee this authority," Luke **xx**, 2. And our Lord often avowed the reasonableness of this, declaring that if by his doctrine and works he had not vouched the divine character of his authority, it had been no sin to disbelieve or reject him. John **v**, 31, 36 ; **x**, 25, 27 ; **xv**, 22, 24. For the supremacy of Peter no such commission is extant in Scripture ; but, on the contrary, divers clear testimonies of Scripture are against it.

2. There is *no express mention* of it in Scripture. And if such an illustrious office was instituted by Christ, it is strange that nowhere in the evangelists and apostolic writings, wherein many less things are recorded, there should be no mention of this. There is not only much reason for such a recital, but many fit occasions for it. The time when Peter was vested with that authority ; the manner and circumstances of his instalment ; the nature, regulations, and limits of such an office, were well deserving of note. The New Testament writers would certainly have narrated circumstantially a matter of so great consequence as the settlement of a monarch in the church, and a sovereign of the apostolical college, especially if it were an article of the Christian faith, the denial of which would incur damnation. It is not possible that Luke, especially, would slip over it, who "had attained a perfect understanding of all things, and had undertaken to write in order the things that were surely believed among Christians," Luke **i**, 1.

3. There is no *time* assigned for the institution of Peter's supremacy. No such power was conferred on him when he was made an apostle, or at any time during our Saviour's life. If it were, it was so covertly that neither Peter nor the other apostles knew it. For, did they know of it, they would not contend about the superiority as they did. And though our Lord, before his passion, taught his apostles important duties toward each other—the maintenance of peace, charity, humility, unity—yet he said nothing to them of paying due obedience to Peter ; nor did he caution him to beware of lording it over his brethren. Mark **ix**, 50 ; John **xiii**, 14, 34 ; **xv**, 12 ; **xvii**, 21.

After his resurrection, our Lord gave divers instructions to his apostles ; but it does not appear that he made any peculiar grant to Peter. Matt. **xxviii**, 19 ; Mark **xvi**, 15 ; Luke **xxiv**, 49 ; John **xx**, 21 ; Acts **i**, 2. For as to the claims drawn from *feed my sheep*, they are altogether groundless.

4. Such a power would have been indicated by some *title* or *name*, had it been conferred. For if Peter had been appointed sovereign of the apostolic senate, his office would have been distinct from the common office of apostle ; as the office of king or president from that of subject or citizen. According to distinctions now in use, it would have been signified by some distinct name or title characterizing it and distinguishing it from others ; as that of archapostle, archpastor, high priest, sovereign pontiff, pope, his holiness, vicar of Christ, or the like. By this means it would have appeared that there was such an officer, what the nature of the office was, and what respect and obedience were due the incumbent. But no such name or title was assumed by Peter himself, or attributed to him by others, or recorded concerning him in history ; the name of apostle alone being all the honour he ever pretended to claim, or ever received from others.

5. There was no office above that of apostle known to the apostles, or the primitive church. This is clear from Scripture. "He gave some, apostles ; some, prophets ; some, evangelists ; some, pastors and teachers," Eph. iv, 11. And again, God hath set in his church, "first, apostles ; secondly, prophets ; thirdly, teachers," &c., 1 Cor. xii, 28. Why not first a pope, a universal pastor, an œcumenical judge, a vicar of Christ, a head of the catholic church ? Could Paul be so ignorant, so envious, so negligent, as to pass by, without any distinction, the supreme officer, if such a one there had been ? Suppose a person would undertake to enumerate in form the officers in any state or republic, would he not act strangely if he would overlook in his catalogue the king, president, governor, &c. ? The omission would lead an impartial person to conclude there was no such officer. We cannot suppose Paul omitted the chief officer : indeed, he expressly says *πρωτον*, *first of all*, or, in the first place, *apostles*. Peter, therefore, was no more than an apostle ; and as such, could have no supreme command over those of his own rank.

6. Our Lord himself several times *declares against this power*, by prohibiting his apostles to assume or admit a superiority of power one above another. St. Luke informs us "there was a strife among them, who of them should be accounted the greatest," (Luke xxii, 14,) or who had the best pretence to superiority. Our Lord presently checked this strife, not by telling them that he had already appointed a superior, but that he intended there should be none ; that he would have the exercise of no monarchy, but that they should humbly serve each other. "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority over them are called benefactors ; but ye shall not be so ; but he that is greater (*ὁ μείζων*, *the older*) among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is leader, as he that doth minister," Luke xxii, 25, 26.

In Matthew we read : "But be not ye called rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ ; and all ye are brethren, and call no man your father upon the earth ; for one is your Father who is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters ; for one is your Master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased ; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted," Matt. xxiii, 8-12. From this passage we learn : 1. That spiritual lordship and domination are an abomination before God. 2. That no one is bound to receive implicitly the doctrines or decisions of another in matters of religion. The Spirit and word of God are the only infallible teachers. 3. The text is opposed to the supremacy of the pope, as well as to the spiritual dominion of the Roman clergy.

Not that the declarations of our Lord are to be interpreted against the existence of moderate church authority, exercised to edification, and with humility : but the power ascribed to Peter exceeds any domination ever exercised by the most absolute monarchs ; for they affirm that the power of Peter is the same which the Roman bishop now challenges to himself over the pastors and people of God, by virtue of his succession to him.

What emperor, king, or tyrant ever pretended to rule with as extensive or absolute a power as that used by the pope ? Who ever, besides him, usurped a command, not only over the external actions, but also over the

most inward thoughts of mankind, subjecting the minds and consciences to his dictates, laws, and censures? What prince ever used a style more imperious than the customary style of the papal bulls? "Let it be lawful for no man whatever to infringe this declaration of our will and command, or to go against it with bold rashness."* *Our most holy lord†* is the ordinary title attributed to him by the fathers of Trent, as if they were his slaves, and intended to enslave all Christendom to him. He exempts his dependants from civil laws, disposes of kingdoms, absolves subjects, and asserts prerogatives which fix on him the character of antichristian pravity. A papal canon, speaking of the pope, declares: "Let a pope be so bad as by his negligence and maladministration to carry with him innumerable people to hell, yet no mortal man whatever must presume here to reprove his faults, because he being to judge all men, is himself to be judged of no man, except he be found swerving from the faith,"‡ which is a case they will hardly allow a man to think possible. Who but a pope could hear the following blasphemous address by a council of clergy: "All power is given to thee in heaven and earth."§ Similar to this is the apostrophe of Gregory VII. to Peter and Paul. "Come, therefore, most holy princes of the apostles, and what I have said confirm by your authority; that now at length all men may understand whether ye can bind and loose: that also you can take away and give on earth empires, kingdoms, and whatever mortal men can have."||

Now if the assuming and exercising such powers be not exercising such lordship as is forbidden by our Lord, what can these words mean?

7. All the apostles were *equal in authority*; for, in surveying particulars, we find no peculiar jurisdiction conferred on Peter which was not bestowed equally on the other apostles.

(1.) Was Peter an *ambassador, steward, minister, or vicar* of Christ? So were they. For, "as the Father sent me, so also I send you." And "we," saith St. Paul, "are ambassadors for Christ; we pray you, in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God," 1 Cor. iv, 1. And again, "So let a man esteem us, as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God," 2 Cor. vi, 4.

(2.) Was Peter a *rock, a foundation*, on which the church was to be founded? The same were all the others. For the wall of Jerusalem, which "came down from heaven, had twelve foundations, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb," Rev. xxi, 10.

And Paul declares, "We are all built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ himself being the chief corner-stone," Eph. ii, 20.

(3.) Was Peter a *builder* of the spiritual house? So were the others. For Paul says, "I, as a wise master-builder, have laid the foundation," 1 Cor. iii, 10.

(4.) Was the *power of the keys*, and of binding and loosing, commit-

* Nulii hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis et mandati infringere vel ei ausu temerario contra ire.

† Sanctissimus dominus noster.—*Concil. Trid.*, ses. xxii, c. 11, &c.

‡ Si papa suæ, &c.—*Grat. Dist.*, xl, cap. 6.

§ *Concil. Later.*, sub Leone x, ses. xi, p. 133.

|| *Plat. in Greg. VII.* In *Concil. Rom.* vi, apud Bin., p. 491.

ted to him? The same may be said of all the other apostles. Matt. xvi, 19; xviii, 18.

(5.) Had he power to *feed* the sheep of Christ? So also had the others; and, indeed, all true ministers, who are on that account called *pastors*. "Take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood," Acts xx, 28; Eph. iv, 11. These Peter exhorts in the words following: "Feed the church of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof," 2 Peter iii, 2. Let feeding signify instruction, guidance, governing, or all of them together, it appertained to all pastors equally. And these instructions he communicates in connection with having said, "Be mindful of the commandment of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour."

(6.) Was his *commission* universal? So also was theirs. "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth; go, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I command you." And, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," Matt. xxviii, 19; Mark xvi, 15; Luke xxiv, 47.

On the commonness of this commission, be pleased to notice: 1. Christ was the *author* of their commissions, "As my Father sent me, so send I you." 2. The Holy Ghost was equally given to all, to enable them to execute their commission, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," John xx, 22. By this means they possessed infallibility in doctrine, and the power to work miracles to attest the truths which they taught. 3. The place or extent of their commission was, the *whole world*. 4. The things to be taught were, "whatsoever Christ commanded them." 5. They all had the promise of divine, continued assistance: "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world," Matt. xxviii, 20.

(7.) Was Peter furnished with *extraordinary gifts*, special graces, continual directions and assistance, for the discharge of the apostolic office? So were the other apostles. For the *promise* of the Holy Spirit was common to all the apostles, *to lead them into all truth*, and *clothing them with power from on high*, (Luke xxiv, 49; John xvi, 13, 14, 26,) and of endowing them with power to perform all sorts of miracles. Our Lord, before his departure, *breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, John xx, 22. Luke saith, "All of them were filled with the Holy Ghost," Acts ii, 4. All of them with confidence and truth could say, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us," Acts xv, 28. All of them partook abundantly of that character which Paul referred to when he said, "The signs of an apostle were wrought among you in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds," 2 Cor. xii, 12.

(8.) What prerogatives, then, appertain to Peter beyond the other apostles? Certainly none, except those which are invented by the Roman doctors. And even among them there are those who affirm the equality of the apostles. Cardinal Cusanus affirmed, "We know that Peter did not receive more power from Christ than the other apostles; for nothing was said to Peter which was not also said to the others: therefore we rightly say, that all the apostles were equal to Peter in power."

* Scimus quod Petrus nihil plus potestatis a Christo recepit aliis apostolis; nihil enim dictum est ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non est: ideo recte dicimus omnes apostolos esse sequeles cum Petro in potestate.—Card. Cusan., *de Concil. Cath.* ii, 18.

Francis, Lucas Brugensis, in his comment on Matt. xxiii, 8, *all ye are brethren*, contends for the equality of the apostles against the monarchy ascribed to Peter. So also *De Marca* was of the opinion that our Saviour, at his ascension, left the church under the college of apostles, in which Peter was one, but not superior to the others; and the apostles left the government of the church to the bishops; only in the college of bishops and of apostles one was chosen to be president. Accordingly, the ancient church frequently gave the bishop of Rome the first seat in councils, not by divine right, but by *custom*, because Rome was the imperial city and metropolis of the empire.* Indeed, the Councils of Pisa, Constance, Basil, and the Gallic Church, maintained the same doctrine, as is shown by a doctor of the Sorbonne.†

(9.) In conformity to the foregoing views are the decisions of the ancient councils, the canons of which will be cited at a future page.

(10.) The ancient fathers assert in express terms, and by consequence, that the apostles were *equal*, or *co-ordinate in power*.

What can be more express than the following from Cyprian: “Although our Lord giveth to all the apostles, after his resurrection, an equal power, and saith, ‘*As the Father sent me, so I send you.*’” “The other apostles were indeed that which Peter was, endowed with equal participation of honour and power.”‡

Chrysostom says plainly, “Paul sheweth that each apostle enjoyed equal dignity.”§ He also calls Paul *equal in honour* to Peter.||

Cyril declares, “Peter and John were equal in honour one to another, as they were also apostles and holy disciples.”¶

Jerome affirms, “that the strength of the church is equally settled on the apostles.”**

The declarations of Isodore show how long these sentiments continued in the church. “The other apostles did receive an equal share of honour and power, who also being dispersed in the whole world did preach the gospel; and to whom, departing, the bishops did succeed, who are constituted through the whole world in the sees of the apostles.”††

By consequence the fathers assert the same equality when they affirm the apostolic office to be the highest in the church, and that their successors were equal; and particularly that the bishop of Rome had no pre-eminence above his brethren; for, “wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome or Engubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria

* *De Marca*, de Concord, lib. vi, c. 1, sec. 2, p. 58, col. 1.

† Edm. Rechier. Hist. Concil. Gen., lib. i. Colon., 1680.

‡ Quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, et dicat, *sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos.*—Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis.—*Cypr. de unit. Eccles.*, tom. i, p. 349.

§ Δεικνυς, ότι της αυτης εκαστος απελανσεν αξιας.—*Chryst.*, in Gal. ii, 8.

|| Idem, in Gal. i, 8.

¶ Πετρος και Ιωαννης ισοτιμοι αλληλοις, καθο και Αποστολοι και αγιοι μαθηται.—*Act. Concil. Eph.*, part i, p. 209.

** At dicis super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur.—*Hieron.*, in Jovin. i, 14.

†† Cæteri apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris et potestatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe dispersi evangelium prædicaverunt, quibusque decedentibus successerunt episcopi, qui sunt constituti per totum mundum, in sedibus apostolorum.—*Isid.*, *Hisp. de Offic.*, ii, 5.

or Thanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood: the force of wealth and lowness of poverty doth not render a bishop more high or more low, because all of them are successors of the apostles.”*

Multitudes of quotations to the same purpose could be given, but the foregoing will suffice to satisfy the minds of sober inquirers.

8. There is no intimation of this archapostolical power in Peter's catholic or general epistles. It is usual with persons endowed with unquestionable authority, however prudent or modest they may be, to discover in their matter or manner of writing some traces of its existence. But no person reading these epistles would ever suppose they were written by a pope. “The elders,” says he, “which are among you, I exhort, who also am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed,” 1 Peter v, 1. Had he been a pope, his style would have been, “I, the peculiar vicar of Christ, prince of the apostles, exhort and require of you,” &c. But no such style is seen in either of his epistles: there is no *pagina nostræ voluntatis et mandati, this decision of our will and mandate*. His phraseology is, “Be mindful of the commands,” that is, the doctrine and precepts, “of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour,” 2 Peter iii, 2.

9. There are no footsteps of this power in the apostolic history, whether in the Acts or apostolic epistles. We cannot discover there that Peter assumed any extraordinary authority as governor or judge, or that his brethren ascribed it to him. On the contrary, there are diverse passages proving he pretended to no such thing, and that others did not award it to him. All things were transacted in common by them. No appeal, in cases of difference, is made to him; no peremptory decision is made by him; no orders are issued out by him alone; in ecclesiastical assemblies he acts as another member; his judgment and practice are sometimes questioned, and he is made to render an account to them; he does not depend on his *authority*, but assigns *reasons* for his conduct and opinion; sometimes he receives orders from the others and executes them. Let us mention here some particular instances and cases exemplifying the above.

(1.) In the *designation of a new apostle*, to supply the place of Judas, he suggested the matter and laid the case before them. He first declared his opinion; but the whole company chose two, and referred the determination to God, by the use of the lot. Acts i, 15–26.

(2.) At the *institution of the deacons*, the twelve called the multitude of disciples, and directed them to *elect* the persons; and the proposal being *acceptable* to them, it was done accordingly: *they chose Stephen, &c., whom they set before the apostles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them*. Acts vi, 2–6.

(3.) The *council at Jerusalem* furnishes positive proof against the supremacy of Peter.

First. When there was a great stir and debate about circumcision and other matters, there was no recourse to Peter as to the supreme head or judge of controversies. For they sent to the apostles and elders to inquire about the question. Acts xv, 2. When these messengers arrived, “they were received by the church, and apostles and

* Ubicumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Engubii, &c.—*Hieron. ad Evagr.*
 See also Clem. ad Corinth; Iren. iii, 1, 3, 12.

elders," verse 4. Having made their report, "the apostles and elders assembled to consider about the matter," verse 6. Thus they applied, not to Peter, but to the *apostles* and *elders*. Had Peter been invested with such prerogatives as those ascribed to him and to the popes of Rome, it would have been more than uncivil to apply first of all to the apostles and elders.

Secondly. Peter did not *call, convene, or summon* this council, or assembly, for they met by common agreement.

Thirdly. Nor did he *preside* in the meeting. James more particularly presided. James says, after hearing all those who chose to speak, *κρινω, I judge, I authoritatively say.* The other apostles either argued on the subject, or gave their opinion; James alone pronounced the definitive sentence. Peter did not preside here, and as this was the first ecclesiastical council, it was the time and place for him to have assumed his character as chief or prince; but he did not, nor did any of the other apostles invite him. From this we fairly conclude that Peter was no pope.

Fourthly. Nor did Peter send his *legates* to Antioch, to signify what he and the council had done; but the apostles and the whole church chose and sent their *messengers*.

Fifthly. Nor was the decree sent in the *name* of Peter, nor any notice taken in it of any primacy or prerogative of his above the other apostles. The title of the decree is, *The apostles, elders, and brethren, send greeting,* without any particular mention of Peter, the supposed judge of this and other controversies, and the supposed governor of this and all other churches. Peter did not *confirm* the decree.

(4.) Peter actually received and executed a commission from the apostles, at Jerusalem, in their presbyterial capacity, and so acted under their authority. And what greatly confirms the matter is, that he acted jointly in the commission with John as his equal. For it is said, "Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John," Acts viii, 14. Our Saviour asks, Whether is greater, he that sends, or he that is sent? The answer is an axiom. He that sends is greater than he that is sent. The truth is, the Christians of those times did not stand on punctilios; for each one was ready to do what the body thought best. Hence the brethren at Antioch "appointed Paul and Barnabus to go up to Jerusalem."

(5.) Peter was *called to an account* for his actions. Acts xi, 2, 3. Had the canon law been then in force, he might have told them, "that he was to judge all men, and none him; nor was he to be reprov'd by any mortal man, though by his impiety and ill example he carried thousands to hell with him."*

10. In any controversies which are mentioned in Scripture respecting doctrines, morals, discipline, rites, &c., there is no *appeal* made to Peter's judgment as decisive. There is no argument built on his authority. Dissent from his opinion, want of conformity to his practice, or disobedience to his orders, are not mentioned as ground of reproof. This were strange, indeed, if Peter was the universal prince and pas-

* Si papa innumerabiles populos secum ducit, primo mancipio gehennæ, &c. Hujus culpas redarguere præsumat mortalium nullus: quia cunctos ipse judicaturus, a nemine est judicandus; nisi sit a fide devius.—*Si Papa*, dist. 40.

tor of Christians, or the supreme judge of controversies among them; for then the most certain, compendious, and effectual way to confute error and regulate practice would be, to allege the authority of Peter. If now a question arises about any matter, the parties immediately have recourse to the pope; and his judgment, by the true sons of the Church of Rome, is decisive. If any is broached, the voice of the pope is heard throughout Christendom. If any schism springs up, Rome will immediately attempt to settle it. But no such regard was had to Peter himself. The apostles did not send heretics to him to be corrected of their errors, or schismatics to be censured for their divisions. They made use of the slow method of convincing them by Scripture and argument. If they did use *authority*, it was their own, which they challenge as given to them by Christ for edification.

11. Peter nowhere interposes as a *judge* of controversies, in the Roman Catholic sense. When he deals with heretics, he proceedeth not as a pope decreeing, but as an apostle, warning, arguing, and persuading them. See how Paul represents the several parties in the Christian church: "I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ," 1 Cor. i, 12; iii, 21. If it were so, that Peter was sovereign of the apostles, is it not wonderful that any Christian should prefer any apostle to him? Would any bishop compete with the pope? Here, too, was a fit occasion for Paul to say something in reference to Peter's supremacy, had he known of its existence.

12. The proceedings of the apostles, in converting people, founding churches, administering discipline, &c., are inconsistent with the supremacy, as they did not proceed on the principle that Peter was *the source of jurisdiction*. They did not act by his *license*, or *order*, but by the direction of the Holy Spirit. They were "*sent forth by the Holy Ghost*," or *went by revelation*, Acts xiii, 4, and xvi, 6, 9; Gal. ii, 2. By these aids they founded churches, or Christian societies, ordained pastors, exercising discipline, &c. This charge was exercised without dependance on Peter, as the apostles did not consult his pleasure, or render an account to him. They proceeded by virtue of their own commission, received immediately from Christ.

If it be said Paul went to Jerusalem to see Peter, I answer, he *went to visit him*, out of respect and love, or to confer with him for mutual edification and comfort, but not to receive his commands or authoritative instructions; for Paul disavowed any dependance on any man.

13. The nature of the *apostolic office*, *state of things*, and *the manner of Peter's life*, are at variance with his supremacy. The nature of the apostolic ministry was such, that the apostles were not fixed to one place of residence, but travelled almost continually, visiting every place, as they were divinely directed, or had calls or opportunities, for the propagation of the gospel.

The state of things in the church was such as to preclude such a reference to Peter as the supremacy requires. The apostles were not only itinerant, but they were persecuted. Christians were scattered, too, at considerable distances, so that conveyances for instruction from Peter were difficult.

Look, too, at the manner of Peter's life, which was unsettled and moveable. How then could he receive and attend to the duties of su-

premacY ? "Gold and silver he had none ;" how then could he sustain nuncios, legates, secretaries, auditors, and many others ?

14. Every apostle had an *independent authority* in managing the duties of his office. The direction of Him who had promised to be perpetually with them was sufficient for their guidance. Hence, as Paul says, *ἰκανώσατε αὐτοὺς*, "God rendered them SUFFICIENT ministers of the New Testament," 2 Cor. iii, 5 ; Rom. xv, 15. Hence, in their instructions and practice, they acted independently of Peter and of each other. The apostles governed all ; their authority was the sanction, and their decrees and writings were the laws of the church. They exercised a common jurisdiction, and exercised it according to the needs and emergencies of the church.

15. The behaviour of Paul toward Peter shows that he acknowledged no dependance on him, or no subjection to him.

(1.) Paul asserts to himself an independent power, subordinate to none other ; insisting thereon for the defence of his doctrine and practice ; alleging divers arguments to confirm it, from the character of his call, the character of his office, the discharge of it, his success, and the approbation of the other apostles. 2 Cor. xii, 11 ; Rom. xi, 13.

(2.) His *call* and *commission* to the apostleship show that he derived not his office immediately or mediately from man, or by the ministry of any man, but immediately from our Lord. For he was "an apostle, not from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father," Gal. i, 1. Our Lord said that he was a chosen vessel, whom he had sent to the Gentiles. Acts ix, 15, and xxii, 21. Hence he is careful to declare himself an apostle by the *will* of God. 1 Cor. i, 1 ; 2 Cor. i, 1 ; Eph. i, 1 ; Col. i, 1 ; 2 Tim. i, 1. He is denominated an apostle by the *special grace* of God. 1 Cor. xv, 10 ; Eph. iii, 7 ; 1 Tim. i, 12 ; 2 Tim. i, 12. And also by the *command* of God. 1 Tim. i, 1 ; Rom. i, 5. He particularly informs the Romans that "by Christ he had received grace and apostleship," Rom. i, 5.

(3.) For the *warrant* or *authority* of his office, he does not allege the license of Peter, but the special *gifts* and *graces* which he possessed. "Truly," saith he, "the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds." And, "I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God," 2 Cor. xii, 12 ; Rom. xv, 18, 19 ; 1 Cor. ii, 4.

(4.) To the same purpose he alleges his *success* in converting men to God. "Am I not an apostle ? Are not ye my work in the Lord ? If I be not an apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to you ; for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord," 1 Cor. ix, 1, 2. "But by the grace of God I am what I am ; and his grace, which was bestowed on me, was not in vain ; but I laboured more abundantly than they all : yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me," 1 Cor. xv, 10.

(5.) In the discharge of his office, immediately after his call and charge from Christ, without consulting or *taking license* from any man, he applied himself to his work. "Immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood ; neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that before me were apostles," Gal. i, 16, 17.

(6.) In *correcting abuses*, he acted by his own authority. "Therefore, being absent, I write these things, that being present I may not use severity, according to the authority which the Lord hath given me for edification, and not for destruction," 2 Cor. xii, 10, and x, 8. He did not receive any check from the other apostles; but the chief of them, "knowing the grace that was given him, gave unto him the right hand of fellowship," (Gal. ii, 9,) in token of their approval of his proceedings.

(7.) Paul informs us that "he was in nothing inferior to the chiefest apostles," 2 Cor. xi, 5, and xii, 11; not to Peter, James, or John, whom elsewhere he calls pillars. Gal. ii, 9. When he said he was *behind none*, he could not forget Peter: when he said, *none of the chief*, he could not but especially mean him. When he said, *in nothing*, he could not but mean the authority of his place; for he found it proper to *magnify his office*, to assert his apostleship as derived from Christ.

If things had been then, as they are now, taught by the Roman school, Paul would not thus compare himself to Peter, as he would manifest due regard for his *ordinary pastor*; for such words as these were easily interpreted to be derogatory to the character of Peter.

(8.) The other apostles *conferred nothing* on Paul at Jerusalem. Gal. ii, 2. This was hardly proper, if Peter was his sovereign; but he says it for the very purpose of excluding the doctrine of supremacy. For, says he, speaking of the other apostles, and Peter among them, "Whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me; God respecteth no man's person," (Gal. ii, 6,) which would not sound well of one who was his superior in office, to whom, as his judge and pastor, by God's appointment, he owed submission.

(9.) Paul *withstood Peter* and *reproved him* before all, because he was blameable. Gal. ii, 13, 14. This behaviour would be very unseemly on the supposition that Peter was his superior in office; and even more so, to reprove him openly, and transmit it in writing, as he does, to the Galatians. Paul was more bold with Peter than any man now could be with the pope.

(10.) Paul asserts to himself an independent authority over the Gentiles, co-ordinate with that which Peter exercised over the Jews. This he asserts strongly, which cannot be reconciled to the supremacy. Gal. i, 6, 7.

16. If Peter was sovereign of the church, it seems necessary he should *outlive the other apostles*. For then, either the church must want a head, or there would be an endless controversy about who he was. Peter died long before John. And they say Linus Cletus and Clemens succeeded Peter. Consequently John must be in subjection to these as popes. Thus the office of apostle would not be what Paul calls it, *first apostles*.

17. Other apostles might assume the supremacy on the same grounds on which it is claimed for Peter. But to suppose such a difference of power among the other apostles is absurd; and, therefore, the grounds on which Peter's supremacy is built are not solid.

James and John seem to possess a preference to other apostles. For them our Saviour manifested a special regard. After Peter and his brother, they were first called to the apostleship. They were called Boanerges, or sons of thunder, by way of eminence. They beheld the

transfiguration. One of them was the disciple *whom Jesus loved*, and *who leaned* on his bosom. The other was the first to witness our Lord's resurrection. They were both *υπερ λαν αποστολοι*, *the superlative apostles*.

CHAPTER VI.

SUPREMACY CONTINUED.

THE PRIMACY OF PETER NOT TRANSMISSIBLE. 1. It was personal : 2. And grounded on personal qualities : 3. The apostolic office not successive. Reasons of this : 4. Absurdity of such transmission : 5. Objection answered : 6. All true. Pastors their successors : 7. Popes not their successors.

THE primacy of Peter, of whatever kind it was, could not be transmitted to others.

1. It was grounded on personal graces, gifts, and acts. In personal acts, such as his cheerful following of Christ, his confession of him, and his resolute adherence to him. In personal graces, such as his faith in Christ, his love to him, his zeal for him. In personal endowments, as his courage, activity, and ready gift of speech. Pre-eminence, built on these grounds, is not transmissible to others.

2. The primacy of Peter is grounded on words directed to his person, characterized by personal adjuncts, as name, parentage, which were accomplished in his personal actions ; and, therefore, they cannot extend to others.

Our Lord promised to *Simon, son of Jonas*, to build his church on him, or rather, on Christ, whom he acknowledged : accordingly, in a peculiar manner, the church was founded by his ministry, or by his first preaching.

Our Lord promised to give him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. This power was *first* exercised by Peter, when he opened the door of faith to the Jews first, and to the Gentiles next ; the other apostles also exercised the keys as well as Peter, though he used them first.

3. The apostolic office, properly so called, was personal and temporary, and therefore not successive.

The apostles may be considered in a two-fold point of view, viz. : either in their *general character*, as preachers of the gospel and administrators of the sacraments, or in their *special character*, as apostles of Jesus Christ. In the first view, they are the predecessors of all to the end of the world who shall preach the same gospel and administer the sacraments, by whatever name they may be called. That the apostles had successors, as preachers of the gospel, we allow. But we maintain that in their special character as apostles they had no successors. The following are the reasons :

(1.) It was necessary to constitute an apostle that he was one who had seen Christ after his resurrection, in order to be a witness of this great event, which is the foundation of the Christian faith. Acts i, 21, 22.

(2.) The apostles received their commission *immediately* from Christ. Gal. i, 1, 11, 12.

(3.) The apostles possessed the power of conferring miraculous gifts by the imposition of their hands. Matt. x, 1; 2 Cor. xii, 12.

(4.) They were divinely inspired. Acts xv, 28.

(5.) Their commission was *universal*, embracing all the world.

Now, such an office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, was not designed to continue by derivation. For it contained in it divers things which were not communicated, and which no man, without gross imposture and hypocrisy, could challenge to himself.

Nor did the apostles pretend to communicate the apostolate. They did appoint regular pastors in the churches. They associated with themselves fellow-labourers or assistants in preaching the gospel and governing the churches. But they did not constitute apostles equal to themselves in authority, privileges, or gifts. Augustine says, "Who is ignorant that the principate of the apostleship is to be preferred to any episcopacy?"* And even Bellarmine confesses "the bishops have no part of the true apostolic authority."† This theory was adopted by Bellarmine, in order to trace all power up to the pope.

But the apostles themselves make the apostolate a distinct office from *pastors* and *teachers*, who are the standing officers in the church. 1 Cor. xii, 28; Eph. iv, 11.

Wherefore Peter, who had no other office mentioned in Scripture, or known to antiquity, besides that of an apostle, could not have properly any successor to his office: consequently it expired with his person, as did that of the other apostles. And whereas the other apostles, as such, had no successors, the apostolic office not being successive, the primacy of Peter, whatever it was, ceased with him: for when there were no apostles existing, there could be no head or prince of the apostles in any sense.

4. If some of the peculiar prerogatives and privileges of Peter descend to the popes, why not all? Why was not Pope Alexander VI. as holy as Peter? Why was not Pope Honorius as sound in doctrine as Peter? Why is not every pope inspired, and endowed with the power of working miracles? Why not every papal epistle canonical scripture? What ground is there to divide the privileges, so that the pope shall have some, but not others?

5. It is objected that "bishops were by the fathers called successors of the apostles." To this we reply: The apostolic office did contain, not only the special apostolic characters mentioned above, but also the functions of *teaching* and *governing* the church, as exercised in ordinary *pastorship*. These persons were endowed with these powers during the apostles' lives, deriving their powers through the apostles, but by no means succeeding them as apostles. The fathers call all bishops or pastors the successors of the apostles; not meaning that any one did succeed to the whole apostolic office, but that each received his powers, either from some apostle, or from some apostolic man. So Clemens Romanus says: "The apostles preaching in countries and cities constituted their first converts, having approved them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons of those who should afterward believe." And again he says: "They constituted the aforesaid; (that is, bishops and deacons;) they withal gave them farther charge, that if they should

* Quis nescit illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet episcopatui præferendum?—Aug. *de Bapt. Contr. Don.*, ii, 1.

† Episcopi nullam habent partem veræ apostolicæ auctoritatis.—Bell., iv, 25.

die, other approved men successively should receive their office.”* Thus the *pastors* supplied the room of the apostles, as Cyprian declares: “To each pastor a portion of the flock is given, which each is to rule and govern.”†

6. All true pastors are, in a certain sense, *successors* of the apostles. For all of them conjointly have authority, in the pastoral office, equal to the apostles. So Cyprian says: “The presidents succeed the apostles by vicarious ordination.”‡ “The Lord hath chosen apostles, that is, bishops and presidents.”§ “There is but one chair, built by the Lord’s will upon Peter.”|| “There is one episcopate, diffused by the concordant number of many bishops.”¶ “One episcopate, of which each doth hold his share.”** “The pastors are many, but there is one flock which is fed by all the apostles with unanimous consent.”†† “For although we are many pastors, yet we feed one flock and all the sheep.”‡‡

So the Synod of Carthage, with Cyprian, declare: “The meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest in sending his apostles, and allowing the power given him of the Father to them alone, whose successors we are, governing the church of God by the same power.”§§ Many more quotations could be adduced.¶¶

Bellarmino, however, informs us that the extraordinary charge of the apostles ceased at their death, except Peter, whose successor is the *ordinary pastor* of the whole church.¶¶¶ To this it is enough to say, that it is a mere figment, having no ground in Scripture or antiquity. For had it any existence, there would have been some authentic record of it, or some law concerning it, that all posterity should know it. Wherefore, as there is no record that Peter had any successor as pope, we may safely affirm that he certainly had none.

7. With great confidence we may also affirm that the popes cannot be the successors of Peter; for they do not follow him in doctrine, morals, or practice.

* Κατα χώρας και πολεις κηρυσσοντες καθιστανον τας अपαρκας αυτων, δοκιμασαντες τω πνευματι εις επισκοπους και διακονους των μελλοντων πιστευειν.—*Clemen. ad Cor.*, i, p. 54.

Κατεστησαν τους προειρημενους, και μεταξυ επινομην επιδεωκασι, όπως εαν κοιμηθωσι, διαδεχωνται ετεροι δεδοκιμασμενοι ανδρες την λειτουργιαν αυτων.—*Ibid.*, p. 57.

† Singulis pastoribus partio gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet.—*Cypr.*, ep. 55.

‡ Præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt.—*Cypr.*, ep. 69, 42, 75.

§ Apostolos, id est, episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit.—*Ep.* 65.

|| Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata.—*Ep.* 40, et 73, et *de Unit. Eccl.*

¶ Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus.—*Ep.* 52.

** Unus episcopatus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.—*De Unit. Eccl.*

†† Et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur.—*De Unit. Eccles.*

‡‡ Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, &c.—*Ep.* 67.

§§ Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a patre sibi datam permittentis quibus nos successimus eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes.

¶¶ See Iren., iii, 3. Tertul. de Prescrip., c. 32. Euseb. Hist., book iv, c. 1. Clem. Alex. apud Euseb., iii, 23. Cypr., ep. 42. Finnil. in Cypr., ep. 75.

¶¶ Bell. iv, 25.

CHAPTER VII.

SUPREMACY—SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PETER WAS NOT BISHOP OF ROME. 1. Whether he was ever at Rome. This not clearly declared in the New Testament : 2. It was known only by tradition : 3. The fathers imposed on by false tradition. Papias the highest source of information. Character of Papias : 4. Incredibility of his statements : 5. The time of his being at Rome cannot be made out, and is contrary to the authentic accounts of him in the New Testament : 6. It is inconsistent with itself. Whether he was bishop of Rome : 7. Scripture does not assert it : 8. Nor did he found the church at Rome : 9. Irenæus contradicts it : 10. Not bishop of Rome twenty-five years, and of Antioch seven years : 11. The patrons of this opinion confute themselves : 12. The offices of bishop and apostle incompatible : 13. What meant by apostolic throne, chair, &c. : 14. How or by whom was he made bishop : 15. It was needless he should be bishop : 16. His being bishop would be a bad example of non-residence : 17. The same authority which makes Peter bishop of Rome, makes Paul bishop also. Whether Peter continued bishop of Rome : 18. Statement of ecclesiastical writers on this point : 19. No apostle bishop of Rome, except in a large sense : 20. Any apostle could preside at Rome : 21. Whether James was bishop of Rome : 22. The popes call themselves successors of Peter and Paul.

Peter was not bishop of Rome.

There are three questions which may be discussed in connection with the subject now before us.

First. Whether Peter was ever at Rome.

Secondly. Whether he was bishop of Rome.

Thirdly. Whether he continued bishop of Rome after his supposed translation, and was bishop at his death.

In regard to the first, *Whether Peter was ever at Rome*, it is affirmed with the utmost confidence by the members of the Church of Rome, that Peter was unquestionably at Rome. The following remarks are offered on this point:—

1. It is not clearly declared in the New Testament that Peter was ever at Rome. That Peter fixed his episcopal chair at Rome cannot be proved from Scripture. Neither does it appear from any part of the Holy Scriptures that Peter ever was at Rome. The only place in Scripture alleged to prove that Peter ever was at Rome, is the following: "The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you," 1 Peter v, 13. From this they infer that Peter was at Rome, because by Babylon Rome was meant. That he did not write from Rome, but from Babylon, in Chaldea, will be collected from Scripture. And, indeed, some of their own learned authors allow this.

(1.) In the first century the ancient Babylon, on the Euphrates, was still in existence; and there was also a city on the Tigris, Seleucia, called New Babylon, about three hundred stadia from old Babylon, which was on the Euphrates. It is true, the ancient Babylon, compared with its original splendour, might be called, in the first century, a desolated city; yet it was not wholly a heap of ruins, nor wholly destitute of inhabitants, according to Strabo, who lived in the time of Tiberius: for he says that Alexander proposed to build there a pyramid; that the Persians destroyed a part of Babylon; that the Persians neglected it; but that Babylon had suffered most from the building of Seleucia, or New Babylon, which became the capital of the country, and old Babylon was drained of its inhabitants.

The notion of a spiritual or mystical Babylon is confuted by Josephus,* who informs us that Hyrcanus, the Jewish high priest, was banished by Phraates, king of Parthia, thirty-six years before Christ, with permission to live in Babylon, where there were many Jews, and that all the Jews who dwelt in Babylon, and in the country as far as the Euphrates, acknowledged Hyrcanus as their high priest. Now the word Babylon means a city in the east, either old or New Babylon, but probably the former. And Peter's epistle is addressed to the "dispersed Jews throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," (1 Peter i, 1,) which well agrees with the literal meaning of the text, viz.: that he actually wrote his letter from Babylon, in Chaldea, as a central place, from which he addressed his Jewish brethren.

(2.) Baronius† tells us that this epistle of Peter was written A. D. 45. He, Petavius, and others, say that Peter went to Rome in the second year of Claudius, or the year A. D. 44. But a very learned Roman Catholic, Valesius,‡ evidently confutes them from Scripture and good authorities, and plainly shows that Peter was always in Judea or Syria, till the death of Herod Agrippa, which was the fourth of Claudius, and forty-sixth of Christ; and, therefore, it was impossible that Peter should write that epistle to Rome in the forty-fifth year of Christ.

(3.) It is evident from what Luke says, (Acts xv, &c.,) that Peter continued in Judea till the council met at Jerusalem, about the question concerning circumcision and the ceremonial law, for he was present at it. This was in the year 51, according to Bellarmine, Baronius, and others; or in the year 49, according to Valesius, which is the more probable. If Peter wrote in the year 45, he must have written several years before his arrival.

(4.) It is farther evident that Peter was not at Rome when the council sat at Jerusalem, whether in 49 or 51; for at this time he was at Jerusalem. Paul tells us, (Gal. i, 8,) that three years after his conversion, which occurred about 37, he went to Jerusalem to see Peter, and found him there. And fourteen years after, or about the year 51, he went to Jerusalem again, and then found Peter there. According to the Roman Catholic computation, in the year 51 Peter had sat eight years bishop of Rome. And yet Paul neither sought nor found him at Rome, but at Jerusalem. They say he sat at Rome twenty-five years, and was martyred in 68, so that the twenty-five years would commence in 43, and then at 49 or 51 he would have been six or eight years at Rome, which is contradicted by the New Testament account.

(5.) It is indeed evident Peter wrote this first epistle to the *dispersed of the Jews*, (1 Peter i, 1,) whose metropolis was Babylon. And when he wrote, *the church at Babylon salutes you*, he intended, agreeably to the common epistolary style, that they should know *where* he was, and *who* they were who saluted them; which was impossible for them to do, if by *Babylon* he meant *Rome*. For at that time Rome neither was nor could be known to any by the name of Babylon, as no author had ever called it so. It is true, John, who wrote fifty years after, seems to call *Rome, Babylon*. But he wrote mysterious prophecies, and, therefore, used types, figures, and metaphors, to express future

* Antiq., book xv, ch. 2.

† Annal., A. D. 45, sec. 16, 17.

‡ Notes on Euseb., Eccl. Hist., book ii, ch. 16.



things. But that Peter, writing on the plain duties and precepts of the gospel, used types and figures to such an extent as to use Babylon in the place of Rome, cannot be admitted with any reason. By the premises we infer that it cannot be proved out of Scripture that Peter ever was at Rome.

2. That Peter was ever at Rome is known only by *tradition*. This, like most other traditions, will hardly stand the test of a strict and impartial examination. Tradition must be treated as a notorious liar, to whom we give no credit, unless what he says is confirmed by some one in whom we can rely. If it be affirmed by him alone, we must suspend our belief till we obtain better testimony. That Peter was ever at Rome, or bishop of Rome, we are told by tradition alone; which at the same time tells us so many strange things concerning his visit, that the whole savours much of romance.

Thus we are told that Peter went to Rome chiefly to oppose Simon, the magician. That at their first interview, at which Nero was present, Simon flew up into the air, in the sight of the emperor and the whole city; but that the devil, who had thus raised him, struck with terror at the name of Jesus, whom the apostle invoked, let him fall to the ground, by which fall he broke his legs. Should you question the truth of this tradition at modern Rome, they would show you the print of Peter's knees in the stone on which he kneeled on this occasion, and another stone still died with the blood of the magician.

The Romans, we are told, enraged at Peter for maiming their divine teacher and bringing him into disgrace, vowed his destruction. Whereupon the apostle thought it advisable to retire for a while from the city, and on reaching the gate met our Saviour, who, upon Peter's asking him where he was going, replied, *I am going to Rome to be crucified anew*. This Peter took as a reproof for his flight, whereupon he returned, and was soon afterward seized by the Romans, and, by order of the emperor, crucified. These and a thousand such stories we must receive, if we admit Peter to have been at Rome, since the whole is vouched by the same authority.

That Peter was ever at Rome must depend solely on *human* and *fallible* testimony, or rather on *tradition*. Now the whole papal monarchy and infallibility depend upon Peter's being bishop of Rome, and the grounds we have to assure us of his being ever there are doubtful: hence it evidently follows, that our faith and belief of the pope's supremacy must be doubtful and uncertain. How then comes it to pass, that it is an article of their faith that the bishop of Rome is vicar of Christ, and Peter's successor? which article they *promise, swear, and vow to believe and profess most constantly, to their last breath*.

3. The accounts of the fathers show that they were imposed on by *false traditions*. It is upon the authority of uncertain traditions that the oldest authors maintain that Peter preached the gospel at Rome. These are Arnobius,* Cyril, of Jerusalem,† Eusebius,‡ Irenæus,§ Tertullian,|| Jerome,¶ and Justin Martyr.** These have all supposed Peter to have been at Rome, and, together with Paul, to have planted Christianity in that great metropolis of the world. But this they took upon tradition, and consequently their authority is of no greater weight than tradition.

* Lib. ii, in Gentes.

† Catech., 6.

‡ Eccl. Hist., book ii, ch. 14, 15.

§ Lib. ii, ch. 2.

|| De Anima, c. 24.

¶ De Vir. Illustr., ch. 2.

** Apol. ii.

itself, which, had they duly examined, they would not have believed, or transmitted it to posterity as truth. If we look upon the fountain of all ecclesiastical history, from the time of the apostles to that of Constantine, which was about three hundred and twenty years, during which time there were thirty-three bishops of Rome, we shall find very little of moment to us, except what the Scripture itself gives us. There is no authority that obliges, nor reason that persuades us to believe any thing positively in the transactions of the church. Nor does it appear from whence we have the lives of the apostles and other holy men, as there was no collection of them till after Constantine's time. And what was afterward put in writing, has been oftentimes altered, many things having been reformed and left out, according to the sentiments of the writers. The lives of the saints, by Ribadineyra, who was chaplain to Philip II., in England, when he married Queen Mary, is a modern work, and, judging from the errors of the same author respecting English history, great doubt must rest on his narrative. There is no consent in the very succession of the bishops of Rome; very little mention of their jurisdiction, and no particular account of their election, and how they came to be chosen, till three hundred years after Christ.

Let us examine particularly *the source of the tradition* from which it is inferred that Peter was at Rome, or that Babylon, in the text of Peter, (1 Peter v, 13,) means Rome.

Papias, in Eusebius,* is cited for the account, which, as given by him, reads thus. Eusebius, as cited in the margin, makes Papias say: "Peter makes mention of Mark in the first epistle, which he is also said to have composed at the city of Rome, and that he shows this fact by calling the city by an unusual trope, Babylon; thus: 'The church at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, as also my son Marcus.'" The truth of this depends on the authority of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, and those who follow him. How little credit is to be given to Papias in this, or almost any thing else, will appear from what we find in Eusebius concerning him.

Eusebius,† when speaking concerning *the writings of Papias*, represents them as worthy of very little credit. He quotes Irenæus, who declares that Papias was a hearer of John the apostle, and the associate of Polycarp. To this, Eusebius replies: "Papias himself by no means asserts that he was a hearer and an eye-witness of the holy apostles, but informs us he received the doctrines of faith from their intimate friends." He then quotes Papias as saying, that "he received his information from the elders, or those who followed the apostles; for he did not derive so much benefit from books as from the living voice of those who are still living." Hence Papias received his information not from the apostles, but from others; not by writing, or from books, or documents, but from hearsay, or tradition.

That much of what Papias stated is worthy of little credit, is asserted by Eusebius, who, in the same chapter, assures us that Papias "gave certain wonderful accounts, together with other matters, that he seems to have received from tradition. He also gave other accounts, received by him from unwritten tradition; likewise certain strange parables of our Lord and of his doctrine, and some other matters rather too fabu-

* Book ii, ch. 15, p. 65, Eng. ed., Phil., 1834.

† Eccl. Hist., book iii, ch. 39, pp. 124-127.

lous. In these he says there would be a certain millennium after the resurrection, and that there would be a corporeal reign of Christ on this very earth; which things he appears to have imagined, as if they were authorized by the apostolic narrations, not understanding correctly those matters which they propounded mystically in their representations. For he was very limited in his comprehension, as is evident from his discourses; yet he was the cause why most of the ecclesiastical writers, urging the antiquity of the man, were carried away by a similar opinion; as, for instance, Irenæus, or any other that adopted such sentiments."

I know that in Eusebius,* both in the worst edition of him, by Christopherson, and in the best, by Hen. Valesius, we have a high commendation of him in the following words. In Cruse's translation it is, "At this time, also, Papias was well known as a bishop of the church at Hierapolis, a man well skilled in all manner of learning, and well acquainted with the Scriptures." Valesius reads thus: "At the same time Papias was famous, a man very eloquent and learned, and well skilled in Scripture." Christopherson goes farther, and says of Papias, that besides his knowledge of Scripture, "he was a man certainly most learned in the knowledge of all other arts."

This commendation of Papias is so far from having any authority from Eusebius, that it appears a plain forgery, because,

First. It flatly contradicts the character which Eusebius gives of him in the thirty-ninth chapter of the same book.

Secondly. Ruffinus, who translated Eusebius, says only thus: "About this time flourished Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and Papias, bishop of Hierapolis." This is the reading of the printed edition of Ruffinus, by Rhenanus, with which agrees a very ancient manuscript of Ruffinus. In these there is not one word of that commendation of Papias which is now extant in Eusebius. And therefore we may conclude that anciently it was not there.

Thirdly. Valesius, a very learned Roman Catholic, who published Eusebius, acknowledges, that of three or four Greek manuscripts which he made use of in his edition, not one of them had that commendation of Papias, and therefore he doubts not but these words were added by some ignorant scholiast, contrary to the judgment and sense of Eusebius. For says he, "How is it possible that Eusebius should call Papias a most learned man, and most skilled in Scripture, who, in the same book, says, he was a rude and simple person, of very little judgment!"†

Fourthly. There are plain proofs found in Papias, that he was ignorant and unskilled in Scripture, instead of being learned and wise. He says that Philip, whose daughters were prophetesses, was Philip the apostle; whereas, in the Acts of the Apostles, (chapter xxii; verse 8,) he is expressly called Philip the deacon.‡

Papias said "that hearing oral traditions was more profitable than reading Scripture." But John informs us, that though he wrote such things as were necessary and sufficient to salvation, yet he left out much that he thought unnecessary. But Papias prefers to revelation the unwritten tradition concerning our Saviour, which the apostles had

* Book iii, ch. 36, p. 120.

† Valesius in Euseb., lib. iii, c. 36, 39.

‡ Valesius in Euseb., book iii, c. 39.

omitted as unnecessary. Thus, in contradiction of the Holy Spirit, he calls tradition more useful than the written and inspired writings of the evangelists. In this his ignorance and want of judgment are manifest.

4. Now because Papias had among his traditions *strange and novel parables and doctrines concerning our Saviour, and other things more fabulous*, and that he fell into these errors chiefly by his ignorance and misunderstanding of Scripture, yet he is the principal witness that the Church of Rome has to prove that Peter was at Rome, and that Babylon, in the epistle of Peter, means Rome. They have no other place in Scripture to favour their interpretation, and only Papias for that. For all the other ecclesiastical historians do nothing more than copy the error of Papias. Such is the *only* and *best* ground that Rome has to show that Peter was ever at Rome.

5. Neither Peter nor any of the sacred writers give us the least hint that Peter was ever at Rome. We are told of his being at Antioch, Jerusalem, Corinth, Babylon, &c., but there is no mention of his being at Rome, the great seat of the empire. The *silence* of Paul in particular must be a far more convincing proof of Peter's never being at Rome, than all the authorities they can collect are of his having been there.

In Paul's epistle to the Romans, there is no mention made of Peter. From Rome, he wrote to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Timothy, and to Philemon, without ever mentioning Peter.

According to the accounts of the papal doctors, Peter was bishop of Rome twenty-five years, viz., from the year 43 to the year 68. Now though we have *eight* instances during that period in which Paul communicated with Rome, *once* by writing to them, *six* times when writing from Rome, and *once* by at least an abode of two years, there is yet no hint given that Peter was there during any of these times, and it would be hard to suppose he was there, and that Paul would take no notice of him. This will appear, not only extraordinary, but even incredible, if we will only examine the circumstances of these visitations, and the language which Paul uses on these occasions.

About A. D. 52 Paul wrote to the Galatians from the city of Rome. He and Timothy join in the address to the Colossian church. Col. i. 1, 2. Surely some regard would have been had to Peter had he been there.

About the year 58 he wrote his epistle to the Romans. And though he salutes numbers of persons, and those, too, of highest repute, Peter is never mentioned. See Rom. xv, 3-16. Now, had Peter been at Rome at this time, as the *angel*, or *bishop*, or *minister in pastoral charge* of the church of Rome, surely some mention had been made of him; especially as Paul salutes so many, even calling twenty-five of them by name, with several households, and others not named. This is the more strange, as the custom was to salute those persons of greatest note, especially ministers of the word.

Besides, in the epistle to the Romans there is no reference made to the presence of Peter at Rome previous to the year 58, though, according to the Roman Catholic account, he had been already fifteen years bishop there. Nor is there any thing said in reference to his coming to, or being at Rome, at any *future time*, as head of the church, or in any other capacity. Hence, the inference is, that Peter never was at Rome.

In the epistle to the Ephesians, written at Rome about 61, there is

no mention that Peter ever had been at Rome, that he was there then, or that he was even expected ever to visit Rome at any future time.

About the year 62 Paul wrote to the Philippians. But, though he associates Timothy with himself in saluting the Philippian church in the beginning of his epistle, and associates with himself, in the salutations at the close of the epistle, *the brethren that were with him*, especially *those of Cesar's household*, there is, nevertheless, not one word about Peter.

Paul wrote to the Colossians about the year 62. Peter was not there then, when Paul, after mentioning Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus, and Justus, adds, "These **ONLY** are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, which have been a comfort to me," Col. iv, 11. It is evident, therefore, that Peter was not now at Rome, else he certainly would have been mentioned in the list.

In the epistle to Philemon, written from Rome about A. D. 62, no mention is made of Peter.

We find, when Paul appealed to Cesar, and had been sent to Rome, he tarried two full years in that city preaching the gospel, or from the year 63 to 65. Nevertheless, there is no account of Peter's being there on his arrival, during his two years' ministry, or at his departure from there. Acts xxviii.

The second epistle to Timothy was written about the year 65 or 66. Paul says, "At my first defence, no man stood with me, but all men forsook me," 2 Tim. iv, 16. Surely had Peter been there, he would not have forsaken him. This, too, was immediately before the death of Paul. 2 Tim. iv, 6. Nevertheless, he tells Timothy that *Eubulus, Pudens, Claudia, and all the brethren* did salute him. Verse 21. Yet there is no mention of Peter.

Here are *six* distinct times in which Paul was at Rome, or wrote to Rome. In one year he wrote three times from Rome. At another time he remained two full years preaching. From the first to the last time was a period of thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheless, he gives no account that Peter had been expected there subsequent to any of his visits, that he was there before his arrival, or during his stay. Yet he governed the affairs of the church of Rome, gave directions for their conduct, and mentioned by name, in his salutations, all the principal Christians at Rome, whether men or women. And still he says not one word about Peter, who, according to the Romanists, had his *throne* at Rome, and governed the church there, previous to Paul's arrival, during his stay, and after his departure. Surely, if Peter ever had been at Rome, there would be some mention made of it by Paul. Indeed, there is no evidence that Peter was ever at Rome. And, as it cannot be proved that he ever was bishop or pope of Rome, the *key-stone* of the supremacy is taken out, and the entire fabric falls to the ground. For it must appear there is no proof of his ever being at Rome, that he ever wrote from Rome, or was bishop there. Though the decision of this question is not an article of faith among Protestants, it so far infringes on an article of the Church of Rome, the supremacy of the pope, as to stand or fall with it.

6. Besides, the traditionary account of Peter's being at Rome is not only contrary to the authentic account of him which we have in the New Testament, but it is *inconsistent with itself*.

“Concerning the *time* of his coming to Rome,” says Fulke, “the ancient writers do not agree. Eusebius saith it was in the time of Claudius; but by Hierom, who saith he sat there twenty-five years, until the last year of Nero, it must follow that he came thither the second or third of Claudius: yet Damasus saith he came to Rome in the beginning of Nero’s empire, and sat there twenty-five years; whereas Nero reigned but fourteen years. He saith also that his disputation with Simon Magus was in the presence of Nero the emperor. Eusebius reporteth it under Claudius. Anterius, bishop of Rome, as Nicephorus testifieth, did write that Peter was translated from Antioch to Rome, and from thence he passed to Alexandria, because he might more profit the church there.” These are all matters of hearsay, reported hundreds of years after Peter’s death, and therefore entitled to no credit. Had there been any solid foundation for the assumption that Peter was ever at Rome, or had been bishop of that city, such confusion and contradiction would not rest on the subject.

The *second* point embraced in the present chapter, is to consider *whether Peter was bishop of Rome*. From what has been said, it is evident, that it is doubtful at best whether Peter was ever at Rome; but allowing him to have been there, it still remains to be proved that he ever was bishop of Rome. The friends of the supremacy employ their utmost efforts to prove he was bishop of Rome, being well assured that much depends on this point.

In proof, however, that Peter never was bishop of Rome, we adduce the following arguments:—

7. That he was bishop of Rome, or any other place, there is no proof in Scripture; and therefore the support of his Roman bishopric must be sought elsewhere. Had he even been at Rome, this would not prove he was bishop there; for he was at Jerusalem, Samaria, Joppa, &c., and yet he was not bishop of any of these places, as our opponents confess.

8. Nor did Peter *found* the church of Rome, as is asserted, because, *First*. It is not likely that the Christian faith should be kept from Rome for the space of twelve years after the resurrection of Christ; for so long it was asserted to have been before Peter came to Rome.

Secondly. It is more likely that Paul preached at Rome before Peter, for when he came to Rome he called the Jews together, who said they had heard nothing concerning him by letter, or from the brethren of Judea. Acts xxviii, 22. But if Peter had been there, Paul, no doubt, would have been known to them, at least by name. The Jews also say unto him, *We will hear of thee what thou thinkest*. It seems by this place, that the Jews at Rome had not heard the gospel before. But if Peter had been among them, to whom the Jews were particularly consigned, he would certainly have taken care to preach to the Jews.

Thirdly. Nor is it certain that Peter and Paul jointly founded the church at Rome. For it is very probable that Paul was not at Rome till after he wrote his epistle to that church. Rom. i, 8. It is most likely that no apostle was employed in this work, and that the gospel was first preached by those who were converted at the day of pentecost; for we find from Acts ii, 10, that there were at Jerusalem *strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes*; and that these, on their return, preached the gospel. So we find that there were Christians there before Paul

visited them. Indeed, he refers to such Rom. xvi, 7, for he mentions "Andronicus and Junia, who were in Christ before" him.

Fourthly. Though Peter may have preached at Rome, it would not follow that he was bishop there; for other apostles founded churches, over which they were never bishops.

9. Irenæus* expressly says that "Peter and Paul, who founded the church at Rome, made Linus bishop; to him succeeded Anacletus; after him, in the third place from the apostles, was Clement." Eusebius† says the same thing, and places Linus first, next Anacletus, and third Clemens, thus excepting Peter and Paul from the number of Roman bishops. Irenæus and Eusebius did believe Paul and Peter to be founders of the Roman church, but neither of them to be bishops there. This Valesius, a learned Roman Catholic, evidently saw and publicly acknowledges.‡ Besides, Eusebius, in two places cited,§ puts Paul before Peter; if he believed that Peter was *supreme monarch over the church and the apostles themselves*, he offered a great affront and injury to Peter, by preferring Paul.

10. Nor can it be shown that Peter was first bishop of Antioch seven years, and then bishop of Rome twenty-five years. The authority for this is the Chronicon of Eusebius. But, though Eusebius says that Peter founded the church at Antioch, and then by our Saviour's command went to Rome,|| he is so far from saying that Peter was seven years bishop of Antioch, that he expressly says that Euodias was the first bishop of Antioch.¶ When Baronius** cites the Chronicon of Eusebius to prove that Peter was twenty-five years bishop of Rome, he is much mistaken. For the place to which he refers in Eusebius†† says no such thing. Baronius did not understand Greek; but followed the Latin translations, interpolated and corrupted by Roman arts; and was therefore misled.

As to Peter's episcopacy at Antioch, it rests on no adequate grounds for support. For we do not find from Scripture that he was more than once at Antioch, Gal. ii, 11, 12, 13, &c.; nor is there mention of any thing he did, except that he dissembled and was reprehended for it by Paul. Whereas it is evident that Paul was at Antioch for a *whole year*, and constituted the church there, Acts xi, 26; *confirmed them afterward in the faith*, Acts xiv, 22; *ordained elders to govern them*, Acts xiv, 23; *stayed there a long time*, verses 26–28; and *continued there preaching the gospel*, Acts xv, 35. And yet, if we believe them, Peter was bishop there, and not Paul. The truth is, neither of them was bishop at Antioch or any other place.

Indeed, it is utterly incredible that Peter, the supreme head of the Church, should be thirty-two years bishop of the two principal churches, Rome and Antioch, and that during the lives of the apostles; and yet none of them, in any of their writings, should say any thing concerning his episcopal acts for all this time. But Baronius censures Luke for leaving out this account when he wrote the Acts of the Apostles.‡‡

11. The patrons of his being bishop of both these places, confute

* Lib. iii, c. 3.

† Eccles. Hist., book iii, ch. 2, 4, 21.

‡ Vales. on Euseb. Eccles. Hist., book iii, ch. 21.

§ Book iii, ch. 2, 21.

|| Euseb. in Chron. anno Claud. I.

¶ Idem. ann. Claud. II.

** Annal. ad ann. 39, sec. 9.

†† Chron. in anno II. Claud.

‡‡ Baron. in ann. Christ. 39, sec. 8.

themselves by their positions ; though they agree that Peter was so long bishop of these two places. This evidently appears from the statements of Onuphrius, Baronius, and Bellarmine.

(1.) Onuphrius* tells us that Peter remained in Judea till the year 43 ; after this he was bishop of Antioch seven years, or to the year 50. And after this he was twenty-five years bishop of Rome, or to the year 75. And yet he says that Peter died in 69.

(2.) Baronius† states the question thus : Peter came to Antioch in 39, and was bishop there seven years, or till 46. And then he says, Peter went to Rome and was bishop there twenty-five years, or till 71. But the same Baronius tells us‡ that Peter died in the year 69.

(3.) Bellarmine maintains the same opinion with Baronius, though erroneous and ridiculous ; not only in contradiction to Onuphrius, but to Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, &c., whose opinions Baronius endeavours to confute.§

In short, neither Scripture nor antiquity affords them any proof of their positions. The Greek Chronicon of Eusebius, written four hundred years after Christ, and *corrupted in a Latin version*, is the only thing they have to rely on.

12. The offices of bishop and apostle were incompatible with each other. And therefore Peter's being bishop of Rome would confound the offices which God made distinct. Apostles were not bishops, for the offices were distinct. For God appointed "first apostles, then prophets, then pastors and teachers," 1 Cor. xii, 28 ; Eph. iv, 11. Wherefore Peter could not become a bishop ; it would be as great an irregularity, as if a bishop should be made a deacon.

Indeed, the offices of bishop and apostle are inconsistent with each other. The apostles were immediately called of God ; the bishops and pastors were appointed by the apostles. The apostolic office was general ; but the office of pastor was confined to some flock, or a portion of it. The office of the apostle was extraordinary and for a time ; the office of pastor was to continue always in the church. He that hath the general charge cannot perform the duties of the particular charge ; and he that is occupied with a particular one, cannot discharge the duties of a general one. Either of these offices was sufficient for one man.

Peter's general charge of converting and inspecting the Jews, or *his apostleship of the circumcision*, (Gal. ii, 8,) requiring much travel, does not well agree to his assuming the episcopal office at Rome. And especially at the time when he is made to assume it, which was in the days of Claudius, who banished all Jews from Rome. Acts xviii, 2. Had Peter been chosen bishop of the church of Rome, he could not have accepted of the office without laying down that of his apostleship, received from his Lord and Master, and which made it obligatory on him to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Upon Paul came daily the care of all the churches, especially of the Gentiles ; and upon Peter the care of the Jewish churches, as seems to have been intimated by the opening providence of God, and the suggestions of the Holy Ghost, and agreed upon by the two apostles themselves. Gal. ii, 7.

Baronius says of Peter, that "it was his office not to stay in one

* Onuphr. in annot. ad Plat. in viris Pontif. ad vitam Petri.

† Annal. ad ann. 39, sec. 8, 9, &c.

‡ In ann. 69, sec. 1.

§ Annales ad ann. 69, sec. 2.

place, but as much as it was possible for one man, to travel over the whole world, and to bring those who did not yet believe to the faith, but thoroughly to establish believers."* If so, how could he be bishop of Rome?

The apostles were doubtless bishops in one sense of the word; that is, they were overseers or pastors of Christ's flock, wherever they were; but the oversight, or pastoral charge of particular churches, they committed to men who were properly called bishops or pastors; yet, wherever the apostles had their residence, for the time being, the pastors and churches looked up to them as their spiritual fathers and overseers in the Lord. Thus, James in Jerusalem, Peter in Antioch, Paul at Rome, and John at Ephesus, exercised episcopal authority in these places, without their being officially attached to them as their *peculiar* charges.

This is evident from what we read in Ruffinus, who, having mentioned Linus, Cletus, and Clemens, as succeeding each other in the see of Rome while Peter was alive, thus accounts for their episcopacy. "They were," says he, "appointed bishops by Peter, to the end that, they taking upon them the episcopal charge, he might be at leisure to discharge the duties of his apostolical office."† And this, he tells us, was not his own sentiment, but the common opinion.

13. As for the appellations of *apostolic see, chair, throne, &c.*, given by the ancients to the see of Rome, they import no more than that it was erected by an apostle, or some one of their successors, as we have already shown. These names were indiscriminately bestowed on other sees as well as that of Rome. But, in process of time, the bishops of Rome, by their ambition, appropriated these names solely to their own see. They had, as they thought, till the year 1662, a pregnant proof that the chair was erected by Peter, and that he sat thereon. Till then the chair was exposed, on the 18th of January in each year, for public adoration. While it was cleaning, the twelve labours of Hercules unluckily appeared on it. *Giacomo Bartolini*, who was present at the discovery, affirms that their worship was not misplaced, since it was not paid to the wood, but to the prince of the apostles. Another distinguished author, unwilling to give up the worship of the chair, attempted to explain the labours of Hercules in a mystical sense, as emblems representing the future exploits of the popes.‡

14. How, or by whom, was he made bishop of Rome? If Peter was bishop of Rome, who placed him in that see? Did our Lord appoint him? Did the apostles nominate him? Did the people choose him? Did he assume it himself? To these questions no answers have been given but such as are ridiculous, absurd, and false. Bellarmine§ positively affirms that *God commanded St. Peter to fix his see at Rome*. But elsewhere|| he contents himself with saying, "It is not improbable that God commanded St. Peter to fix his seat at Rome."

15. It was needless for Peter to be bishop of Rome, as by virtue of his apostleship he might exercise episcopal functions when he was present.

16. Had Peter been bishop of Rome, he would have offended against

* Baron. ann. 58, sec. 51. † Ruf. in Prefat. ad Clem. Recog.

‡ See Bowers's History of the Popes, vol. i, p. 9.

§ De Sum. Pontif., lib. iv, c. 4.

|| Ibid., lib. ii, c. 12.

some good ecclesiastical rules, which either were in practice from the beginning, or at least the reason for them was always good.

Had Peter been bishop of Rome, he would have given an *example of non-residence*, a practice not allowed in the primitive church, and founded in the reason of things.

In the early church there were several canons of councils interdicting it, and offences akin thereto.*

Even later councils, in more corrupt times, and in the declension of good order, prohibited this practice. The second Council of Lateran, under Inn. II., can. 10, declares, "We enjoin that churches be not committed to hired ministers, but that every church that is of ability has its own priest." The third Council of Lateran, under Alex. III., chapter 13, says, "Therefore, when a church, or the ecclesiastical ministry be to be committed to any man, let such a person be found out for this purpose, who can reside upon the place, and discharge the cure for himself; but if it prove otherwise, then let him who has received lose that which he has taken contrary to the holy canons."

It was against rule that any bishop should desert one church and transfer himself to another without very special reasons.†

17. The same authority which makes Peter bishop of Rome, makes Paul bishop also.

Irenæus saith, "that the Roman church was founded by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul."‡ Dionysius, of Corinth, in Eusebius,§ calls the church of Rome, "the plantation of Peter and Paul." Epiphanius|| says, that "Peter and Paul were first at Rome, both apostles and bishops." So also Eusebius declares, that "Alexander was the fifth in the succession from Peter and Paul."¶ Peter and Paul were not reckoned here among their bishops; and if they were, Peter and Paul were equally bishops of Rome.

Had the Romanists chosen Paul instead of Peter for the first bishop of Rome, they could find much more for the supremacy of Paul than that of Peter. For these following particulars can be proved out of Scripture: 1. That the Romans were Gentiles. 2. That Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles. 3. Paul was two whole years at Rome; but it cannot appear from Scripture that Peter was there. 4. The care of all the churches lay on Paul; but of Peter no such thing is said. 5. Paul made regulations for the churches without any authority from Peter. 6. Paul wrote a long epistle to the Romans; Peter did no such thing.

Had the Holy Ghost in Scripture expressly told us so much concerning Peter, his claim would be much higher than it is. Had it been said that our Saviour had appointed Peter apostle of the Gentiles, and that the Romans were Gentiles; that he was two whole years at Rome; that the care of all the churches was committed to him; that he made regulations for their government; that he wrote an epistle to the Romans, to confirm them in that faith he had preached among them—had these things in Scripture been said of Peter, with what confidence would they have asserted his supremacy, and that the pope was his

* Concil. Nic., can. 16. Concil. Antioch., can. 3. Concil. Sard., can. 11, 12. Concil. Trul., can. 80.

† See Barrow, pages 133–136.

‡ B. ii, ch. 25, page 80.

§ Iren. iii, c. 1, 3.

|| Har. 27.

¶ Eccl. Hist., b. iv, ch. i, p. 129

successor ! But seeing not one of all these things is said of Peter, and every one of them expressly said of Paul, there is more reason for his being bishop of Rome than that Peter was. But if the greater probabilities do not prove that Paul was bishop of Rome, the less probabilities do not prove that Peter was bishop of that see.

Thirdly. Our third inquiry is, *whether Peter continued bishop of Rome after his supposed translation, and was bishop at his death.*

18. Ecclesiastical writers affirm that Peter, either alone, or he and Paul, constituted other bishops at Rome ; wherefore Peter never was bishop there, or did not continue bishop there.

Eusebius* quotes Irenæus as saying, "The blessed apostles having founded and established the church, (at Rome,) transmitted the office of the episcopate to Linus." Hence they could not retain it in their own hands.

Tertullian† says that "Peter ordained Clement."

The Apostolic Constitutions do not reckon Peter, but Clement, as bishop. "Let us pray for our bishop James, for our bishop Clemens, for our bishop Euodias," &c.‡

From the foregoing we infer, that Peter never was bishop of Rome ; and if he had been such once, he did not continue so. Now when he appointed others, did he resign his episcopacy or retain it ? If he resigned it, he did not die bishop of Rome, which shakes the foundation of the supremacy ; if he retained it, there were two bishops on the same see at the same time ; which Pope Innocent I., in his epistle to the clergy and people of Constantinople, condemned as an irregularity never known till his time.§ He certainly did not believe that it had been practised by Peter. Theodoret, in his Ecclesiastical History, says, that when the emperor Constantius would have Felix sit in the see of Rome together with Liberius, upon the return of the latter from banishment, the people of Rome would not consent to it, crying out, "One God, one Christ, one bishop." Felix died soon after, upon which Theodoret makes the following remark : "It was a special providence that Peter's throne might not suffer infamy, being held by two prelates."|| He did not believe that it had been held by Peter and Paul at the same time, or by Peter and Linus.

19. If Peter, or any other apostle, was bishop of Rome, it was in a large or peculiar sense that they were called bishop or superintendent. See the following quotation from Ruffinus,¶ which he affirms to have descended to him from others : "Some inquire how, seeing Linus and Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, Clement himself, writing to James, could say, that the see was delivered to him by Peter ; whereof this reason has been given us, viz., that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops of Rome before Clement, while Peter was yet alive ; that they might take the episcopal charge ; but he fulfilled the office of the apotleship."

It is worthy of note, that the most ancient writers do not style Peter and Paul bishops of Rome ; but only say they founded the church of Rome and ordained bishops for it.

It is also proper to observe, that in the catalogues of the Roman

* B. v, c. 6, p. 185.

† De Præscr., c. 32.

‡ Apost. Const. vii, 46.

§ Inn. I. apud Soz., lib. viii, c. 26.

|| Theod. Hist. Ecc., lib. ii, c. 17.

¶ Ruffin. Pref. ad Clem. Recog.

bishops, the apostles are sometimes reckoned, and sometimes they are not. So Eusebius* calls Clement the *third bishop of Rome*, yet he reckons Linus and Anacletus before him. He says Alexander was the *fifth* from Peter and Paul, by which, reckoning four between Alexander and the apostles, thus excluding the apostles from the number of bishops. This proves that the ancients did not believe the apostles were bishops; or that they were not bishops in the same sense in which others were.

It is furthermore to be observed, that the Apostolical Constitutions,† reciting the first bishops constituted in several churches, do not reckon among the bishops the apostles, particularly Peter, Paul, or John.

20. Any apostle, wherever he resided, was, by virtue of his apostolic office, qualified to exercise episcopal functions. This seems to be acknowledged by all. The use we make of it is, that though Peter may have exercised episcopal functions at Rome, it would not therefore follow that he was bishop of that city.

21. It is objected—"James, though an apostle, was appointed bishop of Jerusalem; and why might not Peter, though an apostle, undertake the episcopacy of Rome?" It is surprising so much stress is laid on this objection, since almost every one knows it is grounded on uncertainty. We subjoin the following as a reply.

First. It is not certain that James, the bishop of Jerusalem, was an apostle; for Eusebius, one of the greatest antiquarians of former times;‡ the author of the Apostolic Constitutions in divers places;§ Hegesippus, the most ancient historian;|| Epiphanius;¶ Jerome;*** Gregory of Nysse;†† Chrysostom;‡‡ and many others, reckon James bishop of Jerusalem, not among the apostles, but the seventy disciples. Of the same opinion among the moderns are Grotius, Hammond, Valesius, Blondel, Salmasius, &c. It is therefore uncertain, at best, whether James, bishop of Jerusalem, was an apostle; and consequently the objection can be of no considerable weight.δδ

Secondly. Allowing James was an apostle, there are two senses in which he may be called bishop of Jerusalem. 1. There was a special reason why one of the apostles should be appointed to preside at Jerusalem, that city being the fountain and centre of the Christian religion; our faith had there its birth; the church was there very numerous, consisting of many thousands of believing Jews, Acts 21, 20; and thither resorted great numbers of that nation who were converted in other countries. For these reasons it might seem expedient that a person of the greatest authority should preside there. But there is no special reason why an apostle should constantly reside at any other place, nor does it appear that any did. Peter especially could not reside at any one place, who, besides his general apostleship, had a peculiar one to the dispersed Jews committed to him, and was therefore compelled to travel at large in order to fill up his mission. 2. James, as an apostle, might have especial charge of Jerusalem, without being bishop in the common acceptation of the term.

* B. iii, ch. 4, 13, 15. Iren. iii, 3.

† vii, 46.

‡ Euseb., b. ii, ch. 12, p. 43.

§ Apost. Const. vi, 12, 14; ii, 55; vii, 46, &c.

|| Hegesip. apud Euseb. ii, 23.

¶ Hær. 78.

** Hieron. *de viris illustr.*

†† P. 279.

‡‡ Hom. in Matt. xxxiii.

δδ See Barrow on Supremacy, pp. 144–5. Bowers's Hist. of the Popes, p. 8. A. Clarke's Preface to James, &c.

Thirdly. But the whole will be more easily reconciled by considering James not as an apostle, but as pastor or bishop of Jerusalem by the appointment of the apostles. So Eusebius would seem to decide when he says, "James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the episcopal seat of Jerusalem was committed by the apostles."* And again, "James being the first that received the dignity of the episcopate at Jerusalem, from our Saviour himself, as the sacred Scriptures show that he was generally called the brother of Christ."† To the same purpose is the declaration of Epiphanius: "James, the brother of our Lord, was the first bishop, because our blessed Lord intrusted and resigned to him his own throne on earth, before all others."‡ Hence the ancients frequently call James *bishop of bishops, the prince of bishops, &c.*, because he was the first bishop of the *first see*, the *mother church*; the apostles being excluded from the number of bishops.

For the foregoing reasons we conclude Peter was not bishop of Rome in the strict sense, as it is understood in this controversy.

22. The popes themselves frequently introduce Peter and Paul as their predecessors. So Pius III., in his decree for convening the Council of Trent, says, "By the authority of Peter and Paul, the holy apostles, which we also enjoy on the earth."§ The effigies too of the two apostles are frequently placed so that the right hand is given sometimes to Paul, and sometimes to Peter. These would intimate, that at a former time the equality of the apostles was a current sentiment at Rome, the language or expressions declaring it to be retained as an ancient tradition or rather testimony of the thing, while the sentiment is discarded by the introduction of new terms, giving the supremacy to Peter.

* Euseb. Ecc. Hist. ii, 23, p. 75.

† Idem. vii, 19, p. 289.

‡ Πρωτος ουτος ειληθε την καθεδραν, &c. Epiphan. Hæres. 78.

§ Auctoritate Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quâ nos in Terris fungimur.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPREMACY—CONTINUED.

The popes do not possess the supremacy by God's appointment.—I. **THEIR ARGUMENTS DO NOT SUPPORT IT.** 1. Their argument from the occupancy of Peter's throne: 2. From Michael, the archangel: 3. From the high priest: 4. The councils: 5. The fathers: 6. That the supremacy is necessary to preserve unity and pure doctrine: 7. Whether by divine right, ecclesiastical right, or usurpation.—II. **THEIR CLAIM IS UNCERTAIN AND FALSE.** 1. The principles of it are uncertain: 2. The pope may not have it, though Peter had: 3. Such was the opinion of the fathers: 4. They call other bishops successors of the apostles: 5. Instance in the church of Jerusalem: 6. And Antioch: 7. Election of the whole church necessary to create a pope: 8. There have been vacancies in the popedom. Ten cases of this.—III. **THE SUPREMACY IS DESTITUTE OF ANY GOOD WARRANT FROM SCRIPTURE.** 1. There is a want of God's declared will for it. Specimens of their interpretations from Greg. VII. Antoninus: 2. Is unnoticed in the New Testament: 3. No obedience to it required in the Scriptures: 4. They mention the civil authorities: 5. Peter especially does this: 6. Paul does not mention it.—IV. **IT IS WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF HISTORY.** 1. Even tradition is defective: 2. History is silent: 3. Not mentioned in ancient creeds: 4. Is mentioned by no expositor of the creeds: 5. Nor asserted by ancient synods: 6. Those who disclaimed it were not counted heretics: 7. The pagan writers do not say any thing concerning it: 8. No account of it in the apostolic canons and the Constitutions of Clement: 9. Nor in Dionysius the Areopagite: 10. Nor the apostolic fathers: 11. Nor in the letters to and from popes: 12. Nor in the early disputes against heretics: 13. It is strange all the ancient writers should overlook it, as Origen, Hilary, Cyril, Chrysostom, Augustine, &c.: 14. There is no canon in the code of the ancient church declaring it.—V. **THE SUPREMACY IS CONTRARY TO SCRIPTURE.** 1. It assigns to another the peculiar prerogatives and titles of Christ: 2. It transforms the church from a spiritual to a worldly or political institution: 3. It destroys the equality of pastors: 4. It infringes on the rights of the church and pastors: 5. And of the laity: 6. It interferes with civil government.—VI. **SUCH AN AUTHORITY CANNOT BE EXERCISED WITHOUT INJURY TO RELIGION AND THE WELFARE OF MANKIND.** 1. The church is too unwieldy for the government of one man or one place: 2. It reduces the church to a state of bondage: 3. It depraves Christian doctrines: 4. It stands in the way of reformation: 5. It induces a general depravation of manners: 6. It spoils the pope: 7. It disturbs civil society and destroys governments: 8. It does not secure the ends it proposes. Does not maintain truth, nor determine controversies, nor promote peace and unity.—VII. **IT IS AT VARIANCE WITH THE CHARACTER ASCRIBED TO BISHOPS OR CHIEF PASTORS, IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.** 1. The fathers supposed no orders in the church above bishops or chief pastors: 2. Each bishop had independent authority: 3. And all were of equal authority: 4. This independence and equality were defended in reference to the bishop of Rome: 5. The style of address shows this. Many instances of this.—VIII. **THE SUPREMACY IS OVERTURNED FROM THE GROUNDS ON WHICH IT IS ASSUMED.** 1. The ground not divine right: 2. But the size, dignity, wealth, &c., of the city of Rome: 3. Other bishops obtained a precedence.

THE bishops of Rome have not a universal supremacy over the whole church according to God's appointment.

In support of this proposition the following things are to be considered.

I. *The arguments by which the Romanists support their doctrine that the bishops of Rome have the supremacy, and derive it from Peter, do not establish this point.*

1. They say, "The pope occupied the chair of Peter, and therefore succeeded him in the government of the church." We have already shown that Peter never possessed the supremacy which they ascribe to him; and therefore the popes never could obtain from Peter their authority. How easily may power accumulate in the hands of a

successor, or a series of successions, which had no model or existence in the first of the line ! This is a truism forced on us by a thousand examples.

Besides, the line of succession, on which so much dependance is placed, is itself involved in the greatest uncertainty. Du Pin, a liberal Roman Catholic, gives the following as the amount of what the earliest and best accounts furnish on this point : " According to the common received opinion, to St. Peter succeeded St. Linus, to St. Linus Anacletus or Cletus, and to him St. Clement. This order is observed by St. Irenæus, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and in the ancient catalogues of the popes ; but Optatus, Ruffinus, and St. Augustine, and some other Latin authors, substitute St. Clement immediately to St. Linus, and place Anacletus in the third rank. Some distinguish Cletus from Anacletus. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions says, that St. Linus was ordained by St. Paul, and St. Clement by St. Peter. St. Epiphanius conjectures, that St. Peter at first ordained St. Clement, but he refusing to accept his pontificate, and going out of the way, that St. Linus and St. Cletus did successively govern the church of Rome ; and that after the death of St. Peter, St. Clement succeeded to St. Cletus. The best way is to hold the most common and most ancient opinion."

Nothing is certainly known of the matter, which is a strong proof that the knowledge of it is of little use for the comfort or edification of Christians. It is of no use to have reference to authors who lived hundreds of years posterior to the events which they record, for they could know no more of these things than we do.

2. They argue in favour of a pope, from the consideration that Michael, the archangel, was a monarch or commander in heaven. Michael and his angels fought. Rev. xii, 7. Therefore it ought to be so on earth. This is gravely insisted on by Bellarmine,* who is the great champion of Romanism. We shall leave this to the good sense of the reader, who will perceive that it is as good an argument for the supremacy as that which proved it from the text, " God made two great lights," or, " Thou hast put all things under his feet." And these two texts are gravely quoted by popes and divines to prove their point.

3. It is argued, that " the church of the Old Testament was a figure of that under the New ; but they had a high priest over the rest, therefore there ought to be a pope." *Bellarmin.*, as above.

We grant the high priest was a figure, not of Peter or the pope, but of Christ ; for in two things he resembled Christ, viz., in offering sacrifice, and entering into the sanctuary to make atonement. Heb. vii, 27. So Christ is entered into the heavens to intercede for us. Heb. ix, 24.

Besides, if Peter and his successors are priests after the order of Aaron, how can they be also after the order of Melchisedek, as some of them maintain. They cannot be after the order of Aaron and Melchisedek at the same time. The apostle reasoneth thus : " Where there is a change of the priesthood, there must be a change of the law," Heb. vii, 12. Consequently, where the law is changed, the priesthood must likewise be changed. How then can the priesthood of Aaron be a pattern of the priesthood under the gospel, the law being changed ?

* *De Rom. Pontif.*, lib. i, c. 9.

Neither doth it follow, though there was a high priest in one country, there ought to be one over the churches in all countries. For if so, there ought also to be one supreme emperor over all countries; or because one field or farm is committed to one husbandman to cultivate it, the whole world may also be given him.

4. They say that the councils ascribe the supremacy to the bishop of Rome. To this we reply, that we have the decisions of the eight first general councils against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

The first Council of Nice, held A. D. 325, canon sixth, ascribes to the other metropolitan churches the same authority which Rome had over the churches of its province.

In the second general council held at Constantinople, in 381, canon second, the sixth canon of Nice is ratified.

In the Council of Ephesus, held in 431, canon eighth, it was decreed that Cyprus should be exempt from the jurisdiction of Antioch, or any other see, and should choose their own metropolitan. Therefore Cyprus could not be under the jurisdiction of Rome.

In the Council of Chalcedon, or fourth general, held in 451, action sixteenth, they determine the bishop of Constantinople to be worthy of the same primacy of honour which the bishop of Rome hath. Out of the acts of this council three things may be gathered:—

First. That equal privileges were granted to the see of Constantinople and that of Rome.

Secondly. That Rome, on account of its antiquity, had the first place.

Thirdly. These two patriarchal sees had these privileges because of their imperial dignity.

Constantinople II., action first, declares, “The synod giveth the like honours to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria.”

The three succeeding councils decide to the same effect on this point.*

The decisions of the Councils of Florence and of Trent, though in favour of the supremacy, are of no weight; because they are contrary to the decisions of the ancient councils, and are not supported by the authority of Scripture or the ancient church of Christ.

Indeed, previous to the Council of Nice, or for three hundred years after Christ, every church was governed by its own clergy. It was decreed by the Council of Nice, and followed by other councils, that the whole church should be divided into four provinces or great divisions, over which were placed four patriarchs. The first was the bishop of Rome; the second was the bishop of Antioch; the third was the bishop of Alexandria; the fourth the bishop of Jerusalem; and not long after the bishop of Constantinople came in the place of the bishop of Antioch. All these had equal authority in their provinces, and one was not to interfere with another’s charge.

5. They allege certain sayings of the fathers to prove the supremacy of the popes of Rome.

Cyprian is quoted, where he says, “That Cornelius was made bishop, when the place of Fabian, that is, the place of Peter and the office of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant.”† On this it is sufficient to

* See Constantinople III., can. 36; Constantinople IV., can. 21.

† Factus est Cornelius Episcopus . . . cum Fabiani locus, ed est, cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret.—*Cyprian.*, ep. 52, tom i, p. 120.

remark: 1. That the Roman see was called the *seat of Peter*, in conformity with the current, unexamined, and vague tradition of the times; just as other sees were named after other apostles, without examination or much attention to the propriety of such designation. But this proves nothing for supremacy; for the see of Rome is frequently called the *seat of the apostles* and the *seat of Peter and Paul*. 2. Cyprian frequently addresses the bishops of Rome, his cotemporaries, as his *colleagues*, ascribing to them no more authority than to other bishops. This he does in the very same epistle quoted above.

Optatus* is quoted, who traces up the succession of bishops from his own time to that of Peter. To this we answer, that the successions of bishops in other sees can be as well traced up as that of Rome; but this does not prove that they are all to have the supremacy attached to them. Indeed, the supremacy was unknown in the time of Optatus.

Many passages of fathers are introduced to show that Peter possessed the supremacy. But these prove no such thing, as they can only prove that the see of Rome obtained great authority in the fourth and succeeding centuries; for the primitive polity of the church is directly opposed to the principles of the supremacy.

6. It is argued, that "the supremacy is necessary to preserve unity of faith and integrity of discipline." In the place of accomplishing this, the following facts show the contrary: 1. The Church of Rome is more corrupt than any other in the world, both in doctrine and discipline. 2. Several other churches, without this supremacy, are more sound in both doctrine and discipline. These are *facts*, sustained by history, and the present state of the various Christian churches.

7. They affirm that the popes have their supremacy by divine right. In proof they allege that it is by divine right, by ecclesiastical right, or by usurpation: but the latter two cannot be admitted, therefore it is by divine right.†

That it is of divine right cannot be allowed, because the passages of Scripture alleged in its favour do not confer it. Indeed, it has been shown that the supremacy originated partly by the concession of the church, and partly by usurpation of the popes and the Roman Church. There have always been individuals and bodies of men who have protested against the supremacy. And the annals of history furnish clear proofs, both of the ecclesiastical concessions on this head, and the usurpations. This will be amply shown in the prosecution of the present delineation of Roman Catholicism. The *times*, *places*, and *persons* can generally be designated. And if some dates cannot be precisely given, in which the novelties of Rome took their origin, the precise times can be given in which their innovations did not exist, and also the times when they were indisputably established.

II. *Various considerations, showing that their claim is both uncertain and false.*

1. Their doctrine partakes of the uncertainty of the premises. If any of the foregoing suppositions of theirs be uncertain or false, their conclusion must also be uncertain or false. If Peter was not monarch over the apostles; if his privileges were not successive; if he were

* Optatus, lib. ii, n. 3; tom i, p. 24. † Bailly, de Eccles., c. 14, tom ii, p. 474.

never at Rome, or was not bishop at his decease; then supremacy is doubtful or false. But each of these propositions has been proved to be uncertain or false. The conclusion therefore, grounded on them, is not supported.

2. If even Peter had the supremacy, it does not follow that the pope possesses it. Because it might pass into the hands of others. For instance, it might pass into the hands of the church general; while his mere office of bishop, or principal pastor of the church of Rome, might be transferred to the chief pastors or bishops of Rome.

3 That the authority of Peter and the apostles, as far as transmissible, did devolve to the church or the representatives of it, is abundantly plain from the opinions of the fathers

Cyprian, in his seventy-third epistle, addressed to Julianus, wherein he corrects the proceedings of Pope Stephen, says, "This is that one church, which holdeth and possesseth all the power of its spouse and Lord; in this we preside; for the honour and unity of this we fight."* Many quotations to the same purpose might be made.†

4. The bishops or chief pastors of other churches, founded by the apostles, in the style of the fathers, are the successors of the apostles, in the same sense and to the same extent as the bishop of Rome is accounted the successor of Peter. The apostolic power, as far as it was durable and transmissible, was transmitted to the pastors who fed the flocks, as these only had the right to govern them.

5. An instance might be given in the church of Jerusalem, which is called by the fathers of the second general synod, *the mother of all churches*,‡ and *the mother of the Christian name*.§ Hence the eastern and western bishops knew nothing of the Roman assumption, which asserts that Rome was the mother and mistress of all churches. Now if the bishops of Jerusalem did not claim such a prerogative, how can the bishops of Rome pretend to it?

6. Antioch might have claims greater than Rome. It was the first Gentile church where the followers of Christ were first called Christians. Acts xi, 26. Hence it was called by the Constantinopolitan fathers, *the most ancient and truly apostolical church*.|| Indeed, Antioch was anciently called *the see of Peter*.¶ And Peter is acknowledged to have sat there seven years before he was bishop of Rome. Why, therefore, may not the bishop of Antioch pretend to succeed Peter in his universal pastorship as well as his younger brother at Rome?

The reason why Peter transferred his see from Antioch to Rome, is found in the will of Peter, who saw fit to make the transfer. But how does this appear? Where is the will of Peter registered? In whose presence was it acknowledged? It is nowhere to be seen or heard. All they can say on this subject is, that it is fit he should do so; but there is no authentic testimony for it.

* Hæc est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem sponsi sui et Domini potestatem, in hac præsidimus, pro honore ejus et unitate pugnamus.—*Cypr.*, ep. 73.

† See *Cypr.*, ep. 67, 30; *Concil. Carthag.*, apud Cyprian. Also ep. 55, 52.

‡ Της δε μητρος ἀπασων των εκκλησιων της εν Ἱεροσολυμοις.—*Theod.*, v, 9.

§ Mater Christiani nominis.—*Imper. Just. ad P. Hormisd.* apud *Ben.*, tom iii, p. 794.

|| Πρεσβυτατη και οντως αποστολικη εκκλησια.—*Theod.*, v, 9.

¶ Θρονον της Αντιοχειν μεγαλοπολεως, τον του ἁγιου Πετρου.—*Synod. Chalcedon.*, act. vii, p. 364.

Bellarmino indeed sometimes affirms that *God did command Peter to fix his seat at Rome.** But his proofs are ridiculous, and he confutes them by saying otherwise. "It is not improbable," says he, "that our Lord gave an express command, that Peter should so fix his see at Rome that the bishop of Rome should absolutely succeed him."† Such are the supports of the principal dogmas and peculiarities of the Church of Rome.

7. Election of the whole church would be necessary to create a successor of Peter.

If we consider the ancient method of electing and constituting the bishops of Rome, we find it inconsistent with the supremacy. They were not chosen by a general synod of bishops, or by delegates from all part of Christendom; but by the clergy and people of Rome, other portions of the church taking no part in the election.

If it be said that the election of a pope was to be approved by the consent of all bishops, according to Cyprian, who saith concerning Cornelius, that "he was acknowledged by the testimony of his fellow-bishops, whose entire number, throughout the whole world, did consent with peaceful unanimity,"‡ to this we answer, that this consent did not refer to the nomination or election of a bishop. It was only by letters or messages declaring the election, and was not peculiar to the bishops of Rome, but common to all bishops.§ This method was used for the purpose of maintaining fraternal communion and correspondence, giving information that the bishop was duly elected by his clergy and people, was rightly ordained by the neighbouring bishops, and professed the Catholic faith. There is not now the trace of such an election in the choice of popes. The mode of election has varied very much from the primitive usage. At first, it was by the clergy and people; afterward the emperors assumed to themselves the right of nomination or election; sometimes popes were made by powerful men and women at pleasure; afterward the cardinals elected; and sometimes general councils, as those of Constance, Pisa, or Basil, assumed the choice to themselves.

8. There have been frequent vacancies in the popedom on several accounts; which is a proof that the church may subsist without it. Take the following:—

(1.) When Rome, was desolated by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards.

(2.) At times when the Romans would not suffer popes to live among them.||

(3.) In cases when the popes, for above seventy years, resided in France. During this period, they were only *titular*, not real bishops of Rome. They were bishops of Avignon, not of Rome.

(4.) When popes were intruded by violence, as was often the case.¶

* *Jubente Domino.*—*Bellar.* ii, 1. *Deus ipse jussisset Romæ figi apostolicam Petri sedem.*—*Id.* iv, 4.

† *Non est improbabile Dominum etiam aperte jussisse, ut sedem suam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus episcopus absolute ei succederet.*—*Bellar.* ii, 12 Sec. Et *Quoniam.*

‡ *Co-episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum con cordi unanimitate consentit.*—*Cypr.*, ep. 52, tom. i, p. 120, *supra.*

§ *Cypr.*, ep. 41, 42.

|| See *Bernard.*, ep. 242, 243.

¶ *Baron. Ann.* 112, sec. 8.

(5.) During the times of twenty-two schisms, when either there was no true pope, or, what is the same, no certain one.

(6.) When elections were uncanonical, and therefore null and void.

(7.) When popes were chosen by *simony*; and therefore by their rules are no popes, being heretics and heresiarchs. "Such an election or assumption," says Baronius, "is null."* Then our historian declares: "See, I beseech you, how much they have degenerated from their ancestors; for they, because very holy men, contemned that dignity when freely offered, giving themselves wholly to prayer and the doctrine of Christ; but these by bribery and ambition seek the papacy."†

(8.) When popes were deposed, as was sometimes the case, by emperors and general councils. In this case, according to papal principles, the successors were illegal; for the pope, being a sovereign, could not be deposed, and his successor is an usurper.

(9.) Some popes were heretics, and therefore no popes.

(10.) Some were atheists and sorcerers.

III. *The supremacy of the pope is destitute of any good warrant from Scripture.*

1. If God had designed the bishop of Rome to be the sovereign of the church, it may reasonably be supposed he would have declared his mind in the case, either in express words, or equivalent terms, or by clear inference. But in all Scripture, the bishop of Rome is not mentioned, either by name, character, or intimation. They cannot find any reference to him in Scripture except by a long chain of consequences badly connected, or by the most childish and absurd interpretations. Some specimens of their interpretations will establish the truth of the foregoing remarks.

Greg. VII., who in the year 1063 ordained that the pope should be called *father of fathers*, because "he has the primacy over all, is greater than all, and the greatest of all," gives us the following goodly exposition: "God made two great lights in the firmament of heaven; the greater light to rule the day, and the less to rule the night; both great, but one the greater. *In the firmament of heaven*, that is, the universal church, God made two great lights, that is, he instituted two dignities, which are the pontifical authority and the regal power; but that which presides over the day, that is, the spiritual, is the greater; but that which presides over carnal things is the less; for as the sun differs from the moon, popes differ from kings."‡ Other popes have adopted this interpretation, which has done much to establish the supremacy.

Take the following from St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, who adopts the exposition of Hostiensis. After citing Psa. viii, *Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, &c.*, and applying it to Christ, he transfers it to the pope in the following words: "And because he left

* Hujusmodi electio vel assumptio eo ipso nulla existat.—*Baron. Ann.* 112, sec. 12. See also P. Greg. VII., ep. iii, 7. P. Jul. in Concil. Lat., sess. v, p. 57.

† Vide, quæso, quantum isti degeneraverint a majoribus suis; illi enim utpote viri sanctissimi dignitatem ultro ablatam contemnebant, orationi et doctrinæ Christianæ vacantes; hi vero largitione et ambitione pontificatum quærentes, et adepti, posthabito divino cultu.—*Plut. in Serg.* iii, p. 279. Also, in Benedict iv, p. 277.

‡ Fecit Deus duo magna Luminaria, &c.—See *Ferraris in papam*, art. ii, n. 4, tom. vi. p. 26.

us in his bodily presence, he left his vicar on the earth, viz., the chief pontiff, who is called *papa*, which means *father of fathers*, so that these words may be fitly expounded of the pope. For the pope, as Hostiensis saith, is greater than man, but less than an angel, because he is mortal, yet he is greater in authority and power. For an angel cannot consecrate the body and blood of Christ, nor absolve or bind, the highest degree of which power belongs to the pope, nor can an angel ordain or grant indulgences. He is *crowned with glory and honour*; the glory of commendation, because he not only is called blessed, but most blessed. *Who shall doubt to call him blessed whom the very top of such great dignity hath exalted?* He is crowned with the *honour* of veneration, so that the faithful may kiss his feet. A greater veneration cannot exist, Psa. xcvi, *Adore his footstool*. He is crowned with the magnitude of authority, *because he can judge all persons, but can be judged of none, unless he was found to deviate from faith*. Hence he is crowned with a triple golden crown, and is placed *over all the works of his hands*, to dispose of all inferiors; he opens heaven, sends the guilty to hell, confirms empires, regulates the whole clergy.* Volumes could be filled with such expositions as the above.

2. Such an institution is not noticed by the writers of the New Testament. Though there is mention made of the propagation, settlement, and continuance of the church; its edification, order, peace, unity; the character of its members; the qualifications, duties, and characters of its ministers; heresies, schisms, &c.; yet there is no mention of any such person as the pope. In the Levitical law, all things concerning the high priest were minutely described; it is therefore strange, that should such an officer exist in the Christian church, there was no specific mention made of him.

3. The Scripture does not inculcate obedience to the papal authority. It requires obedience to the particular governors of the church. Is it not strange there is no precept concerning our duty to the universal pastor, especially as a precept of obedience would prevent much evil and ensure much good? If but one precept were given, it would decide the controversy, were it only, "*Obey the bishop of Rome, the father of Christians, the vicar of Christ, and the governor of the Christian world.*"

4. The Scriptures require us to honour and obey the temporal sovereignty; how do they omit similar instructions concerning the spiritual power? The need of such admonition has been so far felt, that divers popes honoured the precepts concerning temporal authority, accommodating them by way of analogy and inference to themselves.†

5. Peter especially, who enjoins obedience to *the king as supreme*, and to *honour him*, should not forget his own successors or himself. Yet he gives no warning to Christians to obey the popes. The bishops of Rome do not follow him in this; for in their decretal epistles they urge nothing so much as obedience to the apostolic see.

6. Paul neglects all mention of the supremacy, though he wrote so largely to the Romans, and so often from Rome. He does not speak of the pope, though he enumerates the standing officers appointed of God, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for

* Et quia recedens, &c. S. Antoninus, pars iii, tit. 23, c. 1, p. 1173.

† P. Vic. I., ep. 10. P. Leo IX., ep. 1. P. Greg. VII., ep. i, 23.

the edifying of the body of Christ ; till we all come in the unity of the faith," &c., Eph. iv, 11-13 ; 1 Cor. xii, 28. Yet there is no reference to the supremacy.

IV. *The supremacy of the pope is without testimony from tradition or history.*

1. Even *tradition* is here defective. We have in divers of the fathers, particularly in Tertullian, Basil, and Jerome,* catalogues of traditional doctrines and observances, especially those of greatest moment. How then came they to neglect this concerning the papal authority of the church ?

2. *History* is silent on this topic. Eusebius, who diligently compiled all passages relating to the original constitution of the church, and to all transactions therein, has not one word on supremacy. Yet he carefully reports the successions of the Roman bishops and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them.

3. The supremacy is not mentioned in any of the ancient *creeds*, *symbols*, or summaries of Christian faith. Of these summaries, many still remain, some composed by public consent, others by persons of eminence in the church. We depend on Innocent III. and the Lateran Council in 1215,† for first synodically defining this point, together with other points equally new and unheard of before. The *Creed* of Pius IV., formed the other day, is the first creed that contains this article of Roman Catholic faith.

4. The doctrine of the supremacy is not contained in any of the ancient writings which treat professedly of the doctrines of the church. It is not found in any of the ancient expositions of the creed made by Augustine, Ruffin, &c., which enlarge on all important points of doctrine. It is not touched in the catechetical discourses of Cyril, Ambrose, &c. ; nor in the systems of divinity composed by Augustine, Lactantius, &c. The conclusion is, that it was no part of a Christian's faith in those days. The Catechism of the Council of Trent, their other catechisms, and their expositions of them, contain the supremacy. Nothing is more clear than that the doctrine was not believed when the early standards of the church were formed.

5. It is not asserted by any of the ancient synods. Were it then known and acknowledged, a reference to it by a synod would have decided their controversies. The popes would have appealed to it ; and the bishops would have acknowledged it. The popes, after Luther, were better advised, and so were the bishops who adhered to it.

6. Those who disclaimed this authority are not classed among heretics. Who ever got the name of heretic in ancient times for disavowing the pope's supremacy ?

7. The pagan writers said nothing concerning it. Nothing could be so startling to heathens as this. It would have been a new doctrine in those days. It would have been glaring in ordinary practice. It is strange that pagan historians, such as Marcellinus, Zosimus, and the imperial historians before Constantine, who blame the popes and were opposed to Christianity, should not say something of the supremacy.

* Tertul. de Coron. Mil. 3. Basil de Spir., S. 27. Hier. advers. Lucif. 4.

† Concil. Lat. iv, cap. 5, A. D. 1215.

It is strange that the adversaries of religion, as Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian, &c., should not oppose it as a dangerous assumption, threatening the government of the empire.

It is strange the emperors themselves would not oppose it as subversive of their imperial thrones.

It is marvellous that none of the advocates of our faith, as Justin, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyril, Augustine, &c., did not mention or defend it, had it existed. Some of them also advert to, and acknowledge, the supreme power of the emperor; and it is unaccountable that they would overlook that of the pope. If the declaration of Boniface VIII. be true, which declares it necessary to salvation that every human being should be subject to the pope, it is strange that there should be no reference to it: "We declare, say, define, and pronounce, that it is necessary to salvation that every human creature should be subject to the Roman pontiff."*

8. The Apostolic Canons and the Constitutions of Clement say nothing of the supremacy. Though they speak of the laws of the church, its practices, the ranks, duties, and privileges of all ecclesiastical persons, yet they say nothing of the prerogatives of this universal head, the respect due to him, the laws or constitutions made by him. This is not the case in our modern canon law, of which the regulations concerning the supremacy make so conspicuous a part.

9. The old writer under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, though he treats in several places about the degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, says nothing of its sovereign.

10. The apostolic fathers make no mention of the supremacy.

Ignatius, in several epistles, speaks of the clergy, exalts their dignity to the highest pitch, and urges great respect for them; yet he never mentions the authority of the pope.

Clemens, bishop of Rome, wrote to the Corinthians, who were engaged in discords and factions, in which several presbyters were ejected from their office in a seditious manner; yet he never challenges to himself the right to decide their controversy, except, like a good Christian minister, to persuade them to unity and love. Now, a modern pope would have expressed himself in such style as the following, in which the pope's bull usually ends: "Whoever shall presume to cross our will, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul."†

11. It is not assumed, allowed, or spoken of in letters to and from popes. In these letters, the popes do not assume, nor do others grant or ascribe to them, any such power as the supremacy. The popes do not express themselves like sovereigns, nor do the bishops address them like subjects; but they treat each other like brethren and equals. Hence it has become a true mark of a spurious epistle, when the writer speaks in an imperious strain, or arrogates to himself such a power.

The epistles of Cyprian written to popes,—to Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen,—in which, though written with great kindness and respect,

* *Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.*—*P. Bonif. VIII. in Extrav. com., lib. i, tit. 38.*

† *Si quis voluntati nostræ contraire præsumserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostoli se noverit incensurum.*

there is no regard to them as superiors in power, pastors in doctrine, or judges in controversy.* He confers with them freely on all points; he gives his sense or advice without restraint or awe; he reproves their practices or rejects their opinions; he addresses them as *brethren* and *colleagues*, and treats them as such on equal terms.

Pope Cornelius wrote several epistles to Cyprian, in which there is no claim of superiority.† Several instances of a similar spirit might be quoted.‡

12. The supremacy is never employed by the fathers in terminating disputes with heretics; though many of them treat on the methods of converting heretics. In their disputes against the Gnostics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Montanists, Manichees, Paulianists, Arians, &c., they never alleged the authority of the bishop of Rome as the most compendious and efficacious method of convincing and silencing them. Had this point been believed, heretics would have no plea for their errors. Among those who now allow this authority, it becomes the speediest way to decide controversy.

Though divers of the fathers professedly treat on heresies and the proper method of confuting them, it is strange they never took the way of referring debates to the decision of him to whose office of universal pastor and judge it did belong. Tertullian uses different means to confute heretics than the supremacy of the popes. He says, "When we would argue against heretics for the faith of the gospel, we do commonly use these short ways by which the priority of time is alleged against the lateness of impostors, and the authority of the churches patronizing apostolical tradition."§ Again, in the same chapter of this same treatise against Marcion, he declares: "That will appear to have been delivered by the apostles, which hath been kept as holy in the apostolical churches. Let us see what milk the Corinthians did draw from Paul; according to what rule the Galatians were corrected; what the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians do read; what the Romans, our nearest neighbours, do say, to whom both Peter and Paul left the gospel, sealed with their blood. We have also the churches nursed by John."|| Again, in his *Prescriptions against Heretics*, he says: "It is therefore manifest, that every doctrine which agrees in faith with those apostolic, mother, and original churches, is to be accounted true, and undoubtedly containing what the churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. But all other doctrine is to be prejudged as false which is contrary to the truth of churches, and of the apostles, and of Christ, and of God."¶

* See Cypr., epist. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 67, 72.

† Cypr., ep. 46, 48.

‡ See Barrow on Suprem., pp. 173–179.

§ Hic fere compendiis utimur, quem de evangelii fide adversus hæreticos expendimur, defendentibus et temporum ordinem posteritate falsariorum præscribentem, et auctoritatem ecclesiarum traditioni apostolorum patrocinantem.—*Tert. adv. Marc.* iv, 5, tom. i, p. 423.

|| Constat id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus, quod lac a Paulo Corinthii haurerint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint reorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sanent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habeamus et Johannis alumnas ecclesias.—*Id. adv. Marc.* iv, 5, tom. i, p. 422.

¶ Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis, apostolis, matricibus et originalibus fidei conspirat, veritati deputandam: sine dubio tenentem, quod ec-

Irenæus declares: "But we do again appeal to that tradition which is from the apostles, which is, by successions of presbyters, preserved in the churches.*"

Indeed, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Clemens Alexandrinus,† maintain that the agreement in doctrines of the churches of their day with the mother churches founded by the apostles, as these churches received them from the apostles and from Christ, was the principal mark of true doctrine. This by no means favours the Roman supposition; because there was no more weight attached to the authority or testimony of that church than to any other church of apostolic character and origin.

13. It is strange, if the pope is such as he is represented to be, that his supreme power should not be noticed in so many voluminous writers on ecclesiastical subjects.

It is strange, that somewhere or other, at least incidentally, in their commentaries upon the Scriptures; in their treatises about the priesthood, the unity and peace of the church; about heresy and schism, in their epistles concerning ecclesiastical affairs; in their disputations with heterodox adversaries, they never touch it.

Is it not marvellous that Origen, Hilary, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, in their observations on Scripture, such as, *Thou art Peter, Feed my sheep, &c.*, should not say a word on the supremacy of the pope? Indeed, we are beholden to our adversaries for proving this to us, when they least of all intended it. Because, after all their research, they have produced few or no clear proofs in behalf of the supremacy.

14. There is no canon in the code of the Catholic Church directly declaring this authority, though the code was composed by so many councils, professedly treating on ecclesiastical order and discipline. Nor is there any mention of the pope except thrice incidentally.‡ Once on occasion of declaring the authority of the Alexandrine bishop, the other upon occasion of assigning to the bishop of Constantinople the second place of honour, and equal privileges with him.

V. *The supremacy of the pope is contrary to the doctrine of Scriptures.*

1. The supremacy assigns to another the prerogatives and peculiar titles which belong to Christ.

The Scripture asserts Christ to be our *Sovereign, Lord, and King*. "To us there is one Lord," 1 Cor. viii, 6. "Who is the only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords," 1 Tim, vi, 15. There is "one Lawgiver, who is able to save and destroy," James iv, 12.

The Scripture speaks of one *chief Shepherd*, or *great Shepherd of the sheep*. 1 Peter v, 4, and ii, 25; Heb. xiii, 20. "I will set one Shepherd over them, and he shall feed the sheep," Ezek. xxxiv, 23. And, "There shall be one fold and one Shepherd," and who that one shall

ecclesie ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit. Reliquam vero omnem doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam: quæ sapiat contra veritatem ecclesiarum, et apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei.—Tertul. de Præscrip., c. 21, tom. ii, p. 461.

* Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successores presbyterorum in ecclesias custoditur, provocamus.—*Iren.* iii, 2.

† Strom. vii.

‡ Conc. Nic., canon 6; Conc. Const., canon 9; Conc. Chalc., canon 28.

be, our Lord declares to be himself: "I am the good Shepherd: the good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep," John x, 10, 11, 14.

We have "one High Priest of our profession," Hebrews iii, 1, and ix, 7, 24.

The Scripture teaches us that there is only one supreme *Teacher, Guide, and Father of Christians*, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for such. "Ye are all brethren; and call ye not any one father upon earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in heaven; neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ," Matthew xxiii, 8, 9.

Christ is the *one Head*, whom "God hath given to be Head over all things to the church, which is his body," Eph. i, 22; iv, 15; and v, 23.

It seemeth sacrilegious and arrogant for any man to assume or admit those titles of *sovereign of the church, head of the church, our lord, chief pastor, high priest, chief doctor, master, father, judge of Christians*. To use the language of Pope Gregory I., in reference to the titles of *universal bishop*, and *œcumenical patriarch*, assumed by the bishop of Constantinople, the above titles are *pompous, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane words; names of singularity, elation, vanity, blasphemy*. These titles are to be rejected, not merely because they are injurious to other pastors, and the people of God's inheritance; but because they are an invasion upon our Lord's prerogatives.

Gregory I., in condemning some of these titles, hath also condemned all of them, together with the things which they signify. In writing to the bishop of Constantinople, who had admitted the title of universal bishop or patriarch, Gregory says: "What wilt thou say to Christ, the Head of the universal church, in the trial of the last judgment, who by the appellation of *universal* dost endeavour to subject all his members to thee? Whom, I pray, dost thou mean to imitate in so perverse a word, but him who, despising the legions of angels constituted in fellowship with him, did endeavour to break forth unto the summit of singularity, that he might both be subject to none, and alone be over all? Who also said, I will ascend into heaven, and will exalt my throne above the stars—for what are thy brethren, all the bishops of the universal church, but the stars of heaven? To whom, while by this haughty word thou desirest to prefer thyself, and to trample on their name in comparison to thee, what dost thou say, but, I will climb into heaven?"*

In another epistle to the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, he taxeth the same patriarch of Constantinople thus: "He so boasteth that he attempts to ascribe all things to himself, and studies, by the

* Tu quid Christo universalis ecclesiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet coneris universalis appellatione supponere? quis rogo in hoc tam perverso vocabulo nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis angelorum legationibus secum socialiter constitutis ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur? qui etiam dixit. *In cælum conscendam, super astra cœli exaltabo solium meum*—quid enim fratres tui omnes universalis ecclesiæ episcopi, nisi astra cœli sunt? quibus dum cupis te æquiparum vocabulo elationis præponere, eorumque nomen tui comparatione calcare.—*Greg. I. ep. ix, 22.*

elation of pompous speech, to subject to himself all the members of Christ, which adhere to one sole Head, viz., to Christ.”*

We have the same words in the epistle of Pope Pelagius, predecessor of Gregory, to the bishops of Constantinople.†

Again: “I confidently say, that whoever doth call himself universal bishop, or desireth to be so called, doth in his elation forerun anti-christ, because he proudly doth set himself before all others.”‡

If the reasoning of Pope Gregory I. be sound, the pretence of *universal sovereignty* or *pastorship* is mere arrogance. He shows that it is unlawful to assume superiority over the church; and has therefore given a deadly wound to his successors, which no sophistry can elude.

To evade, however, the force of the Holy Scriptures in such passages as are quoted above, they have formed distinctions of several kinds of churches, and several sorts of heads. It would be an endless and fruitless task to follow them in these evasions. It is enough to observe in general, that no such distinctions have any place or ground in Scripture, nor can agree with it.

2. The supremacy transforms the church from a *spiritual society* to a *worldly or political institution*.

In Scripture the church is represented as a spiritual and heavenly society, compacted together by *one faith, one hope, one spirit* of charity. But the supremacy turns it into a worldly institute, united by the same bonds of interest and design, managed in the same manner by terror and intrigue; upheld by the same supports of force, policy, and wealth, of reputation and splendour, as all other secular corporations are.

Call it by what name you please, the papal monarchy is a temporal dominion, accomplishing worldly ends by worldly means, such as our Lord never instituted; so that the subjects of it may say, with far more reason than the people of Constantinople did, when their bishop Nestorius stopped some of their priests from contradicting him, *We have a king; a bishop we have not*.

3. The supremacy *destroys that equality* which our Lord appointed among the bishops or pastors of his church.

As we have shown before, our Lord forbade his apostles to assume any domination or authoritative superiority over one another. In this manner did Jerome interpret our Lord, when he asserts the equality of all pastors or bishops in the following memorable words: “Wherever a bishop is, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood; the power of wealth, or lowness of poverty, do not make a bishop higher or lower; but all are successors of the apostles.”§ Hence the address of the ancient bishops of Rome to

* Jactantiam sumpsit ita ut universa sibi tota adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti coherent, videlicet Christo, per elationem pompatici sermonis ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare.—*Greg. I.*, ep. iv, 36.

† P. Pelagii, ep. viii.

‡ Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua antichristum præcurrit quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.—*Greg. I.*, lib. vi, ep. 30.

§ Ubicumque fuerit episcopus sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ sive Thanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem et sacerdotii; potentia

other bishops was in such style as the following, *brethren, colleagues, fellow-ministers, fellow-bishops.**

4. The supremacy *infringes on the rights of the church and pastors.*

To each church our Lord has imparted the power, and imposed the duty of *maintaining divine truth*, Rev. ii, iii; and so proving itself *a pillar and support of truth*, 1 Tim. iii, 15; of *deciding controversies*, possible and proper to be decided, with due temper, ultimately without farther resort, because he who will not obey or acquiesce in its decision, is to be as a heathen or publican, Matt. xviii, 17; of *censuring and rejecting offenders*, "Do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without, God judgeth. Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person," 1 Cor. v, 12, 13. See also 1 Cor. v, 4, 5; Rev. ii, 20. Of *preserving order and decency*, according to that rule prescribed to the church of Corinth, "Let all things be done decently and in order," 1 Cor. xiv, 40; of *promoting edification*, 1 Cor. xiv, 40; 1 Thess. v, 14; of *deciding causes*, 1 Cor. vi, 1.

The Scripture hath enjoined and empowered all pastors to feed, guide, and rule their respective churches, as the *ministers, stewards, ambassadors, angels of God*; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ.† All these rights and privileges of the pastoral office the pope hath invaded, obstructed, and destroyed; pretending that their authority is derived from him, and forcing them to exercise it no otherwise than as his subjects, and according to his pleasure.

5. It robs Christian people of the liberties and rights with which they have been endowed by divine right, and which they are obliged to preserve inviolate. Paul enjoins the Galatians to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage," Gal. v, 1. There is a liberty which we must maintain, and a power to which we must not submit; and whom have we more reason to fear than him who pretends to define points of faith, to impose new doctrines on our consciences, to prescribe laws, &c.? This is a power which the apostles did not challenge to themselves, for they "have not dominion over our faith, but are helpers of our joy," 1 Cor. i, 24.

Again, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed," Gal. i, 8.

6. The supremacy interferes with civil government, by excepting a large class of citizens from subjection to law. By the ordinance of God every soul is subject to civil authority, not excepting the popes themselves. Rom. xiii, 1.

VI. *There are many arguments, arising from the nature and reasons of things, showing that such an authority could not be practised with much iniquity and injury to the interests of religion, and the welfare of mankind.*

divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non solum, ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt.—*Hier. ep. 85, ad Evagr.*

* Pope Cornelius in Cypr., ep. 48.

† Acts xx, 28; Heb. xiii, 17; 1 Peter v, 2; 1 Tim. iii, 15; Titus i, 5; 1 Cor. xiv, 28; Eph. iv, 11, 12; Rev. ii, &c.

1. The church is too unwieldy and extensive for the government of *one man, or one place.*

All the world is, in time, to become Christian. It will then be very incommodious that all the church should depend upon an authority residing in one place, and to be managed by one person. The church is too unwieldy to be managed by the influence of one authority or one person.

If the whole world were reduced to the management of one civil government, it would necessarily be ill managed. The remote parts from the centre of government would suffer much. They would have little awe of a power so far out of sight, for redress of grievances, decision of causes, correction of offences, information of abuses, or suppression of insurrections that might arise. What man could obtain knowledge and experience sufficient to give laws, and administer justice to so many nations, different in manners, in language, customs, &c.? How little would the labour and time of one man avail in sustaining the burden of government, to receive addresses, and to weigh all the cases? If the burden of one small kingdom be so great, that wise and good princes are burdened with its weight, what must be the weight of governing the world? The Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, owed their downfalls principally to the extent of their territories. Hence Augustus Cesar stopped enlarging the Roman dominion, and advised in his will the senate to do the same.*

To greater inconveniences must the church be liable, if it were subject to the government of one sovereign, to whom must be referred the maintenance of faith, the execution of discipline, the determination of controversies, the revision of judgments, the decision of appeals, the suppression of disorders and factions, the inspection of governors, and the regulation of all matters concerning religion in all countries. And can any one man discharge these duties? Especially an old man, in the decay of his bodily and mental powers, as the popes generally are?

Indeed, the government of the whole church by one man was not thought of among the ancient Christians; but, on the contrary, the regimen of the church was provincial, or confined to certain limits. Cyprian declares, that "seeing it was a general statute among the bishops, and that it was both equal and just, that every one's cause should be heard in the place where the crime was committed; and that each pastor had a portion of the flock committed to him, which he should rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doings."† Chrysostom thought it "improper that one out of Egypt should administer justice to persons in Thrace."‡ The African Synod thought "the Nicene fathers had provided most prudently and most justly, that all affairs should be terminated where they arose."§ They thought "a transmarine judgment could not be firm, because the necessary witnesses, on account of sex, or age, or many other impediments,

* Dion., lib. lvi; Tacitus, Annal.; August. de Civ. Dei. xviii, 45.

† Cyprian, ep. 55.

‡ Chryst., ep. 102, ad P. Innoc. I.

§ Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos suis metropolitans apertissime commiserunt; prudentissime enim justissimeque viderunt quæcumque negotia in suis locis, ubi orsa sunt, finienda.—Concil. Afric., ad P. Celest. I., in fine cod. Afric.

could not be brought thither.”* There are many ancient canons and ecclesiastical regulations, which forbid that causes should be removed out of the bounds of provinces or diocesses.†

2. Such authority as is invested in the supremacy *reduces the church to a state of bondage.*

All the world must become slaves to one city, its wealth must flow thither, its quiet must depend on it. And this power, unrestrained by any bounds of time and place, unrestrained by any equal or co-ordinate power, and depending on divine institution, and therefore immutable, it must become absolute and unlimited. This power is continually encroaching and extending itself, until it grows enormous and boundless. It will admit of no restraint. It will claim the power of conferring all benefices. It forms new prerogatives, and interprets all things in favour of them. It will mount above all law; a blind faith must be yielded to all its assertions, as infallibly true; and a blind obedience to all its decrees, as unquestionably holy; so that the most absolute tyranny that can be imagined will ensue.

Accordingly, in reality, the papacy hath destroyed all privileges and rights of all orders in the church, either granted by God, or established by the ancient canons. The *royalties of Peter* are become immense, so that the pope can hear it said to his face, *all power in heaven and earth is given to him.* It belongeth to him “to judge concerning the whole church.”‡ He hath *a plenitude of power so as to dispense with any law.*§ Multitudes of testimony of a similar kind might be adduced.¶

3. The supremacy *depraves Christian doctrines*, by distorting them, in promoting worldly designs and interests. It introduces new doctrines, and interprets the old ones to secure the advancement of the power, wealth, and pleasure of those who maintain it. To *make a trade of religion* is the result. 2 Cor. ii, 17. It converts divines into mercenary, slavish flatterers, *supposing that gain is godliness.* 1 Tim. vi, 5. Christianity is thus modelled into a system of rites, opinions, and devices, serving to exalt and enrich the pope and the clergy. We pass over those immediately concerning the pope, such as his universal pastorship, his judging of controversies, power to call councils, presidency over them, right to confirm or annul them, his infallibility, his double sword or dominion over princes, his dispensing with oaths and matrimonial vows.

The exempting of the clergy from secular jurisdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxation, indicate their dependance on the pope. The exemption of monastic persons from the jurisdiction of bishops advances the power of the pope. The doctrine of purgatory and indulgences gives the pope the power over the condition of the people and their purses. The treasury of merits and supererogatory works draws largely on the money of the people. The various other doctrines

* Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariorum personarum vel propter sexum vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non poterunt.—*Concil. Afric., ad P. Celest. I., in fine cod. Afric.*

† Vide Conc. Basil, sess. xxxi.

‡ De omni ecclesiâ jus habet judicandi.—*Conc. Lat., v, sess. 11.*

§ Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.—*Greg. Decret., lib. iii, tit. 8, cap. 4.*

¶ See Barrow on Supremacy, pp. 207, 208.

of the Church of Rome are similarly constructed, and admirably adapted to enslave the people and elevate the clergy. Peruse their leading writers, as Bellarmine, Dens, &c., and you will perceive that they uniformly tend to advance the interest of the pope or of his vassals.

4. The supremacy stands in the way of *reformation*. While particular churches retain their liberty they may preserve their doctrines from corruption, and stop the progress of error among others. But when all churches and bishops are subject to one head, it will be next to impossible to preserve purity of doctrine. He will soon claim the privilege not to be crossed in any thing, and will assume *infallibility, the mother of incorrigibleness*. That authority will protect every error, and palliate every vice. There will be legions of mercenary tongues to speak, and of stipendiary pens to write in defence of its doctrines and practices; so that whosoever shall undertake to oppose it, will be voted down with clamour, and threats, and disfranchisement. So that truth will be undefended, and virtue unprotected. What will this party do rather than acknowledge their error? *The hundred grievances*, so loudly complained of, and which remained nevertheless unreformed, may testify.

5. The supremacy induces a *general depravation of manners*. The chief clergy become proud and haughty, are tempted to hoard up wealth by rapine, extortion, and simony, indulge in ease and sensuality, and will consequently neglect their charge. Inferiors, enamoured of dignity, will use all means to attain it. Hence emulation, discord, pride, and base submission. The higher ranks become proud and domineering, and the lower will basely crouch. Under such guides, it is no wonder the Church of Rome is become corrupt.

6. This authority *spoils the pope, corrupting his morals*, and rendering him a scandal to religion.

How many notorious reprobates, monsters of wickedness, have been in that see!* The popes before Constantine were holy men; the next race was tolerable, while the papacy kept within any bounds of modesty; but afterward, many, or most of them, were a scandal to the Christian name, so that Pope Marcellus II. doubted whether a pope could be saved. From John VIII. to Leo IX., what a collection of wicked men and sots sat in the Roman see! This is acknowledged by their own historians. Bellarmine and Baronius tell us, however, that the providence of God is wonderfully manifest in preserving the purity of the church, during the lives of so many wicked popes.† But why call this preserving the church, when such a preservation, by such an administration, would destroy it without fail? What, in the mean time, became of the souls of these wicked popes, and of those who followed their example? To what a pass of shameless wickedness must things have come, when such men as Alexander VI. should be placed in the chair! When the principal use made of the ecclesiastical power was to enrich the relatives and the numerous illegitimate children of the popes!

7. The supremacy disturbs civil society, and destroys governments.

For suppose the two powers, spiritual and temporal, are co-ordinate

* See Barrow, p. 215, and the authorities quoted there.

† Bar. ad Ann., p. 897, sec. 5.

and independent of each other; the supremacy throws Christians into a perplexed state of opposite and incompatible obligations. Concerning this our Lord says, "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other," Matt. vi, 24.

Let us examine the *reasons* of this incompatibility, and the extent to which it has been tested by *example*.

The claims of the supremacy are such, as to make it impossible to distinguish between the bounds of the temporal and spiritual power, so as to prevent their mutual interference. All temporal matters are in some respects spiritual, so as to be in some manner allied to religion or referrible to spiritual ends; and all spiritual matters are in some sense temporal, as they conduce to the public peace and welfare of states. There is nothing which each of these powers may not bring under its cognizance or jurisdiction; one pretending thereby to further the good of the church, and the other that of the state. Hence there will be no end of difficulty, there being no third power to arbitrate between them. Each will prosecute its own peculiar designs; the one by instruments of temporal power, the other by spiritual arms. What the one power sometimes enjoins, the other prohibits. The one, in case of disobedience, brandishes a sword; the other thunders out a curse; one threatens death, the other excision from the church; both denounce damnation. And how can a *kingdom so divided in itself stand*, or not *come into desolation*? Matt. xii, 25. If the claims of the supremacy are true, we may in vain "pray for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty," 1 Tim. ii, 1, 2.

Such interferences will cause popes to invade the temporal power. This was the reason which Pope Paschal II. alleged against Henry IV., because *ecclesiæ regnum auferre*, he took away the dominion of the church.*

And the spiritual power will at last predominate, because of its great advantages over the temporal. The spiritual power claims to be divine, and therefore immediately from God and depending on his will, and consequently must be perpetual, irreversible, and not liable to diminution or translation. This power contends with tongues and pens—the most perilous weapons, which cannot be taken away, or deprived of their edge or force. It works by the most powerful considerations on the consciences and actions of men, promising heaven, and threatening hell. The pope, too, commands not only as a *prince*, but as a *teacher* and *judge*, and as an *infallible* teacher. We must not only embrace his doctrines, but also observe his commands. In confession the power of *secrecy* comes to its aid. All its assertions must be believed. Is not this an infinite advantage? Hence the spiritual power will swallow the temporal power. Hence the spiritual power draws large numbers from subjection to the temporal power, by withdrawing causes from their jurisdiction; by commanding in their territories, and drawing people out of them to their judicatories, by draining them of their wealth, &c. In short, by setting up a government within a government. The above is abundantly confirmed by *experience*. When-

* P. Pasch. II., ep. 7.

ever the pope found an occasion to call a prince a *heretic* or *tyrant*, or, in his opinion, in any way scandalous, he would excommunicate him, and would not receive him into favour, until he would acknowledge himself a feudatory to the pope; thus he brought in most kingdoms to depend on him.* How often have they excommunicated princes, and interdicted their people from entertaining communion with them, or submitting to their laws! How many commotions, conspiracies, rebellions, and insurrections have they raised in several countries!† How many massacres and assassinations have they caused!

Have they not assumed to themselves power over all princes? They called the emperor himself their vassal. They have exacted an oath from all princes, of which there is a form in the canon law, and a declaration of Pope Clement V., that it is an *oath of fealty*. They have challenged to themselves *the power of the two swords*, the temporal and spiritual, according to the common phrase, so current among them, *Ecce duo gladii*. Consider the pragmatistical sanctions, provisos, compositions, concordats, &c., which princes have been forced to make against them or with them, in order to secure their friendship. Many good princes, as Henry II. of England, and Lewis XII. of France, have been forced to oppose them.

These, and such things, are the natural result of the supremacy; and supposing it well grounded, are capable of justification; for it is not fit, since one must yield, that the temporal power should yield to the spiritual. Indeed, granting the papal supremacy in spirituals, those who subject all temporal power to it, have great reason on their side; for the two powers cannot exist together. And the contest cannot otherwise be ended, than by disclaiming the fictitious and usurped power of the pope. For two such powers could not have been instituted by Almighty God. But it is plain he hath instituted the civil power, and hath endowed it with the sword; therefore the supremacy is an usurpation.

8. The supremacy is *useless*, not serving the ends which it proposes, these being better accomplished without it.

It pretends to maintain *truth*. But truth is better maintained by the labours of pious and learned pastors. All passages of Scripture that were obscure, remain so, as far as the popes are concerned. All doubtful controversies, that were decided by the pope, remain as doubtful as ever, notwithstanding his decision. His sentence may be eluded by interpretation, as well as the sentences of other divines. Indeed, the pope's decisions have obscured rather than explained the truth. What books contain the Biblical philology of popes? None on the face of the earth. Therefore, they have no claim in promoting the cause of Scriptural truth, which is the kind under consideration.

The supremacy claims to be the only means of *agreement in opinion or doctrines*, by *determining controversies*; which its advocates affirm to be necessary. But how can that be necessary which never existed, *de facto*, in the Church of Rome? Hath the pope effected this? Do all his followers agree on all points? Do they agree about his authority—his infallibility? Do they not differ and dispute about an infinite

* Greg. VI., ep. i, 7; cxii, 13, 63.

† See Plat. de Bonif. VIII., and Jul. II., Epis. Madruf. in Concil. Lat. v, sess. vi; Greg. VII., ep. iv, 2, and viii, 21. See Barrow, p. 219.

number of points? Are all the questions frivolous about which all their divines and schoolmen dispute? Why did not the Council of Trent refer all things to the decision of the pope, if he was the judge of controversies? Necessary points will be known and determined by all honest men without the pope, by the clear testimony of Scripture. And other points need not be determined. Concord was maintained and controversies decided in the ancient church, without the aid of popes. The most ready way to decide controversies is for every one to search diligently after truth, and not to prescribe to others or persecute them; for then men would see the truth and consent to it.

The supremacy does not maintain *peace and unity*. Indeed, nothing else has caused more fierce contentions or more bloody wars in Christendom. By tyrannical administration, and intrusions on the order of the primitive churches, the supremacy has been the cause of endless schisms and troubles.

VII. *The supremacy is at variance with the character ascribed to bishops or chief pastors in the primitive and ancient churches.*

1. The fathers supposed no rank in the church by original right or divine institution higher than a bishop or chief pastor.

Tertullian saith: "The chief priest, who is bishop, hath the right of giving baptism."*

Optatus calleth bishops "the tops and princes of all."†

Cyprian speaks often to the same effect.‡

It cannot well be conceived that the ancients would have spoken in this manner, if they had considered the papal office to be such as it now is. Nor is it contrary to our views of this subject, that there existed in the African Church distinctions, and subordinations of bishops, as of patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, common bishops, &c. For these were constituted by the church herself, for her more orderly and peaceable government. They imported no difference among the bishops, that one should have dominion over others to their injury, or to infringe on common liberty. They were governed by canons, and were liable to be corrected.

When primates began to encroach, good men declared their displeasure at the evil, and wished it removed, as is known by the famous wish of Gregory Nazianzen:§ "I wish there were no presidency, or any preference of place, or any tyrannical prerogative."

But the superiority claimed by the pope is of a different nature from that constituted by the ancient churches. It founds itself on the institution of Christ, imposes itself on the church, is not alterable or governed by it, can endure no control, pretends to absolute power to act with or against the canons, is limited by no bounds but its own pleasure, &c.

2. The ancient church ascribed to each bishop *independent authority*; subject to no other bishop in the administration of affairs concerning his own particular church.

Consider the following declarations of Cyprian on this topic:—

"The bond of concord abiding, and the sacrament of the Catholic

* Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus.—*Tertul. de Bapt.*, c. 17.

† Apices et principes omnium sacerdotes.—*Opt.* 1.

‡ Cypr., ep. 55, ad P. Corn., ep. 52.

§ Orat. 28

Church remaining undivided, every bishop disposes and directs his own acts, as one who shall render an account of his purpose to the Lord.”*

He writes thus when pleading the cause of Pope Cornelius against Novatian, and yet he says nothing of his supremacy over others.

Again: “But we know that some will not lay down what once they have imbibed, nor will easily change their minds; but the bond of peace and concord being preserved with their colleagues, they will retain some peculiar things to which they have been accustomed; in which matter we do not force any one, or give law; when every president, in the administration of his own church, hath the free power of his own will, as he must render an account of his acts unto the Lord.”† He is here writing to Pope Stephen, and in a friendly manner, *out of common respect and simple love*, not out of servile obedience, acquainting him with what he and his brethren had established, *by common consent* and authority, (*consensu et auctoritate communi*), concerning the degradation of clergymen who had been ordained by heretics, or had deviated into schism.

He addresses himself in the following manner to Pope Cornelius, on the occasion of some factious clergymen addressing themselves to him in order to gain his countenance: “For seeing it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise right and just, that each man’s cause should be tried where the crime is committed; and to each pastor a portion of the flock is assigned, which each should rule and govern, as one who must render an account to his Lord; for those over whom we preside ought not to ramble about.”‡

Take the following quotations from Cyprian:—

“These things I have chiefly written back according to our meanness, dear brother, prescribing to none, nor prejudging, that every bishop should do what he thinks good, having a free power of his will.”§

“In which matter our bashfulness and modesty do not prejudice any one; so that every one may not judge as he thinketh, and act as he judgeth.” He also addeth, in the same epistle: “Prescribing to none, so that each bishop may resolve what he thinks good, having to render an account to the Lord,”|| &c.

* *Manente concordie vinculo, et perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, actum suum disponet et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.—Cypr., ep. 5, ad Antonianum.*

† *Cœterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas, pacis et concordie vinculo quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; qua in re nec nos visu cuiquam facimus, nec legem damus; cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.—Cypr., ep. 72, ad P. Stephanum.*

‡ *Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut unicujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus præsumus, non circumcursare.—Cypr., ep. 55, ad Cornelium.*

§ *Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra verecundia rescripsimus, frater charissime; nemini præscribentes, aut prejudicantes, quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.—Cypr., ep. 73, ad Jubabaianum.*

|| *Quia in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat sentiat, et quod senserit faciat. . . . Nemine præscribentes, quo*

"It remaineth that each of us express his opinion about this matter, judging no man, nor removing any man from the right of communion, though he be of a different opinion; for neither doth any of us constitute himself bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror drive any of us to a necessity of obeying; since each bishop hath, on account of his liberty and authority, his own free choice, and is no less exempt from being judged by another, than he is incapable to judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, and who alone, hath power to place us in the government of the church and to judge of our acting."* Cyprian speaks these words as prolocutor of the great synod of bishops at Carthage. He condemns the practice of one bishop excluding another from communion for dissent in opinion about disputable points; he rejects the claims of those who would be a bishop of bishops, or superior to all their brethren; he affirms that each bishop has power to manage his own concerns, and that he receives his power immediately from Christ.

Augustine, in his reflections on these passages of Cyprian, admires and approves of them.† But he knew of no such power as that claimed by the popes of Rome. In the address, too, of the Roman clergy to Cyprian, the supremacy of the pope is not so much as hinted at.‡

That this notion of liberty continued some time after the days of Cyprian, we may see from the ninth canon of the Council of Antioch, held A. D. 351, ordaining, "That every bishop have power in his own parish, (*παροικία*,) govern it according to his best care and discretion, and provide for all the country belonging to his city, so as to ordain priests and deacons, and dispose things aright."§

The monks of Constantinople, in the Council of Chalcedon, held A. D. 451, forgot their sovereign father the pope when they said: "We are sons of the church, and have one father, after God, our archbishop."||

3. Bishops, in the estimation of the early Christians, were originally, by divine appointment, of *equal authority*. They considered all as the successors of the apostles; as deriving their commission in the same manner from God; as *the ambassadors, stewards, or vicars of Christ, &c.* One bishop might exceed another in splendour, wealth, reputation, extent of jurisdiction, attainments, or talents; but all were equal in office and power.

This was the doctrine of Jerome in those famous words: "Wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome or at Engubium,"¶ &c.

minus statuat quod putat unusquisque præpositus, actus sui rationem Domino redditurus, &c.—*Cypr.*, ep. 76, ad Magnum.

* Superest ut de hac re singuli quid sentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes; neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare; sed expectimus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi.—*Cypr. in præf. Conc. Carthag.*

† August. de Baptis. contra Donat., lib. ii, c. 3; lib. iii, c. 3.

‡ Cler. Rom. ad Cypr., ep. 31.

§ Syn. Antioch, can. 9.

|| Syn. Chalc., act. i, p. 114.

¶ Ubique fuerit episcopus, sine Romæ, sive Engubii, &c.—*Hieron. ad Euseb.* ep. 85.

(1.) Common practice, a good interpreter of sentiment in matters of this kind, shows, that in the primitive church the pope was not deemed to have a right of universal sovereignty. For if such a thing had been instituted by our Lord, or practised or taught by the apostles, the pope would certainly have possessed and exercised it in the first ages. But he did not, as will be fully shown hereafter.

(2.) The state of the primitive church did not admit of such a universal sovereignty. It then consisted of small bodies, scattered in distant places, independent of each other, and therefore unfit to be modelled into one confederacy, or to be governed by one head. The churches were also in a state of persecution and poverty. What convenient resort for direction and justice could a few Christians in Egypt, Ethiopia, Parthia, India, Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, and other parts, have to Rome!

The Roman clergy, in their epistle to Cyprian, told him that "because of the difficulty of things and times, they could not constitute a bishop who might moderate things," immediately concerning themselves.* How much more could the bishop of Rome regulate the concerns of the whole Christian world; when, as Rigaltius, in his note on Cyprian, says, "The church being then oppressed with various vexations, the communication of provinces between themselves was difficult and unfrequent."† Wherefore Bellarmine confesses that before the Nicene Council, "the authority of the pope was not a little hindered, so that because of continual persecutions, he could not freely exercise it."‡ Now, as the church could subsist so long without such authority, by the vigilance of its pastors over their flocks, and the fraternal aid of other churches, such a supremacy is unnecessary. It could be no divine institution which was useless in the first and best ages of the church. It was an innovation founded on ambition.

4. The ancients maintained this *independence* and *equality* of bishops, particularly in respect to the Roman bishops, interpretively and practically.

Thus when Felicissimus and his associates, who had been rejected by Cyprian, applied themselves to Pope Cornelius for communion, Cyprian affirmed that to be an irregular course, and subjoins: "The authority of the bishops constituted in Africa, who have already judged of them, does not seem less (than the Roman authority) unless to a few wicked and desperate persons."§ He certainly meant that the authority of the African bishops was not inferior to any other authority, particularly that of Rome. Does not his argument require this meaning?

The fathers of the Council of Antioch in A. D. 341, being ninety-seven in number, the decrees of which have been received by the Catholic Church, in their epistle to Pope Julius I., complaining of his demeanour in the case of Athanasius, asserted to themselves an equality with the pope. "They did not therefore think it equal, that they should be thought inferiors, because they had not so large and nume-

* Nobis post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, &c.—*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.*, ep. 31.

† Rigaltius in Cypr., ep. 67.

‡ Bell. de R. Pontiff., ii, 17.

§ Nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor esse videtur auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverant.

rous a church.”* And Pope Julius himself testifies the same in his epistle to them, extant in the second Apology of Athanasius. “If,” says he, “ye do truly conceive the honour of bishops to be equal, and the same; and ye do not, as ye write, judge of bishops according to the magnitude of cities.”† The pope does not here contradict or confute their sentiment, so contrary to papal supremacy; and he may therefore be reasonably interpreted as agreeing with them. To be silent on such an occasion would argue great inconsistency.

That Pope Gregory I. did not hold himself superior to other bishops, we collect from the manner in which he reprehends the bishop of Constantinople for assuming airs of supremacy, in “preferring himself before, and extolling himself above, other bishops.”‡ And when Eulogius, the bishop of Alexandria, had complimentally said: “*Sicut jussisti, As ye have commanded,*” he expresses his resentment by saying: “I desire not to hear that word of command; because I know who I am, and who you are: by place, ye are my brethren; in goodness, fathers; I did not therefore command; but what seemed profitable I hinted to you.”§

5. The *style* used by the primitive bishops, in their addresses and intercourse with the bishop of Rome, indicates the equality for which we contend.

Cyprian was cotemporary with the Roman bishops Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, and Stephanus. He addresses them by the terms, *brother, colleague, fellow-bishop, &c.* Nor does he use any other importing higher respect; and his practice agreed with his addresses.

“Know now brother,”|| was the address of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, to Pope Stephanus. The Synod of Antioch writes thus: “To Dionysius and Maximus, and all our fellow-ministers throughout the world.”¶

Athanasius saith: “These things may suffice which have been written by our beloved and fellow-minister, Damasus, bishop of great Rome.”** So Cyril spoke of Pope Celestine I.: “Our brother and fellow-minister, the bishop of Rome.”†† Marcellus addresses thus Pope Julius: “Most blessed fellow-minister.”‡‡ Basil and his fellow-bishops of the East thus address the bishops of Italy and France: “To the beloved of God, and our most holy brethren and fellow-ministers, the unanimous bishops through Italy and France.”§§ The fathers of the Ephesine Council address Celestine I. in this manner: “Our brother and fellow-minister, Celestine.”||| The fathers of Carthage address

* Soz. iii, 8.

† P. Jul. I. apud Atha. in Apol. ii.

‡ Greg. I, ep. vi, 30.

§ Quod verbum jussionis peto a meo auditu removeri; quia scio quis sum, qui estis; loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres; non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi.—Greg. I., ep. vii, 30, ad Eulog. Alex.

|| Ισθι νυν αδελφε.—Euseb. vii, 5.

¶ Euseb. vii, 30.

** Ικανα μεν τα γραφεντα παρα τε του αγαπητου και συλλειτουργου Δαμασου.—Athan. Ep. ad Afr., p. 931.

†† Αδελφου και συλλειτουργου ημων του της Ρωμαιων εκκλησιας επισκοπου.—Cyr. ad Nest. in Syn. Eph., p. 207.

‡‡ Τω μακαριωτατω συλλειτουργω Ιουλιω.—Marcell. ad P. Jul. in Epirh. Hæres. 72.

§§ Τοις θεοφιλεστατοις και οσιωτατοις αδελφοις συλλειτουργοις κατα την Ιταλιαν και Γαλλιαν ομνηνκοις επισκοποις.—Bas., ep. 69, in Athan. Apol. ii, pp. 661, 756.

||| Του αδελφου και συλλειτουργου ημων Κελεστινου.—Syn. Eph., p. 217.

Pope Celestine I. in the very same terms in which Augustine salutes Maximinus, a Donatist bishop: "To our lord the most beloved and most honoured brother."* The oriental bishops, Eustathius, Theophilus, and Silvanus, addressed Pope Liberius thus: "To seignior, our brother and fellow-minister, Liberius; Eustathius, Theophilus, and Sylvanus wish health."† John of Antioch addresses Nestorius: "To my master."‡ The Synod of Illyricum calls Elpidius, "Our lord and fellow-minister."§

In the foregoing instances, the word *κύριος*, or *dominus*, was used as a term of civility, and applied to any person of distinction. Chrysostom in his epistles frequently bestows it on common bishops and presbyters.¶ Augustine salutes Donatist bishops thus, and reflects thereon as follows: "Since therefore by charity I serve you in this office of writing letters to you, I do not improperly call you master, for the sake of our one true Master, who has commanded us so to do."¶¶

Pope Celestine I. himself saluted in this manner the Ephesine fathers, *Masters, brethren*.** Even in the sixth general council, Thomas, bishop of Constantinople, addresses Pope Vitalianus, calling him "his brother and fellow-minister."††

Such are the terms and titles which primitive integrity allowed the pope, being the same which all bishops gave each other; as may be seen in all solemn addresses and reports concerning them. This sufficiently proves that bishops in those times did not consider themselves the pope's subjects, or his inferiors in office; but his equals, co-ordinate with him in rank.

It would now be considered a mark of unpardonable arrogance for a bishop in the Church of Rome to address the pope in such language as the above. This is a proof that a great change has taken place, and that the pope is not now what the first bishops of Rome were. Now, nothing but *Beatissimus pater, Most blessed father; Dominus noster papa, Our lord the pope, His holiness, &c.*, will satisfy the pope and his followers.

The Roman bishops, writing to other bishops, in ancient times, called them brethren and fellow-ministers. So Cornelius, writing to Fabius, of Antioch, says: "Beloved brother."‡‡ So he addresses other bishops: "Be it known to all our fellow-bishops and brethren."§§ Julius to the oriental bishops: "To our beloved brethren."¶¶ Liberius says to the Macedonian bishops: "To our beloved brethren and fellow-bishops;"¶¶¶ and to the oriental bishops: "To our brethren

* Domino dilectissimo et honoratissimo fratri.—*Conc. Afr.*

Domino dilectissimo et honorabili fratri Maximino.—*Aug.*, ep. 203.

† Κυριω αδελφω, και συλλειτουργω Λιβεριω, Ευσταθιος, Θεοφιλος εν Κυριω Χαιρει.—*Socr.*, iv, 12.

‡ Τω δεσποτη μου.—*Conc. Eph.* 202.

§ Τον κυριον ημων και συλλειτουργον.—*Theod.*, iv, 9.

¶ Chrys., ep. 26, 38; also, 71, 75, 77, 84, 91, &c.

¶¶ Cum ergo vel hoc ipso officio literarum per charitatem tibi serviam, non absurde te dominum voco, propter unum et verum Dominum nostrum qui nobis ista precepit.—*Aug.*, ep. 103.

** Κυριοι αδελφοι.—*P. Celest I., Ep. ad Syn. Eph.*, act. ii, p. 324.

†† Concil. vi, act. xiii, p. 224.

‡‡ Αδελφε αγαπητε.—*Euseb.*, vi, 43.

§§ Omnibus co-episcopis nostris et fratribus innotescat.—*P. Corn. apud Cyp.*, epist. 48.

¶¶ Αγαπητοις αδελφοις.—*Athan.*, p. 739.

¶¶¶ Socr., iv, 12.

and fellow-bishops.”* So also Damasus and Leo.† Pope Celestine calls John of Antioch, “most honoured brother.”‡ Pope Gelasius to the bishops of Dardania: “Your brotherhood.”§ Grég. I. to Cyriacus: “Our brother and fellow-priest, Cyriacus.”||

If it be said, “The popes in ancient times spoke thus from their own humility and modesty, or in condescension to others,” to this we reply, that if the popes were then what they now profess to be, such language was mere affectation and founded in untruth; and if their office be truly of divine appointment, it became them to maintain their office. They must therefore be chargeable with either betraying the interests of a divine institution, or of using wicked methods in its support; and the latter cannot in justice be charged against the early popes; then they knew nothing of the supremacy which their successors have claimed.

But Bellarmine¶ furnishes one instance in which Pope Damasus, in addressing the eastern bishops, calls them *most honoured sons*.** To this we answer: 1. The whole epistle has the appearance of interpolation, as it is introduced abruptly, and does not comport with the gravity of Theodoret. 2. If it be genuine, there are marks of corruption in this place, as such a style is unsuitable to the times, and different from that of his predecessors and successors. 3. It is contrary to his own style, both then and at other times; for, writing to the bishops of Illyricum, he calls them, *beloved brethren*.†† Nor is one single example to be set against so many modest ones. 4. Finally, this salutation does not always imply superiority, as we gather from the inscription of Alexander, bishop of Thessalonica, to Athanasius of Alexandria: “To my beloved son and unanimous colleague, Athanasius.”‡‡

VIII. *The supremacy is overturned by the grounds on which the Roman bishops obtained it.*

1. This ground was not *divine institution*. Christianity had no laws of this kind, so as to make difference of place a divine institute.

2. But the grounds, on which the ancients gave a kind of preference to the church and bishops of Rome, were, the *size, dignity, opulence, convenience, &c.*, of the city of Rome.

The Church of Rome was called by Cyprian, *the principal church*.§§ Rigaltius, the commentator of Cyprian, gives for a reason of this distinction, because the church there was *constituted in the principal city*.||

The church at Rome, in the times of severest persecution, by the providence of God, had a large number of Christians. Pope Cornelius, in his epistle to Fabius, reckons forty-four presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty-two others of the inferior clergy, and above fifteen hundred alms-people.¶¶

There was a great resort of Christians to Rome, as the seat of the empire, and the principal metropolis. Such was the case in every

* *Fratribus et co-episcopis.*—*Hil. Frag.*, p. 450.

† *Soc.*, vi, 32.

‡ *Τιμιωτατῇ ἀδελφῇ.*—*Conc. Eph.*, p. 196.

§ *Fraternitas vestra.*—*P. Gelas.*, ep. 12.

|| *Fratri et consacerdotis nostri Cyriaci.*—*Greg.*, op. vi, 24.

¶ *Bell.*, ii, 14.

** *Υιοι τιμιωτατοι.*—*Theod.*, v, 10.

†† *Sez.*, vi, 23.

‡‡ *Apud. Athan. Apol.* ii, p. 783.

§§ *Ecclesia principalis.*—*Cypr.*, ep. 55.

||| *Ecclesia principalis, id est in urbe principali constituta.*—*Rigalt. in Cypr.*, ep. 55.

¶¶ *Euseb.*, vi, 43. *Cypr.*, ep. 55, ad *Cornel.*

metropolis, as we learn from the sixth canon of the Council of Antioch, held in 341, which ordered, "That the bishop of each metropolis should take care of the whole province, because all that had business did resort to the metropolis."

"To this church," says Irenæus, "it is necessary that every church, that is the faithful around there, should resort, because of its more powerful principality."* The words, *more powerful principality*, refer to the power and grandeur of the imperial city, but they do not well suit the authority of a church, when no church at that time possessed any principality. This appears from the context of Irenæus, who does not allege the judicial authority of the Roman church, but its testimony and Christian assistance. Such a reason of precedence Cyprian gives in another case, "Because Rome, on account of its magnitude, ought to precede Carthage."† Hence the pagan historian gives it as a reason why "the Roman bishops had greater authority than other bishops," that is, they had greater interest and reputation.‡ Theodoret, in his epistle to Pope Leo, gives a similar reason. "For this city," says he, "is the greatest and the most splendid, and presiding over the world; and flowing with a multitude of people; and which, moreover, hath produced the empire now governing."§

The succour which Rome rendered to other Christians in early times, under persecution and poverty, gave consequence to the bishop and church at Rome. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, in writing to Soter, bishop of Rome, states this in the following words, as quoted by Eusebius: "This is your custom from the beginning, in divers ways to do good to the brethren, and to send supplies to many churches in every city, so refreshing the poverty of those who want."||

This is the ground on which the Council of Chalcedon founded the eminency of the see of Rome. "The fathers," say they, "reasonably conferred the privileges on the throne of ancient Rome, because that was the royal city."¶ The fountain of eminence, in their judgment, was not divine institution, or the authority of Peter, or the right of succession from him; but the *concession* of the fathers, who allowed or granted it, because Rome was the imperial city. Hence the empress Placidia, in her epistle to Theodosius, in behalf of Pope Leo, says, "It becomes us to preserve to this city, which is the mistress of all lands, a reverence in all things."** And hence the fathers of the second general council advanced "the bishop of Constantinople to the next privileges of honour after the bishop of Rome, because it was new Rome.††

3. Other bishops, as of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, &c., obtained a precedency on the same grounds by which the bishop and church at Rome obtained it.

The fathers of Chalcedon "assigned equal privileges to the most

* Ad hanc ecclesiam, propter potentiorē principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt ubique fideles.—*Iren.*, iii, 3.

† Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere.—*Cypr.*, ep. 49.

‡ Auctoritate qua potiores æternæ urbis episcopi.—*Amm. Marcell.*, lib. v, p. 47.

§ Theod., ep. 113.

|| Euseb., iv, 23.

¶ Syn. Chal., act. xvi, can. 28.

** Placid. in Syn. Chal., p. 37.

†† Syn. Const., can. 3.

holy see of New Rome, with good reason, judging, that the city which was honoured with the royalty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the ancient royal Rome, should likewise, in ecclesiastical affairs, be magnified as it, being second after it."* On this account the church of Constantinople aspired to the supreme principality, when the empire was extinguished at old Rome. Constantinople is sometimes styled, *the head of all churches*.†

For the same reason, other bishops were raised to the eminence of *metropolitans, primates, patriarchs, &c.*

Hence it was, that the bishop of Alexandria, before Constantine's time, acquired the honour of second place to Rome; because that city, being the head of a rich and powerful nation, in magnitude and wealth, as Gregory Nazienzen says, "did approach next to Rome, so as hardly to yield the next place to it."‡

On that account also, Antioch obtained the next place, being the largest, and most flourishing and commanding city of the East. Of this city Josephus says, "For size, and other advantages, it had without controversy the third place in all the world subject to the Romans."§ Chrysostom calls Antioch, "the head of all cities in the East."|| And Basil calls the church there, "the principal church in the world."¶

For the same reason, the bishop of Carthage obtained the privilege of being the standing primate of his province, and a kind of patriarch over all the African provinces; though in that country, other primacies were not fixed to places, but were vested in the oldest bishop.

Cesarea, too, being the political metropolis of Palestine, preceded Jerusalem in ecclesiastical priority.

4. Though a kind of precedency was conceded to Rome, it never amounted, in kind or degree, to the claims of supremacy claimed by the popes.

Cyprian called the Roman see, *the chair of St. Peter*, and *the principal church*; yet he disclaimed any authority of the Roman bishops over his brethren.

Firmilian noticed that Pope Stephen "gloried in the place of his bishoprick, and contended that he held the succession of Peter."^{**} Yet Firmilian did not think himself obliged to submit to the authority of Stephen, or follow his judgment; on the contrary, he sharply reprimanded him as a favourer of heretics, an author of schism, and one who cut himself off from the communion of his brethren.

The fathers of the Council of Antioch express themselves clearly on this point, as follows: "They confessed that in writings, all did willingly honour the Roman church, as having been from the beginning the school of the apostles, and the metropolis of religion; although the instructors of religious doctrine went from the East and resided there;

* Syn. Chal., can. 28.

† Imper. Leo. Cad., lib. i, tit. 2, sec. 16.

‡ Greg. Naz. Orat. 27; Evagr., ii, 4, et passim.

§ Joseph. de Bello. Jud. iii, 3.

|| Chryst. *avdp.* β.

¶ Basil, ep. 48, ad Athan.

** Atque ergo in hoc parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephanianam stultitiam, quod qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit—Stephanus qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se predicat.—Firmil. apud Cypr., ep. 75.

but from hence they desired not to be considered inferiors ; because they did not exceed in the greatness and number of their church.* They allowed some regard to the Roman church on account of their apostolic foundation, but a greater regard on account of the grandeur of the city ; yet they did not allow themselves to be inferiors, at least as to any privilege embracing authority.

If the pope had such pre-eminence by divine right on account of his succession to Peter, why are the other causes reckoned, as if they could add any thing to God's institution ?

The true reason why the Roman church and bishops obtained pre-eminence is acknowledged by Baronius himself, who says, " That the ancients acknowledged no other rule in instituting the ecclesiastical sees, than the division of provinces, and the prerogative before established by the Romans, there are very many examples."† Of these examples, that of Rome is the most notable.

CHAPTER IX.

SUPREMACY CONTINUED.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF METROPOLITICAL, PRIMATICAL, AND PATRIARCHAL JURISDICTIONS. Statement of the question. 1. At first each church was settled under its own bishop or pastor in charge, and presbyters : 2. And each church was independent of all others : 3. Afterward several churches combined together in ecclesiastical confederacies : 4. In dividing provinces and diocesses, they followed the civil divisions : 5. For the sake of order one was called on to preside, who was termed metropolitan, archbishop, patriarch, or pope : 6. Each province before Constantine's time was independent of all others, as each parish or bishop's charge was previous to provincial synods : 7. New arrangement under Constantine. Hence diocesses, and primates, and patriarchs. Powers of these severally. The bishop of Rome had not the charge of a whole diocess : 8. Origin of diocesses, and of exarchs or patriarch. Fourth canon of the first Council of Nice. Sixth canon. Remarks on them. Opinion of the Synod of Carthage. The second general council perhaps introduced the diocesses and patriarchates. It obtained after the Nicene Council. Appeal of Cyril. Was probably introduced without special law. Canon second of Constant. confirms it in 383. Intimated in the Council of Ephesus in 431. Instances of authority gained by assumption and concession. Assumption of Innocent I. in 402. Council of Sardis in 347. The diocesan form was established in the time of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Its ninth, seventeenth, and twenty-eighth canons cited : 9. Some churches continued independent of any patriarchs for a long time. Such was the African, British, and Irish churches : 10. Steps by which the bishops of Rome arrived at the supremacy. Ten observations on this : 11. Conclusions from the foregoing.

Observations on the origin, growth, and establishment of metropolitical, primatical, and patriarchal jurisdictions.

We will confine our remarks on this head to that particular part of the ancient discipline of the church which refers to the supremacy, as the subject would be too ample to treat it at large, as well as unnecessary to our present purpose.

We shall maintain the following proposition, as it will embrace what

* Soz., iii, 8.

† Baron. Annal., ann. 39, sec. 10.

pertains to the supremacy : *That all ecclesiastical presidencies, or subordinations of some bishops or chief pastors over others in spiritual affairs, were introduced merely by human ordinances, and established by law and custom, for prudential reasons, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances.* In confirmation of the foregoing proposition, the following reasons are offered :—

1. At first each church was settled apart, under its own bishop or chief pastor and presbyters. This applies to the age immediately succeeding the apostles.

During the three first centuries no other degrees were known in the hierarchy except bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The council of the bishop was composed of the presbyters and deacons, who were also his assistants and counsellors. As such they are viewed by Ignatius,* and Jerome.† This order was probably introduced in conformity to the Jewish synagogue ; for each synagogue had its ruler, who presided over the rest, its pastors, and its dispensers of alms. To the ruler succeeded the bishop, to the pastors the presbyters, and to the eleemosynaries the deacons.

2. Every church, under its own bishop, presbyters, and deacons, was independent of all other churches, and managed its own concerns, uncontrolled by others. Each was *αυτοκεφαλός*, governed by its own head ; and *αυτονομός*, had its own laws. They made such regulations concerning discipline and government as they judged expedient or proper, without the concurrence or authority of other churches.‡ But did any bishop neglect to uphold the true doctrine, or to maintain charity and peace toward other churches, he was liable to be disowned by other bishops as a good Christian, and rejected from communion, together with his church, if it adhered to him in his heresy or misconduct. However, in all matters of moment, the bishops used to advise with one another ; especially with those of the same province, who frequently met to settle ecclesiastical affairs within their respective provinces. In the bishop's parish, the consent of the people was duly regarded.§ The bounds of a bishop's charge were called a *parish* or *neighbourhood*, embracing a town or city and its vicinity. The division into diocesses was of subsequent origin.

3. Afterward, several churches combined together, and formed a kind of ecclesiastical confederacy. These synods or assemblies were composed of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and laymen representing their several churches.|| They met by their own appointment and authority, without any interference of magistrates. Being assembled, they chose in the first place one, and sometimes two bishops, to preside.¶ It was their duty to see the point in question calmly and fairly debated, to sum up in each debate what had been urged by both sides, to take the votes of the members of the council or synod, and, last of all, to give their own.** In these assemblies all matters were decided by a majority of votes, and their decrees were binding only on those churches whose representatives were present.††

* Epist. to the Smyrneans.

† Hieron. in c. ii, Isa.

‡ Cypr., ep. 55, 72, 52, 73, 76.

§ Cypr., ep. 18, 28, 40, 46 ; Barrow, p. 244.

|| Cypr., ep. 14, 26, 31, 76.

Also Barrow, pp. 245, 246 ; Euseb., v, c. 16, and vii, c. 30.—Act. Conc. Carth. apud Cypr.

¶ Euseb., v, 23, 24.

** Act. Conc. Carth. apud Cypr.

†† Cypr., ep. 59.

Such was the character of the hierarchy during the greater part of the first three centuries. But in the fourth, and following centuries, great alterations were made in the church, adapting her government to that of the state ; namely, to the new government introduced by Constantine, who modelled anew the government and discipline of the church. For it was in his reign that the titles of patriarchs, exarchs, and metropolitans were first heard of, or at least had much power annexed to them.

4. In dividing provinces and diocesses, they followed the divisions of territory or jurisdiction already established in the civil state. That this conformity between the civil and ecclesiastical polity may be seen more clearly, we shall premise a brief account of the former as established by Constantine throughout the empire.

That prince divided the whole Roman world into four *prefectures*, viz., the *East*, *Illyricum*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, which were governed by four *prefects*, called *præfecti prætorio*.

Each prefecture was divided into several *diocesses*, and each diocess into several *provinces*.

The prefecture of the *East* contained *five diocesses*, viz. : 1. The *East*, divided into ten *provinces*. 2. *Egypt* into six. 3. *Pontus* into eleven. 4. *Asia* into ten. 5. And *Thrace* into six provinces.

Illyricum contained two *diocesses*, viz. : 1. *Macedon*, consisting of eight provinces. 2. And *Dacia*, of four.

Gaul comprised three diocesses, viz. : 1. *Gaul*, including seventeen provinces. 2. *Spain*, of seven. 3. And *Britain*, of five.

The prefecture of *Italy* was divided into two *vicarages* or *lieutenancies* ; the one of *Rome*, under the vicar of Rome, comprehending ten provinces, called the *suburbicarian* provinces. The other was called the *vicarage of Italy*, containing seven provinces, governed by the vicar of Italy, who resided at *Milan*, whence they were simply called, *provinces of Italy*. Under the prefect of Italy was likewise *West Africa*, and, after Constantine's death, *West Illyricum*.

Each diocess had its metropolis, and likewise each province.

The ecclesiastical arrangement, in most places, answered to the civil in every respect ; so that one bishop was raised above others, according to the rank of his city. Thus the chief cities of the oriental five diocesses were, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*, *Cesarea*, and *Heraclæa*. The bishops of these cities were exalted above all other bishops, and distinguished by the name of *exarchs*. In like manner, the bishop of the metropolis of each province was honoured with the title of metropolitan, to which were annexed several privileges.

The prefecture of *Illyricum* had but one exarch, the bishop of *Thessalonica*. In the prefecture of *Gaul* there was no exarch, but in the two diocesses of *Gaul* and *Spain* there were as many metropolitans as provinces.

The bishop of *Rome* enjoyed all the privileges of a metropolitan over all the bishops of the provinces subject to the vicar of the city, or the *suburbicarian* provinces, as they are called by Ruffin, to the number of ten, and whose names are *Campania*, *Apulia*, *Lucania*, *Etruria*, *Umbria*, *Picenum*, *Suburbicarium*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and *Valeria*. In like manner the bishop of *Milan* exercised the power of a metropolitan over all the bishops under the vicar of Italy. But the

power of both the Roman and Italian bishops was confined within the limits of their respective vicarages. As neither had the charge of a whole diocess, they were not, like the eastern bishops, distinguished with the title of exarch, to which they had no right, as they were only metropolitans. However, the power of the bishop of Rome exceeded most other metropolitans within the bounds of his jurisdiction, embracing the ten *suburbicary* provinces of Rome; or, in other words, the provinces immediately in the vicinage of Rome, and of which Rome was the metropolis.

In Africa the ecclesiastical polity varied from the civil. Carthage was the metropolis of all West Africa, and the bishop of that city the primate and exarch. But in the other five provinces, the senior bishop enjoyed the title and powers of metropolitan. And hence it happened that bishops of different cities, within the same province, acted as metropolitans.

When one province was divided into two, which often happened, the ecclesiastical polity was also altered, and the bishop of the new metropolis was made a metropolitan. Several instances could be given, of ambitious bishops applying to the emperors for a division of the province, that their city might become a metropolis, and they of course metropolitans. When Byzantium was declared the metropolis of another empire, the exarchate of Heraclea was, by that change, transferred from Heraclea to the new metropolis; so that the bishop of Heraclea became suffragan to the bishop of Byzantium or Constantinople. Upon the division of a province the churches were also divided, and the bishop of the new metropolis became the metropolitan of the churches in the new province.

It was indeed the general rule to graduate the scale of ecclesiastical dignity by the secular government. This was first accomplished by Constantine, and continued by his successors, and subsequently was authorized by several councils, both general and provincial. Thus the ninth canon of the Council of Antioch declares: "The bishops in every province ought to know, that the bishop residing in the metropolis doth undertake the care of all the province; because all that have business do meet together in the metropolis; whence it hath been ordained, that he should preside in honour, and that the bishops should do nothing extraordinary without him; according to a more ancient canon holding from our fathers."* The two councils of Chalcedon and Trulla ordained, "If by royal authority any city be, or should hereafter be re-established, the order of the churches shall be according to the civil and public form."†

Some writers, as Petrus de Marca, Christianus Lupus, Schelstrat, and Leo Allatius, Roman Catholic writers, have maintained that these ecclesiastical dignities owe their origin to Christ or his apostles. But they are confuted by Du Pin.‡ Indeed, it is evident from the conformity between the political and ecclesiastical state of the empire, as established by Constantine, that the church was formed according to his plan; and, consequently, that such dignities are not of divine, but human institution. Besides, it cannot be proved from Scripture, that

* Syn. Ant., can. 9.

† Conc. Chal., can. 17; Conc. Trull., can. 28.

‡ Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccles. Discip., dis. i, n. 6.

one bishop or chief pastor had more power than another, or any power at all over the others.

5. For the sake of order, in all provincial synods, one was called on to preside, who was called *metropolitan*, *archbishop*, *patriarch*, or *pope*. The apostolical canons* call him the *first bishop*. The African synods call him *primus* or *primate*.† Other ancient synods gave him the name of *metropolite*, and to the metropolitans of the principal cities they gave the name of *archbishop*.

6. Each province, before the time of Constantine, was independent of all others, as each parish or church was, previous to the existence of provincial synods.

Each province was *αυτοκεφαλός*, *independent* of all others in ecclesiastical administration; each reserving to itself the constitution of bishops, the convocation of synods, the enacting of canons, the decision of causes, the definition of questions, the trying of appeals, &c. Yet each province held peaceful correspondence with others, on such terms as formerly each *παροικία*, *paroikia*, *parish*, or pastoral or episcopal district, held intercourse with its neighbours.

Whoever in these provinces did not submit to the decisions of these assemblies was deemed schismatical, contentious, and contumacious; because he refused to submit to a discipline conducive to the public good, and by rejecting such decisions, he did, in effect, refuse all good terms of communion and peace.

Thus the metropolitanical government was introduced by human prudence, for the sake of public utility. It was not instituted by the apostles, because it does not suit the state of things in their times, and the constitution of the apostolical churches. The natural course of events in the church seem to have run into this channel before it was established by general consent.

Such was the state of the church in 325, when the Council of Nice sat.‡ The whole church then was a body consisting of several confederations of bishops, acting in behalf of their churches, under their respective metropolitans, who managed the common affairs in each province. Such was the state of the church to which the apostolical canons and constitutions refer, which agree with the times in which they were framed. The practice of ancient synods accords with this state of things.

Such was the state of the church when the Council of Nice, backed by the imperial authority, confirmed those regulations as they found them in most provinces, reducing them to more uniform practice; so that what formerly stood upon reason, usage, particular consent, became universal law, and obtained so great veneration as afterward by some to be considered as everlastingly and immutably obligatory.

7. The new dignities or degrees added to the ancient hierarchy of the church, in the fourth and following centuries, were those of *metropolitan*, *primate*, *archbishop*, *exarch*, and *patriarch*. These titles were not bare names of honour, but had several rights or prerogatives connected with them.

The title of *metropolitan* was given to the bishop of the chief

* Canon 27. † *Primus provincæ*, Con. Afric., canon 19, 39, dist. xcix, cap. 3.

‡ Can. Apost. 38. Syn. Nic., can. 5. Syn. Antioch., can. 20. Tertul. de Jej., cap. 13.

city of a province, and likewise that of *primate*, he being *primus*, or *first* of the province ; but, in process of time, the title *primus* or *primate* was restrained to the bishop of some great cities. The title of *archbishop* was originally bestowed on metropolitans only of great eminence ; but in the eighth century it began to be given indifferently to all metropolitans, and even to some bishops distinguished by no other title.

As the bishop of the metropolis of a province was called metropolitan, so the bishop of the metropolis of a diocese was called *exarch* ; which title, however, was sometimes given to metropolitans.

The title of *patriarch* was at first common to all bishops, but afterward confined to the exarchs ; and, lastly, to the bishops of the five following cities : *Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem*. It was first bestowed on the bishop of Rome by the Council of Chalcedon, after it had been long common to all the exarchs of the East, as Du Pin shows.*

According to Constantine's arrangement, each diocese, consisting of several provinces, an ecclesiastical *exarch*,† sometimes called a *primate* or *diocesan*,‡ sometimes a *patriarch*,§ was constituted, answering to the civil exarch of a diocese.

The metropolitans or primates had, by their prerogative, a right to ordain the bishops of their respective provinces, to convene provincial synods, and to superintend the whole province.

The ordaining of bishops was a privilege common to the metropolitan, with the other bishops of the same province, but with this difference, that the presence, or at least the consent and approbation, of the metropolitan was necessary. For, according to the fourth and sixth canons of the Council of Nice, " he who was not ordained or approved by the metropolitan, was not a lawful bishop." This privilege was confirmed to the metropolitan by many subsequent councils, as Arles, Laodicea, Carthage, Chalcedon, Ephesus,|| and many others. However, in the fifth century, the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople began, in the East, to pretend that no bishops ought to be ordained in their respective dioceses, without their knowledge, consent, and approbation. And the Roman patriarch, still more ambitious, claimed a right to ordain all the bishops in the western provinces.

The second privilege of the metropolitans gave them a right to summon the bishops of their respective provinces to meet when they thought proper ; to appoint the time and place of their meeting ; to preside in their synods, and to punish such as did not, without cause, comply with their summons.

The superintendence of the metropolitans over their provinces implied : *First*. That all the complaints and contests among the bishops of his province were to be brought to their tribunal, and there heard, judged, and determined, not by the metropolitan alone, but by him and the other bishops of the province, in a provincial synod. Innumerable instances of cases of this kind might be cited. *Secondly*. The metropolitans had a right to receive appeals from the sentence of inferior

* Du Pin, c. 6, n. 5.

† Syn. Chalc., act. x, p. 388.

‡ Διοικητής.—Epist. Orient. ad Rufum. in Syn. Eph., p. 396. Dist. xcix, c. 1, 2.

§ Syn. Chalc., act. 2, p. 211. Evagr., iii, 6.

|| Concil. Arles, can. 50. Laod., can. 12. Carth., can. 12. Eph., act. 4, &c.

bishops; and, with the other bishops, to confirm or reverse their decrees. And, *lastly*, he was to watch over the bishops of his province, and see that they discharged the duties of their office. These privileges were granted to the metropolitans, in express terms, by innumerable councils, to cite which would be too tedious.

The *exarchs*, or *patriarchs*, or *diocesans*, were empowered to ordain the metropolitans, convene diocesan synods, and to have a general superintendence over their respective dioceses, as the metropolitans had over their respective provinces, or the bishop over his parish.*

The bishop of Rome had not the charge of a whole diocess, and was not therefore, properly speaking, exarch, or patriarch. His jurisdiction did not extend beyond the limits of the vicarage of Rome, or the ten suburbicarian provinces; and no instance can be produced of metropolitans or bishops ordained by him, out of these provinces, till the time of Valentinian III., and after the year 422. Even in the vicarage of Italy, the metropolitan of each province ordained all the bishops in his province, and were ordained themselves by the bishops of their province. But over the suburbicarian provinces, the bishops of Rome exercised greater authority than the exarchs of the East did over the provinces of their dioceses. For the latter left the ordination of the bishops to their metropolitans; whereas the former ordained not only the bishops of the metropolitan cities, but the bishops of the ten provinces of the vicarage of Rome. The reason of this was, because the provinces had no metropolitans to whom the right belonged; so that the prerogatives of the metropolitans were vested in the bishop of Rome alone. As there were no exarchs or patriarchs in the West, the bishops of each province were, by several councils, vested with the power of ordaining their own metropolitans. And that they were thus ordained in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *West Africa*, admits of no dispute.† And yet the advocates of the see of Rome maintain, that the bishops of that city have a divine right to ordain all metropolitans throughout the Christian world, by themselves, their vicars, or delegates. To maintain this right against the testimony of facts, they tell us that the popes, for some ages, neglected to exercise this power. But from this charge all mankind will clear them, it being too well known, that they never neglected the least opportunity of exerting to the utmost the power they had, and of usurping the power they had not. Indeed, the popes never knew of such right, till they were told it by their flattering divines. At least, Leo, surnamed the Great, did not, for, in one of his letters to the bishops of Gaul, he disclaims the right of ordaining bishops in that diocess.‡ To conclude, the bishop of Rome was the only metropolitan in that vicarage, and as such, had a right to ordain all the bishops in the suburbicarian provinces, or the provinces subject to the civil vicar of Rome. But, for a considerable space of time, there is no instance of their ordaining either bishops or metropolitans out of the vicarage of Rome.

8. And here we may inquire into the origin and establishment of diocesses, and of *exarchs*, or *patriarchs*.

It is proper to remark, that the diocess comprised many provinces;

* Zan. ad 28 can. Concil. Chalc. Novell., cxxxvii, cap. 5, and cxxiii, cap. 10. Greg. I., ep. 11, 56. Isid. dist. xxi, cap. 1.

† Du Pin, diss. i, n. 13.

‡ Leo Magnus, ep. 89.

the provinces many parishes ; and the parish was the territory superintended by the bishop, or chief pastor, under whom were placed presbyters and deacons, as his assistants.

Some suppose that the Council of Nice established dioceses, and appointed or regulated the exarchs or patriarchs. But this is not likely, because that council was held about the time of that division, and could scarcely take notice of so recent a change. The following are the canons of this council on this point.

Canon 4. "A bishop should be ordained by all the bishops of a province, if it can be done ; but if it be too difficult to assemble them all, either because of an urgent necessity, or because of their great distance, he may be ordained by three bishops, provided that those who are absent be willing, and consent by their letters, that this ordination should be made ; but the validity of what is done in the province depends on the metropolitan."

Canon 6. "We ordain that the ancient custom shall be observed which gives power to the bishop of *Alexandria* over all the provinces of Egypt, Libya, and Persepolis, because the bishop of Rome has the like jurisdiction over all the suburbicary regions. We would likewise have the rights and privileges of the church of Antioch, and the other churches, preserved, but these rights ought not to prejudice those of the metropolitans. If any one is ordained without the consent of the metropolitan, the council declares that he is no bishop, but if any one is canonically chosen by the suffrage of almost all the bishops of the province, and if there are but one or two of a contrary opinion, the suffrages of the far greater number ought to carry it for the ordination of those particular persons."

We quote here the remarks of Du Pin on these two canons :* "The sixth canon preserves to great sees their ancient privileges, that is, the jurisdiction or authority which they had over many provinces, which was afterward called the jurisdiction of the patriarch, or exarch. In this sense it is, that it compares the church of Rome to the church of Alexandria, by considering them all as patriarchal churches. It continues also to the church of Antioch, and all the other great churches, whatsoever rights they could have ; and, lest their authority should be prejudicial to the ordinary metropolitans, who were subject to their jurisdiction, the council confirms what had been ordained in the fourth canon concerning the authority of the metropolitans in the ordination of bishops. This exposition is easy and natural, and we have given many proofs of it in our Latin dissertation concerning the ancient discipline of the church."

The Council of Nice does not pretend to innovate, but observes a studied regard for *ancient custom*, and *saving to the churches the privileges* of which they are possessed, as appears from the 18th, 6th, and 7th canons. The council mentions only provinces, and represents the metropolitans as the chief governors in them. The council supposes the decision of weighty causes in provincial synods, which is inconsistent with diocesan authority. The council takes no notice of Constantinople, the principal diocese of the East, as the seat of the empire. The Council of Antioch, canon 19, following the footsteps of the Nicene

* *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 600.

Council, mentions only metropolitans, and the Synod of Laodicea, held A. D. 370, canon 12th, supposes only that order. In short, the Council of Nice is not recorded by any old historian as having framed the alteration providing for diocesses and exarchs or patriarchs. At the utmost, it can only be said to secure the rights of metropolitans against encroachments, which shortly after terminated in the establishment of the diocess and exarch.

The second general council, held at Constantinople, A. D. 383, seems to refer to this division of diocesses, whether they introduced it or not. They made some innovation in the form of government, corresponding to the political arrangement. They expressly use the new word *diocess* according to the civil sense, as distinct from a province. They name distinctly the particular diocesses of the oriental empire, as they stood in the civil establishment. They prescribe that the bishops of each diocess should confine themselves to their own diocess, and not go out of its bounds to ordain or meddle with the affairs of the churches in another diocess.* They order a kind of appeal from a provincial to a diocesan synod, as appears from the sixth canon of the council, which says: "The accusation of a bishop shall be carried to the bishops of his own province. But if it so happen that the bishops of any province cannot rectify those things which are laid to the charge of a bishop, they shall then go to a greater synod of the bishops of that diocess, met together for that purpose."† Historians report, that the fathers of this council did *distinguish* and *distribute diocesses*, that they *constituted patriarchs*, &c.‡

It is probable that this form crept in soon after the Synod of Nice, without any solemn appointment, by assumption and submission, accommodated to the political course; the greater bishops being advanced in interest and reputation by the wealth and power of their cities, assuming such authority to themselves, and the inferior bishops easily complying. Of this we have some proofs. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, being deposed by Acacius, metropolitan of Palestine, *appealed to a greater judicatory*.§ He is the first, as Socrates says, who had recourse to an appeal. It seems there was no higher tribunal in being than the provincial synod, until that time, which was some years before the Synod of Constantinople, in which there is mention made of *a greater synod of the diocess*. The second canon of the Council of Constantinople speaks of *bishops over diocesses*, as already in existence, and regulates practice accordingly, forbidding bishops to go out of the bounds of their diocess so as to meddle with the affairs of other diocesses. The council also ordered *appeals to the synod of a diocess*.

This form of government is intimated in the Synod of Ephesus, held in 431, in their eighth canon: "And the same shall be observed in all diocesses and all provinces everywhere."||

Many instances might be given of authority gained by assumption and concession, without law. For instance, the see of Constantinople assumed to itself ordination and other acts of jurisdiction, in three diocesses, before any such power was granted to it by any synodical de-

* Concil. Const. i, can. 2.

† Conc. Const., can. 6.

‡ Theod., v, 9. Also, ep. 86, ad Flavianum. Socr., v, 8.

§ *Μεῖζον επικαλεσατο δικαστηριον.*—Socr., ii, 40.

|| Syn. Eph., can. 8.

Some instances are alleged in the Synod of Chalcedon.* Of Chrysostom it is there said, "That going into Asia, he deposed fifteen bishops, and consecrated others in their room."† He also deposed Gerontius, bishop of Nicomedia, belonging to the diocese of Pontus‡ Hence the fathers of Chalcedon asserted, "That they had, in a synod, confirmed the ancient custom which the holy church of Christ in Constantinople had, to ordain metropolitans in the Asian, Pontic, and Thracian dioceses." This custom was, therefore, established by the Council of Chalcedon.§ The most perfect instances, however, are those of the Roman, Alexandrine, and Antiochian churches, which, by degrees, assumed to themselves power over divers provinces. The other diocesan bishops, in imitation of them, also enlarged their jurisdiction.

Another notable instance of assumption we have in Innocent I., who was elected pope in 402, and died on the 12th of March, 417. In his letters, he lays claim to the *primacy* on the ground of *divine right*, which was an entirely new position. Mr. Bowers, in his History of the Popes,|| says concerning him: "He was generally esteemed a man of good parts, and well acquainted with the laws and traditions of the church. Hence he was frequently consulted by the western, sometimes by the eastern bishops, in points both of faith and discipline. Of this general esteem, and the deference that was thereupon paid to his decisions, he took advantage to lay down, with an air of authority, and as undoubted truths, many false, groundless, and dangerous maxims, all tending to the diminution of the episcopal power, and the advancement of the papal. The dignity of the apostolic see was, as we have seen, the burden of almost all his letters; he even improved it into a claim of supremacy; and we may say with great truth, that to him the see of Rome was more indebted for the grandeur it afterwards gained than to all his predecessors together. He formed the plan of that spiritual monarchy, which they, by constant application, established at last, in spite of the many almost insurmountable difficulties which they had to contend with. He was the first, who, changing the ancient foundation of the primacy, claimed it as the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, as he is styled, and not as the bishop of the first city, although on that consideration alone it had been granted by the councils. I said *primacy*, because the word *supremacy* was utterly unknown in those days.

The Council of Sardis, held in the year 347, had allowed in some cases, and under several restrictions, appeals to be made to the see of Rome, as hath been observed elsewhere. But Innocent, assuming to himself any branch of his authority to that of any other council, claimed by divine right the power of finally deciding all ecclesiastical questions and disputes, which was claiming, by divine right, an universal jurisdiction. It is true, no regard was had to such claims nor did Innocent dare to pursue them, being well apprized of the opposition he would meet with; he should they have made such an attempt. He therefore contented himself with laying foundations and making a great advance, as it certainly was, to have openly asserted such

* See Const. act. xv. c. 43.

† See act. vi.

‡ See act. xiv. c. 1.

§

* See act. x. c. 1.

† See Const. act. xv. c. 43.

tions, and brought the ears of men to endure them, if not their minds. Had he gone farther, he would have been stopped in his career, and it might have proved fatal to the power of Rome before it was come to an age of maturity; but that he went thus far was of great benefit to it, because it made a beginning, and furnished his successors with a pretence to plead some antiquity for the opinions and principles upon which they proceeded.

Accordingly, the decretals of Innocent are frequently quoted by the advocates for the see of Rome, to show how early the popes claimed, by divine right and as successors of St. Peter, a universal authority and jurisdiction. But if the principles on which they founded their claims were false in Innocent's time, they are still so in ours.

The exarchal or patriarchal form of government was perfectly settled in the times of the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth general council, held A. D. 451, as is evident from three notable canons thereof, viz., the 9th, 17th, and 28th.

The ninth canon says, "If any clergyman have any thing against his bishop, he should address himself to a provincial synod, or if he hath any thing to do with his metropolitan, he shall go to the exarch of the diocess."

The seventeenth canon says, "That the churches or parishes should remain under the jurisdiction of those bishops who are in possession of them, especially if they have been so for thirty years past; but if within thirty years past there hath been any dispute about them, it shall be permitted to refer themselves to the provincial synod, or if it be a bishop who is injured by his metropolitan, he may have recourse to the exarch of his diocess, or the see of Constantinople."

The twenty-eighth canon ordains, "That the church of the city of Constantinople, which is called New Rome, shall have the same privileges of old Rome, because it is the second city in the world. It also grants to the bishop of Constantinople the jurisdiction over the diocesses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and over the churches which are out of the bounds of the empire, and a right to ordain metropolitans in the provinces of their diocesses." The legates of the pope objected to the passage of the last canon; but the council nevertheless persisted in its adoption.*

This was a great privilege granted to the see of Constantinople; on which, doubtless, its bishop grounded subsequently his plea to the title of *œcumenical patriarch* or *universal bishop*; against which Gregory VII. so vigorously pleaded. Indeed, it has so much the appearance of this that the pope has nothing so favourable to his supremacy, as this is to that of Constantinople. This is a decree of the greatest council ever held among the ancients, where all the patriarchs concurred in making the decrees, which Pope Gregory *reverenced as one of the gospels*. If any ancient council did ever ordain any thing like *universal* monarchy, it was this; in which the final determination of the greatest causes was committed to the see of Constantinople, without any exception or reservation. I mean as to *semblance*: for, as to the true sense, I believe the canon refers only to emergent causes, in the East; and, probably, referred principally to the three diocesses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace.

* See Du Pin, *Ecccl. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 678.

Nicholas I. gives a strange exposition of this canon, affirming that by the primate of the diocess is understood the pope; and that an appeal is to be made to the bishop of Constantinople, only by permission, in case the party will be content therewith.*

9. Some provincial churches, it may be proper to observe, were, by ancient custom, exempt from any dependance on any primacy or patriarchate.

Such a one was the Cyprian church in the estimation of the Council of Ephesus, which maintained the privileges of such churches against the encroachments of greater churches, by enacting in her eighth canon, "Let the same be observed in all diocesses and provinces everywhere—that none of the bishops, most beloved of God, invade another province, which did not formerly belong to him or his predecessors; and if any one have invaded one, and violently seized it, that he restore it."

Such was the church of Africa, as appears from the canons against transmarine appeals and other matters.

The Irish were independent of the see of Rome in 614. For in that year they continued to defend the *Three Chapters*, as is evident from the letter which the famous Irish monk, Columbanus, wrote in that year to Pope Boniface IV. In it he supposes Vigilius, who condemned these chapters, to have died a heretic. He faults Boniface for condemning the *chapters*. In the close of his long letter he says: "If it is true that you have swerved from the true faith, you complain without reason of your children who oppose you, and even exclude you from their communion. In that case they have a right to do so; though they become thereby the head and you are turned into the tail." This letter was first published by Usher, and afterward by father Fleming, an Irish Franciscan at Louvain, with other pieces ascribed to Columbanus. They have since been published in the collection of fathers, published at Lyons.†

In the year 601 the British churches were not subject to the see of Rome. When Austin, the monk, visited Britain, the churches of that island were not subject to the pope. That the Britons did not think Rome had any authority over them, is manifest from their peremptorily refusing to receive for their archbishop or primate the person whom the pope had placed over them in this capacity. In what other manner could they disown the papal authority, at such a distance from Rome? The British churches, and those which were not within the bounds of the four great patriarchates, were governed by their metropolitans, were independent of the patriarchs, and were therefore called by the Greeks *Αυτοκεφαλοι*. Such were the churches of Cyprus, Iberia, Gaul, Spain, Armenia, Africa, &c. The patriarchal power of the pope in the time of Gregory the Great was confined to the suburbicarian provinces, as has been proved by Du Pin.‡

How destitute of foundation therefore is the declaration of Pope Nicholas II., who died in 1061, as Gratian cites him: "That the church of Rome instituted all patriarchal supremacies, all metropolitan primacies, episcopal sees, all ecclesiastical orders and dignities whatever."§

* P. Nich. I., ep. 8, p. 207.

† Bibl. veter. Patr., tom. xii, edit. Leyden.

‡ De Antiq. Ecc. Discip., diss. i, p. 73.

§ Omnes sive patriarchæ cujuslibet apices, sive metropolitani primatus, aut episcopo-

10. We are now prepared to present the *outlines* or *steps* by which the bishops of Rome arrived at the exercise of the supremacy; and the manner in which they assumed authority, and evaded obstacles.

(1.) In the discipline which authorized patriarchal power, there was no canon establishing any peculiar privilege to the bishop of Rome, except such as the bishop of Alexandria had in Egypt. This was established by the Council of Nice in 325. It was not given by divine right, but by *ἡ ἀρχαία*, *ancient customs*.

(2.) The Council of Constantinople, in 381, allowed the bishop of Rome *τα πρωτεία καὶ ἐξαιρετὸς τιμὴ*, *honorary privileges* and *precedency*, before all other bishops, assigning the next place after him to the bishop of Constantinople.

(3.) The Council of Chalcedon granted *ἰσα πρεσβεία*, *equal privileges*, to the see of Constantinople, with Rome.

(4.) The canons of the first, second, and fourth general councils, referring all causes to metropolitan or diocesan synods, exclude the Roman bishop from meddling in their affairs, and therefore destroy the supremacy of the pope.

Consequently the popes did not relish these canons, though enacted by councils which themselves have admitted as general, and therefore infallible. Pope Leo I. speaks as follows, concerning the second general council when writing to Anatolius: "That subscription of some bishops, made above sixty years since, as you boast, does no whit favour your persuasion; a subscription which was never transmitted to the knowledge of the apostolic see by your predecessors, which being weak from its very beginning, and long since tottering, you endeavour in vain now to revive."* And Gregory, speaking of the same, says: "That the Roman Church does not possess the acts of that synod, nor receive its canons."†

(5.) Consequently, in the West, the canons of the first, second, and fourth general councils had no effect so as to establish there diocesan primacies. The bishops of cities which were heads of provinces, either knew little of these canons, because Rome prevented much notice of them, or they were hindered from using them, the pope having so managed matters as to control them.

(6.) Indeed, it turned to the advantage of the pope, in carrying on his encroachments, that the western churches did not, as the eastern, conform themselves to the civil government, in establishing diocesan primacies; as these would have enabled them to protect themselves and their churches from papal invasions. A Roman synod, A. D. 378, consisting of Italian bishops, did give the pope such privileges as the Council of Constantinople gave that see. But there is a great difference between a general council and an Italian synod; and what had a

tuum cathedras, vel ecclesiarum cujuslibet ordines dignitates instituit Romana ecclesia.
—*P. Nick. II., Dist. xxii, c. 1.*

* *Persuasioni enim tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur quorundam episcoporum ante sexaginta, ut jactas annos facta subscriptio unam quamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad apostolicæ sedis transmissa notitiam, sui ab initio sui caducæ, dudumque collapsæ sera nunc et inutilia subjicere fomenta valuisti.*—*P. Leo I., ep. 53, ad Anatal. Vide ep. 54, 55, 61.*

† *Romana autem ecclesia eosdem canones vel gesta synodi illius hecenus non habet, nec accepit.*—*Greg. Mag., ep. vi, 31, ad Eulog. Alex.*

Roman synod to do in prescribing to all the provinces of the Roman empire, or even to all the West?

(7.) Hence, for want of a better claim, the pope assumed to himself a patriarchal authority over the western churches; pretending a right to call synods, to interfere in ordinations, to determine causes by appeal to him, to dictate laws and rules to the churches, contrary to the old rights of metropolitans, and the later regulations for primacies or patriarchates. Of this we have an instance in Gregory the Great, where he alleges an imperial constitution, importing that in case a clergyman should appeal from his metropolitan, "the cause should be referred to the archbishop and patriarch of that diocese, who, judging according as the canons and laws, should decide the case." The pope then adroitly transfers the appeal from the bishop to himself, as patriarch general of the world, by saying: "If against these things it be said, that the bishop had neither a metropolitan nor a patriarch, it is to be said that this cause was to be heard and decided by the apostolic see, which is the head of all churches."*

(8.) After the pope had extended his authority beyond the bounds of his *suburbicarian precincts*,† he also stretched it beyond the privileges granted by ecclesiastical law to patriarchs, or claimed or exercised by them, till, at length, he advanced so far as to enslave entirely the western churches. This will be evident by comparing the exercise of papal authority with that granted, claimed, or exercised by exarchs, or patriarchs, or diocesans.

The patriarch was authorized to call a synod of the bishops of his diocese, and with them to determine ecclesiastical affairs by a majority of votes. The pope does not do so; but, placing himself in his chair, with counsellors of his own selection, makes decrees to which he requires all to submit.

The exarch ordained metropolitans duly elected in the provincial synods of his diocese, leaving bishops to be ordained by the metropolitans in their provincial synods. But the pope interferes with the ordination of every bishop, suffering none to be ordained without his confirmation, for which, too, he receives ample pecuniary remuneration.

The patriarch, with the advice and consent of his diocesan synod, made canons for the well ordering of his diocese. But the pope issues his *Decretal Letters*, composed by his secretary, which must have the force of laws, equal to the declarations of Scripture, or the highest decrees of the whole church.

The patriarch supposed bishops sufficiently obliged, by their ordination, to render to their patriarch due respect, according to the canons. But the pope requires all bishops to take the most slavish oath of obedience.

The patriarchal regimen required that bishops, accused of offences, should be judged in their own provinces, or, by appeal, in patriarchal or diocesan synods. But the pope receives appeals without any previous trial, and determines them in his court without calling any synod.

* Contra hæc si dictum fuerit, quia nec metropolitam habuit, nec patriarcham: dicendum est quia a sede apostolica, quæ omnium ecclesiarum caput est, causa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat.—*Greg. I.*, ep. xi. 56.

† Ruffin. Hist., i, 6.

The ancient patriarchs ordered all things with the leave and in submission to the emperor ; but the pope decrees what he pleases, without the leave and against the will of princes.

Hence we infer, that the pope is not patriarch of the western churches, because he acts according to no patriarchal rule ; but he is a sovereign lord, or a tyrannical oppressor of the churches.

(9.) In all ecclesiastical transactions, the pope was never allowed any dominion over his fellow-patriarchs. On account of the dignity of his city, he did, indeed, obtain a priority of honour or place. But he never had any power over them by law or canon, or by clear incontestible practice. Hence, if any of them had erred in faith, or offended in practice, it was requisite to call a general council to judge them, as in the cases of Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Maximus, Theophilus, Chrysostom, Nestorius, Dioscorus, &c.

(10.) Indeed, all the oriental churches kept themselves pretty free from the pope's encroachments. But when he became very powerful and opulent in the West, he frequently made attempts on their liberty. Sometimes they warily warded off his attacks, sometimes they vigorously opposed him. On the whole, the eastern churches maintained a distinct administration from the western churches, under their own patriarchs and synods, not suffering the pope to interfere to the prejudice of their liberties.* Hence, without the knowledge or leave of the pope, they called and held councils, ordained, and confirmed the ordinations of bishops ; they decided appeals among themselves, corrected heresies, &c. In all this, they had little regard to the pope, except to maintain general communion and correspondence with him, as with other patriarchal bishops ; and sometimes, when an ambitious pope, on some differences among them, would interfere in controlling their affairs, they would vigorously resist him. So Victor, Stephen, Julius, and Liberius of old felt their resistance ; so, afterward, Damasus and other popes, in the case of Flavianus ; Innocent, in the case of Chrysostom ; Felix and his successors, in the case of Acacius. In this manner they proceeded, until a final rupture took place between the oriental churches and the pope, after which they would not suffer him to meddle in any manner with their affairs.

11. We shall now briefly draw a few *corollaries* or *conclusions* from the historical account of the origin and growth of metropolitan and patriarchal jurisdiction.

(1.) Patriarchs are a human invention.

(2.) As they were erected by the prudence and power of men, so they may be dissolved by human power.

(3.) The patriarchate of the pope, beyond his own province or diocese, does not subsist by the authority of any canon of a general council.

(4.) He can, therefore, claim no such power, except by assumption and usurpation.

(5.) The primates and metropolitans of the western churches cannot be supposed to have submitted to such an authority as he usurps, except by fear or force.

(6.) It is not really a patriarchal power, such as that granted by the

* Vide de Marca., lib. vii, c. 4, 5.

canons and Christian princes, but another sort of power, that the popes exercise.

(7.) The most legitimate patriarch, holding false doctrine, or imposing unjust laws, or tyrannically abusing his power, might be deposed from his office, and refused communion.

(8.) The truth, practice, transmission, or utility of Christianity does not depend on the existence or continuance of any such form instituted by man.

Thus we have given an account of the ecclesiastical organization which was settled in the fourth and following centuries; the knowledge whereof is absolutely necessary for the right understanding of the supremacy of the pope. For it was not at once, but by degrees, and with great opposition, that the bishops of Rome, extending their authority beyond the limits of the Roman vicarage, acquired the unlimited power they now enjoy, with the arrogant title of *universal bishop*.

CHAPTER X.

SUPREMACY—CONTINUED.

ITS ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT. 1. The deference paid to eminence of any kind: 2. The natural tendency of power to grow and establish itself: 3. Spiritual power especially: 4. Dissensions among Christians furnish an occasion: 5. By those who received privileges from its extension: 6. The want of scruple in good men to increase their power: 7. The commendations of inferiors: 8. The little counteraction which a few good men can bring: 9. The ambiguity of words; instances, in the words bishop, head, successor, authority, judge, catholic, &c.: 10. By appeals: 11. Favour of princes: 12. Influence of the bishops with the emperors: 13. Residence of the pope near the imperial throne: 14. Favourable opportunities for its growth: 15. Ignorance of the times: 16. Supporting the factious clergy against the throne: 17. His headship: 18. The bands of monks: 19. Wealth of the pope: 20. By interested and mercenary writers: 21. By the employ of the temporal and spiritual power: 22. The forgery of the decretal epistles: 23. By subservient synods: 24. The episcopal oath: 25. By concordates: 26. Revoking pragmatic sanctions: 27. By absolving from oaths: 28. Origin of its formal establishment. Title universal, by Phocas, in 606 or 607. Pepin's grant in 754. Grant of Charlemagne in 774: 29. Obj. "*When, where, and by whom was the supremacy established?*" answered.

HAVING shown that the universal sovereignty of the bishops of Rome over the Christian church hath no foundation in Scripture, or any other adequate support, it will be requisite to show by what ways and means so groundless a claim should gain belief and secure submission from so considerable a portion of Christendom. We shall therefore trace out the origin, progress, and establishment of the papacy. It commenced from the smallest beginnings and progressed to the highest degree that man ever attained to. Nor will this appear wonderful if we consider the many causes which contributed thereto, some of which are presented in the following observations:—

1. The foundation may rest in the voluntary deference paid to eminence of any kind.

For eminence of any kind, whether of wealth, honour, reputation, place, or mere order of dignity, may easily secure advantages of real power over those who are inferior in these respects, and have any

dealings with such superiors. To persons endowed with these advantages, the managing of affairs is voluntarily conceded, and this management remains in their hands, so long as they retain such advantages. Then from *custom* arises the claim of *right*.

Advantages of wealth and honour are not only instruments to obtain, but incentives to spur men to obtain, authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours. For men will not be content with bare eminence, but will desire real power and sway, so as to obtain their wills over others. So the bishops of Constantinople and of Jerusalem, at first, had only privileges of honour, but afterward they added power.

Now the Roman bishops, from the beginning, were eminent on many accounts. Their see was in the imperial city, the place of general resort, their people and clergy were rich, they had the greatest income to dispose of, they lived in pomp; and hence they necessarily obtained great respect and veneration, so that a preference was naturally awarded them. Hence they improved their eminence into power, and their pastoral charge into a kind of empire. Hence Socrates* observed, "That long before his time the Roman episcopacy had advanced itself beyond the priesthood into a potentacy." And he informs us† that the same happened in the church of Alexandria for the same reasons, or in imitation of such a pattern.

2. It is the natural tendency of power to grow and extend itself. It "is like the grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs." "Encroaching," says Plutarch, "is an innate disease of power."‡ Power is bold and enterprising, and any pretence will serve as a foundation for its claims. And every accession begets farther amplification.

Thus have many absolute kingdoms grown. The first chief was a leader of volunteers; hence he became a prince, with stated privileges; afterward, a monarch, invested with prerogatives; and hence he became a grand seignior, usurping absolute dominion. So did Augustus Cesar. So did Bonaparte. If you trace the foundations of most empires, the same will appear.

So the pope. The pretence of succeeding Peter; the name of the apostolic see; the precedence by reason of the imperial city; the honorary privileges allowed him by councils; the authority conferred on him by one council of revising the causes of bishops; the deference given him in repressing heresies—all these were improved in constituting him sovereign of the church.

3. Spiritual power, especially, has a tendency to grow and establish itself. It derives its authority from divine institution. It operates on the consciences of men. It is presumed unchangeable by any human power, and therefore is not subject to revolutions. It promises eternal rewards to its votaries, and pronounces endless misery on its enemies. The popes profess to derive their authority from divine institution.§ Their weapons are always sentences of Scripture. They promise remission of sins and heaven to their followers. They curse, excommunicate, and damn the opposers of their designs. They say they can never lose any power that ever belonged to their see. "The privi-

* Soer. vii, 11.

† Id. vii, 7.

‡ Plut. in Pyrrh.

§ Dist. xxi, c. 3, 3.

leges of the Roman Church," as Nicholas I. says, "can sustain no detriment."*

4. Dissensions among Christians furnished an occasion of extending the papal power. Each faction attempted to avail themselves of the powerful aid of the chief bishop of the city of Rome. Even the leader of a civil faction, when successful, is crowned with great privileges.

So on the occasion of the Arian faction, and the oppression of Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, and other bishops, the pope, by heading the catholic party, grew into power. For on this account, the Synod of Sardica decreed to him that privilege which he improved so as to make it a main engine of his elevation. And by his interfering in the dissensions raised by the Nestorians, Pelagians, Eutychians, Acacians, Monothelites, the Image-worshippers, and the Image-breakers, &c., his cause was much advanced.

5. The power of the pope was increased by those who enjoyed privileges in its extension. Thus the Roman clergy first, then the bishops of Italy, then all the clergy of the West, became engaged to support, and fortify, and enlarge the papal authority. They all shared with him in domination over the laity, and enjoying wealth, credit, support, privileges, immunities, &c.

6. Even persons, otherwise good, have little scruple to augment their power by encroachment. They esteem it laudable to magnify their office. Hence, sometimes, the worthiest men are the greatest enlargers of power. They are not so liable to be charged with ambition as others, and therefore their encroachments pass without opposition. Thus Julius I., Damasus I., Innocent I., Gregory I., and others, whom history represents as excellent persons, did, nevertheless, advance the papal grandeur. But those who most advanced the papal interest, as Leo I., Gelasius I., Nicholas I., Gregory VII., pass for the best popes among zealots. Hence the distinction between a good man, a good prince, and a good pope.

7. Another element of papal advancement is the commendations of men of inferior condition, which are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments in attestation of right. So the compliments, or terms of respect, used by Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, and others, toward popes, are drawn into an argument for papal authority, whereas the terms used by these fathers, on other occasions, manifest their judgment to be contrary to papal pretences.

8. Besides, in such cases, a few wise and good men possess but little power of counteraction. Good men, out of meekness and love of peace, and aversion to contention, are liable to yield to encroachment, and when such men yield, others are ready to follow their example. Bad men have little interest to resist, and no heart to stand for the public good. Hence so many of all sorts in all times did not resist the popes.

9. The ambiguity of words, working on the fancies of men, especially on the weak and ignorant, have contributed toward the extension of the papal power.

The word *bishop* may import any kind of oversight or inspection;

* Privilegia Romanæ ecclesiæ nullum possunt sustinere detrimentum.—P. Nick. I., ep. xxxvi.

hence Peter came to be reckoned bishop of Rome, because merely in virtue of his apostolic office he had inspection over that church, and may have exercised some episcopal acts there.

The word *head* signifies any kind of eminence; the word *prince* any priority; the word to *preside*, any kind of superiority or pre-eminence. Hence some fathers applying these to Peter, they are interpreted as making him sovereign of the apostles. And because some gave like terms to the pope, he is become superior to all bishops, though the fathers express a contrary judgment.

The word *successor* may mean any derivation of power; hence, because Peter is said by some to have founded the Church of Rome, the pope is called his successor.

The word *authority* doth often mean any kind of influence on the opinions or actions of men; hence, because the pope was sometimes desired to interpose his authority, they ascribe to him the right of commanding, although authority is sometimes opposed to command. Livy says, "Evander held those places by authority rather than by command." And Tacitus says of the German princes, "They are rather according to their authority of persuading, than power of commanding."^{*}

The word *judge* is often used for *I think, I conceive*; yet if the pope is said to have *judged* so or so, it is alleged as an argument for authoritative jurisdiction.

They are perpetually canting on the word *catholic*, so as to make it a kind of charm to weak minds. *I am a catholic*, that is, a *universal*; *therefore all I hold is true*. This is their great argument.

The popes, and their adulators, have dwelt on such terms, and interpreted certain passages of Scripture so, that Peter alone is believed to have the keys, as he alone is painted with the keys. Peter is, by Boniface VIII., blasphemously exalted "into the partnership of the undivided Trinity."[†] These arguments, for as such they use them, have had a strange influence on many men of understanding, wisdom, and integrity.

10. The pope's power was much extended by the *appeals*, or rather *importunities* of persons condemned or thrust out of their places, whether on just or unjust accounts; for finding it frequently convenient, they often applied to the pope for redress.

Several cases of persons justly condemned may be mentioned. Marcian went to Rome, and sought there for communion. Fortunatus and Felicissimus, as Cyprian relates,[‡] being condemned in Africa, fled to Rome for shelter, of which irregularity Cyprian justly complains. In like manner, Martianus and Basilides, as Cyprian also informs us,[§] being expelled from their sees, for having lapsed from the Christian faith, fled to Pope Stephen for restoration. So Maximus the Cynic, who was rejected for heterodoxy, went to Rome to obtain a testimonial for his orthodoxy; of which Basil complains. So Apiarius, being condemned in Africa for his crimes, appealed to, or rather importuned Rome for redress.

A number of cases, of those who were unjustly condemned, may be

^{*} Tac. de Mar. Germ.
[†] Ep. 68.

[†] Sexti Decret., lib. i, tit. 6, c. 17.

[‡] Cypr., ep. 68.

also mentioned. Athanasius, who was, with great partiality, condemned by the Synod of Tyre. Paulus, and other bishops, were extruded from their sees for orthodoxy. Chrysostom was condemned and expelled by Theophilus and his accomplices. Flavianus was deposed by Dioscorus and the Ephesine Council. Theodoret was condemned by the same. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, was excluded from his see by Photius. These, and many more, applied to the pope for aid.

11. Christian princes were emulous of heaping honours on the bishop of their metropolis. It seemed fitting to them, that the near relation of their bishop, as pastor, and chosen by themselves, should be second to none in point of privilege. Thus the bishop of Constantinople arose to that high pitch of honour as to be second patriarch, though at first he was a mere suffragan to the bishop of Heraclea. Royal favour is assigned by the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon for his advancement. There are many imperial edicts to this purpose, particularly one by Leo.

So the emperors usually favoured the pope, assisting him in the furtherance of his designs, extending his privileges by their edicts at home, and by letters to the eastern emperors. So in the Synod of Chalcedon, we have the letters of Valentinian, and of the empresses Placidia and Eudoxia, to Theodosius, in behalf of Pope Leo, in which they ask the extension of the honour of the Roman see. Placidia, the mother of Theodosius, says, "Seeing that it becometh us in all things to preserve the honour and dignity of this chief city, which is the mistress of all others."* So Pope Nicholas I. confesses, that "the emperors had extolled the Roman see with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefices."† Princes, who favoured them with such benefits, did not foresee the future increase of the papal power. They little thought that, in virtue of these privileges, the popes would claim equality or superiority over emperors; for the popes of these times behaved with modesty and respect to emperors.

12. The popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to suggest what they pleased to court, and therefore procure edicts directed or dictated by themselves in their favour for extending their power. Baronius‡ acknowledges this in the case of the bishops of Constantinople; for he observes, on the edict of the emperor Leo, made in their favour: "These things Leo; but questionless conceived in the words of Acacius, swelling with pride."

The same occurred in reference to the popes and Roman emperors. Such was the edict of Valentinian in favour of Pope Leo against Hilary, bishop of Arles, in an unjust cause, as Binius confesses;§ or Hilary only contested the pope's authority to undo what was done in the Gallican synod. Even Baronius|| observes: "By this, reader, thou understandest, that when the emperors ordained laws concerning religion, they did it by transcribing and enacting the laws of the church, upon the admonition of the holy bishops requiring them to do their duty." Pope Hilary also affirms: "It was also decreed by the law of Christian princes, that whatsoever the bishop of the apostolic see

* Syn. Chal., p. 27.

† P. Nicholas I., ep. 8.

‡ Annal. in ann. 473, p. 4.

§ Bm. ad P. Hil., ep. 11, p. 576.

|| Annal. ann. 458, sec. 4.

should, upon examination, pronounce concerning churches and their governors, &c., should with reverence be received and strictly observed.”* Such edicts increased the power of the popes, and what they once obtained they always retained, and increased by the higher pretension of divine immutable right. The emperor Gratian† ordered the churches to those who would communicate with Pope Damasus. This, and the like, greatly increased the authority of the pope.

13. The foundations of the papal power being thus laid, there were not wanting seasons and opportunities for its growth.

The decline of the Roman empire gave the pope an opportunity to strengthen his interests, either by approving or opposing particular measures. When the eastern emperors, chiefly by his means, were driven out of Italy, he seized a good part of it to himself, and became a temporal prince.

The popes have been the incendiaries of Christendom by stirring up wars, and by inclining to the stronger party would share with the conqueror. The pope stirred up Charles against the Lombards. They would, on spiritual pretences, interpose in all affairs. The usurpation of Pepin was allowed by the pope, in the year 752.

He pretended to dispose of kingdoms, and constitute princes; reserving, however, obeisance to himself. In the year 1060 Gregory VII. granted to Robert Guiscard Naples and Sicily, *by beneficiary right, beneficiario jure*. In the year 1139 Innocent II. gave to Roger the title of king. There is scarce any kingdom in Europe over which the popes have not claimed sovereignty by some pretence or other.

He would watch opportunities to quarrel with princes, on pretence of entrenching on his spiritual power, as about the investiture of bishops, and receiving homage from them.

History furnishes many instances of popes excommunicating princes. Gregory VII., in 1076, excommunicated Henry III. Calixtus II., in 1120, excommunicated Henry IV. Hadrian IV., in 1160, excommunicated Frederick. Celestine III., in 1195, expelled Henry V. Innocent III., in 1219, expelled Otho. Honorius III. and Gregory IX. excommunicated, in 1220, Frederick II. Paul III., in 1535 and 1538, excommunicated and damned Henry VIII., king of England. Pius V., in the year 1570, damned and excommunicated Elizabeth, queen of England.

14. The ignorance of the times greatly favoured the pope. While the supremacy was in its progress toward maturity, all the little learning of the times was principally confined to the pope’s clients, so that they could impose almost what they pleased on the ignorant people. Hence the pope’s dictates would pass for infallible oracles, and his decrees for inviolable laws, in consequence of which, veneration for him was greatly increased.

15. The pope increased his power by supporting factious churchmen against their sovereigns, upon pretence of spiritual interest and Christian liberty. For instances, we quote the case of Anselm, in the year 1109, and the case of Becket, in the year 1154.

16. By assuming to be head of the clergy, he became their patron and protector, and by this means engaged in his favour innumera-

* Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, &c.—*P. Hil.*, ep. xi, p. 576.

† *Theod.* v, 2.

ble able heads, tongues, and pens ; so that he could maintain by sellors, orators, and writers, whatever he pleased. He exempted from all control except his own.

17. The various *bands of monks* contributed to his power founded several companies of spiritual janissaries to be combated his interests. These, depending entirely on him, subsisting on charters, enjoying exemptions by his authority from other jurisdictions, being sworn to special obedience to him, were entirely at his command ready with all their might to advance his interests, and maintain his pretences. These had great sway among the people, on account of their religious guises and pretences to extraordinary heights of holiness, austerities, and contempt of the world. And as education was almost entirely confined to them, they became the chief teachers and guides of Christendom ; so that they became the principal supporters of his supremacy. They extolled his power as superior to all others. They attributed to him the attributes of omnipotency and infallibility, giving him such titles as *vice-god, spouse of the church, &c.*

18. By his great *wealth* the bishop of Rome extended his power. And he invented many methods of obtaining money.

He obtained money by dispensations for marriage within degrees forbidden, or at uncanonical times ; for vows and oaths ; for observance of fasts and abstinences ; for pluralities, non-residences ; indulgences and pardons, and freeing souls from purgatory ; reservations and dispensations of benefices not bestowed *gratis* ; consecrated presents, *annus Dei, swords, roses, Peter pence, annates, tithes, &c.* ; confirming bishops ; sending them *palls*. In the times of Henry I., of England, the bishop of York paid ten thousand pounds sterling for his *pall*. Matthew Paris says ; though Gregory I.* says : “ I forbid giving anything for the pallium.” They increased their riches by sending legates to drain money from places ; commutations of penance for money ; inviting to pilgrimages at Rome ; seizing on legacies. What vast quantities of money did all these come to ! Hence one of the many popes of Rome said, “ This fable concerning Christ is very profitable to us.”

19. He employed *interested or mercenary writers* to extend his power. By his divines, he transformed most points of divinity to favour the interests of power, reputation, and gain. Any story, by being often repeated, obtains currency. The histories of some ages were composed by the pope’s clients. For a long time, none dared to question his pretences without being called a *heretic*, and treated as such.

20. He employed the temporal and spiritual powers, i. e., kings and bishops, against each other, for his advantage. His business was to control princes and enslave bishops, or to invade or usurp the rights of both ; by the authority of princes oppressing bishops, and by the assistance of bishops matching princes. When any one opposed him, he followed his course, he incessantly and vociferously cried out, “ *St. Peter was injured.*”†

21. The forgery of the *decretal epistles* greatly promoted the supremacy, authorizing his encroachments by the suffrage of apostles and doctrine and practice. In these epistles, the ancient popes are made to speak and act according to these high pretences of the more recent popes.

* Ep. iv, 44.

† P. Nich. I., ep. 37.

popes, devised long after the times of the ancient popes, and of which they never thought. A great part of the canon law is extracted out of these epistles and grounded on them. The donation of Constantine, fictitious acts of councils, and the like, did the pope much service. Also legends, fables of miracles, and all such *deceivableness of unrighteousness*.

In the year 593, two bulls are ascribed to Pope Gregory I., but obviously forged by the advocates of papal supremacy. In both, the pope is made to excommunicate all who transgress the precept of the apostolic see. He is made to say : " If any king, bishop, or judge shall presume to infringe the decrees of our apostolic authority, or transgress this our command, let him be deprived of his honour and dignity ; let him be cut off from the communion of the church ; let him be loaded with all the anathemas and curses that have been thundered against infidels and heretics since the creation of the world to the present time ; let him for ever be damned in the bottom of hell, with Judas, the betrayer of our Lord." All sober men now acknowledge that these letters, attributed to Gregory the Great, are forgeries.*

22. Councils of bishops, convened by the pope himself, and consisting of his votaries or slaves, aid his cause. They durst decree nothing contrary to his authority. He carried whatsoever he pleased. Many examples of this might be adduced. The council under Innocent III. is one instance, and the Council of Trent furnishes another.

23. The episcopal oath, a copy of which has been given, was one great means of extending the pope's authority. The earliest specimen which we find of any thing like this, is the oath administered by Gregory II., in 723, to Winifred, or Boniface, bishop of Germany.† But it assumed a regular form under Gregory VII.

24. When the oppressions and exactions of the popes constrained princes to struggle with them, if the popes could not utterly prevail, matters were composed. Yet the popes were sure to gain in some points, leaving the rest to be obtained under more favourable circumstances. Witness the *concordates* between Henry II. and Pope Alexander III., in the year 1172 ; of Edward III. and Pope Gregory XI., in the year 1373 ; and of Henry V. and Pope Martin V., in 1418.

25. And when princes were fain to restrain their exorbitant demands, by *pragmatical sanctions*, the popes were restless until those sanctions were repealed. And when they found weak princes, or any princes under disadvantageous circumstances, they were unceasing in their attempts until they obtained their end.

26. The power the pope assumed, to absolve men from oaths and vows, to dispense with prohibited marriages, &c., enabled him to bring many persons of distinction under obligations to him. For, to him they owed the quiet of their conscience from scruples, the gratification of their desires, the legitimation of their issue, and the title to their possessions.

27. The formal establishment of the supremacy may be dated when the bishop of Rome assumed the title of universal bishop and supreme head of the church. This was ratified in 606, or 607, by Phocas, the emperor, to Boniface III. Phocas had murdered the emperor and his

* See Bowers's Hist. of the Popes, vol. ii, p. 663. Du Pin, de Antiq. Ecc. Dis., diss. 7.

† Bowers, iii, 251.

wife and children, and usurped the empire. Nevertheless, he was acknowledged emperor by Gregory the Great, in 602. Boniface III. was no sooner invested with the papal dignity, than, taking advantage of the partiality and favour of Phocas to him while he was the nuncio of Gregory, he not only prevailed on the tyrant to revoke the decree settling the title of *universal bishop* on the bishop of Constantinople, the imperial city, but he obtained a new decree, settling on himself, and his successors, that very title which his immediate predecessor but one had so often condemned in any bishop whatever, and rejected, when offered to himself, as *vain, proud, profane, impious, execrable, blasphemous, antichristian, heretical, diabolical*. Boniface could not but know that the controverted title had been thus stigmatized, over and over again, by two of his predecessors successively, Pelagius II. and Gregory; that whoever should give or receive it was declared by Gregory a heretic; and that whosoever should presume, in the pride of his heart, to take it to himself, was a *follower of Satan, a rival of Satan in pride, and the forerunner of antichrist*. All this, however, Boniface well knew; nevertheless, he assumed the title. Phocas issued an edict revoking the decree of the Council of Constantinople, in 588, entailing the title of universal bishop on the bishops of Constantinople; and transferred it from them to Boniface and his successors, and the bishop of Rome was declared the *head of the whole Catholic Church*. In the bishop of Constantinople, the title of *universal bishop* is generally thought to have been no more than a mere honorary title, without any accession of power. But Boniface had scarcely obtained it, when he undertook to exercise an answerable jurisdiction. No sooner did the edict reach Rome, than he assembled a Roman council, in which he was proclaimed to be universal bishop, or rather supreme head, or absolute monarch of the church. For, in the council, it was *pronounced, declared, and defined* that no election of a bishop should be henceforth lawful, unless made by the people and clergy, approved by the prince or lord of the city, and confirmed by the pope interposing his authority in the following terms: *Volumus et jubemus, We will and command*.

The imperial edict of a tyrant was not, as Roman Catholic writers contend, a bare acknowledgment or confirmation of the primacy of the see of Rome, but it was the grant of a new title, which the pope improved into a power answering to that title, and thus was the papal supremacy first introduced. It owed its origin to the worst of men, was procured by the basest means, and was in itself *antichristian, heretical, blasphemous, diabolical*, as Gregory says.

Baronius, Bellarmine, and others, affirm, that the title of *universal bishop* was condemned and rejected by Gregory in a different sense from that in which it was assumed by Boniface, and borne by his successors to the present day. They say the title may be so understood as to mean no more than a general care of the universal church, and in that sense it was received by Boniface, and never condemned by Gregory. But it means, also, that the bishop who is so styled is the sole bishop in the church, and the other bishops are no longer true bishops, but only the vicars or curates of the *universal bishop*. In that sense, alone, say they, it was condemned by Gregory, and never assumed by Boniface or his successors. To this we reply: 1. It is absurd to suppose that the emperor would grant it in this sense, or that any bishop

would accept it. 2. The bishop of Constantinople styles himself to this day *universal bishop*, and yet he does not look on other bishops as his vicars or curates, but respects them as his colleagues. 3. When Eulogius, of Alexandria, offered the title of universal bishop to Gregory, he certainly did not mean to degrade himself and become the pope's vicar or curate; and yet Gregory rejected his offer with indignation and rebuke. 4. Gregory condemned that title because it exalted the bishop who assumed it above his brethren, because it subjected all other bishops to him, while he himself was subject to none; thus endowing him with a power peculiar to Christ alone, and never assumed by any of his apostles, not even by Peter. These are the reasons of Gregory's opposition to the title; and he therefore condemned it, because it implied a universal jurisdiction over the church; and, consequently, he condemned it in the very sense in which it was assumed by Boniface and his successors.

The spiritual supremacy of the pope, as might be expected, led to the accession of the temporal power. This was accomplished in the eighth century, by the real or pretended grants of Pepin and Charlemagne.

Pepin, the son of the famous *Charles Martel*, governed at this time the whole French monarchy, under Childerick III., but only under the title of the *mayor of the palace*. Not content with this, he aspired to the titles and honour of majesty, and formed the design of dethroning his sovereign. For this purpose the estates of the realm were assembled by Pepin, in 751; and though they were devoted to his interests, they gave it as their opinion, that the bishop of Rome was previously to be consulted, whether the execution of such a project was lawful or not. In consequence of this, ambassadors were sent by Pepin to Zachary, the reigning pontiff, with this question: "Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state?" The situation of Zachary, who stood in need of the aid of Pepin, against the Greeks and Lombards, rendered the answer such as the usurper desired. Accordingly, Childerick was stripped of his kingdom, and it was transferred to Pepin. Let the abettors of papal authority justify, if they can, in the professed vicegerent of Christ, a decision which is so glaringly repugnant to the laws of Christ. This decision was solemnly confirmed by Stephen II., in 754, on his visit to France, to solicit assistance against the Lombards. He dissolved the oath of allegiance which Pepin had sworn to Childerick; and to render his title to the crown as sacred as possible, he anointed and crowned him the second time.

Roman Catholic divines are divided in sentiment respecting the authority by which Zachary acted in this affair. Those who extol highly the authority of the pope, assert that it was by Zachary's authority as pope, and not in consequence of his opinion as a casuist and divine, that the crown was taken from Childerick and given to Pepin. But the French maintain that the pope decided only as a divine. On this topic we may remark: 1. The historians quoted by the high Romanists to prove that the pope acted authoritatively, use the terms *authority*, *power*, &c., as ascribed to the pope; yet these terms, in their sense of

them, may well be defined by the words *opinion, advice, &c.* 2. From the conduct of the French on this occasion, it is evident, that they were at this time unacquainted with the power of the popes over kings and their kingdoms. For they contented themselves with Zachary's opinion, and did not desire him to take the kingdom from the one and give it to the other. 3. In the diet or assembly of the states, convened to hear the report of the ambassadors from Rome, the opinion or approbation of the pope is mentioned; but there is no notice of any command or decree from him. 4. From the accounts given by contemporary historians, it is plain, that the design of Pepin, in applying to the pope, was not barely to obtain his opinion as a divine, or his authority as a sovereign; but only to engage Zachary in his cause, and render the attempt he meditated less odious, by that means, in the eyes of the nation. 5. If Pepin was an usurper, and all agree that he was, what was Zachary, who approved of his usurpation, and seconded him, in so unjust an attempt, with all the authority of his see? They may be both compared to two robbers, dividing the booty between them; Pepin helping Zachary to the spiritual, and Zachary Pepin to the temporal power. Indeed, Zachary countenanced and aided, to the utmost of his apostolic power, the usurpation of Pepin; and Pepin, in his turn, encouraged Zachary to exercise a power, till his time unknown in the Gallican Church.

This compliance of the Roman pontiff proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to the pope and clergy. But the elevation of the pope did not stop here. For when Aistulphus the Lombard, elated with his conquests over the Grecian provinces of Italy, meditated also the conquest of Rome and its territory, Pope Stephen addressed himself to Pepin, represented to him his deplorable condition, and implored his assistance. Pepin proceeded to his help, and crossed the Alps in 754, with a numerous army. Having defeated Aistulphus, he obliged him, by a solemn treaty, to deliver up to the see of Rome the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, and all the cities, castles, and territories which he had seized in the Roman dukedom. Aistulphus having violated his promise, Pepin in 755 forced the Lombard to execute the treaty he had so notoriously violated, and made a new grant of the exarchate and the Pentapolis to the pontiff and his successors. In the instrument, signed by Aistulphus, his two sons, and the barons of his kingdom, Pepin delivered to the abbot Fulrad, in the pope's name, all the places mentioned in it. With this charter, the abbot, accompanied by the commissioners of Aistulphus, went to Ravenna, and from thence to every city named in the instrument of donation; and having taken possession of them all in St. Peter's and the pope's name, and having received everywhere a sufficient number of hostages, he went with them all to Rome, and there laying the grant, and the keys of each city on the tomb of St. Peter put the pope in possession of the principality. And thus was the bishop raised to the rank and power of a prince.

The real limits of the grant made by Pepin have been much controverted among the learned. The bishops of Rome extend these limits as far as they can; while their adversaries are as zealous in contracting them.*

* See Bowers, vol. ii, pp. 437-505; Mosh. Eccl. Hist., cent. viii, part ii, ch. ii, sec. 7-11, and the authorities cited there.

Charlemagne, in 774, not only confirmed the grant, made by his father Pepin, but added to it new donations, and ceded to the Roman pontiffs several cities and provinces in Italy which had not been contained in Pepin's grant. But what those cities and provinces were, is difficult to say at this time. With respect to the motives that induced Charlemagne to make this grant, they are much less doubtful than the extent of the grant itself. Adrian affirms that the monarch's view was to atone for his sins. But his character forbids us to attribute it to this motive; as his design was to acquire the dominion of the West. At first the pope seems to have held his temporal authority as a feudal tenure under Charlemagne, but afterward, his successors and their favourers maintained it to be of original, and even divine right.

The temporal power of the pope, as well as his spiritual power, owed its origin to a usurper; the one to Phocas, and the other to Pepin. And though the popes bitterly inveighed against the patriarchs of Constantinople as the forerunner of antichrist, for assuming the title of *universal bishop*, and yet laid hold of the first opportunity to assume that title themselves; they, in like manner, inveighed against the Lombards as the most wicked of men, for usurping the dominions of their most religious sons, the emperors; and yet they themselves usurped their dominions as soon as they had it in their power.

28. From the foregoing we may draw the conclusion, that the following assumption of Roman Catholics is entirely groundless: "There can," say they, "be no time assigned, nor authors named, when, and by whom, this usurped authority was introduced." The testimonies adduced show the utter fallacy of these allegations.

The orders of bishop and elder, according to the New Testament, were one and the same, as has been shown.

The distinctions which afterward prevailed between presbyters and bishops were names of honour or mere official precedence, which implied no difference in order, as is well expressed by Augustine, where he says, "The office of a bishop is above the office of a presbyter, according to the names of honour which the church by custom hath adopted."* Jerome states the very same thing.

Before the Nicene Council the bishop of Rome had little or no pre-eminence, as Eneas Sylvius declares, in his three hundred and first epistle.

In the Council of Nice, in 325, no pre-eminence was given to the bishop of Rome over the whole church; but the other patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were privileged in like manner in their provinces, as the bishop of Rome was in his. And the pre-eminence of these sees was founded on *ancient custom*, and not on divine right.

After a peculiar pre-eminence was awarded to the bishop of Rome, it was owing to the eminence of the city of Rome, and the favour of the emperors.

The divided state of the Greek Church gave occasion to refer matters to Rome.

About the year 606 the pope obtained for himself, and his success-

* *Secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus abstinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major est.*—*August.*, ep. 19, ad *Hieron.*, tom. ii, p. 52.

ors, the title of *universal bishop*, and the see of Rome to be the head over all churches.

Afterward, Pope Zachary, in A. D. 754, obtained from Pepin the temporal power, which was enlarged and confirmed by Charlemagne, in the year 774.

Thus it is sufficiently plain that the supremacy of Rome is not so ancient as its votaries maintain; but the time when it began, and the authors of it, may be easily assigned.

CHAPTER XI.

SUPREMACY CONTINUED—PREROGATIVES OF THE POPE.

The prerogatives of the pope. It is a question of fact.—I. SURVEY OF THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE SUPREMACY. 1. Benedict XIV. cited: 2. The Roman Catechism cited: 3. Aquinas and Dens: 4. Bailly: 5. Antoninus's enumeration of the prerogatives.—II. CONVOCATION OF COUNCILS. 1. The popes claim it: Pelag. II., Adrian II., Leo IX., Pius II., and Leo X., cited: 2. There is no ancient canon for it: 3. Council of Nice not called by the pope: 4. Nor Constantinople I.: 5. Nor Ephesus: 6. Nor Chalcedon: 7. Nor Constant. II.: 8. Nor Constant. III.: 9. Obj. answered: 10. Councils created by the emperor. The emperors convened them authoritatively: 11. Instances in the Councils of Pisa and Constance.—III. PRESIDENCY OF THE POPE. 1. They claim it: 2. Council of Nice: 3. Constant. I.: 4. Ephesus: 5. Chalcedon: 6. Fifth general: 7. Sixth: 8. Import of the word presidency: 9. No good reason why the pope should preside.—IV. CONFIRMATION OF A COUNCIL. 1. The pope claims it. Nich. I., Pelag. II., Gelas. I., and Benedict XIV., quoted: 2. Constantine confirmed the decisions of Nice: 3. Theodorus those of the second general council: 4. The third by Theodosius II.: 5. The emperor Marcian those of the fourth: 6. Justinian those of the fifth: 7. The emperor confirmed the decrees of the sixth: 8. In ancient councils some things were done without the consent of the pope, and other things contrary thereto. Instances of this: 9. Obj., "Divers councils asked the pope's consent." Instances of this. Answer to this: 10. Obj., "Some councils have been rejected for want of his confirmation," answered: 11. Obj., "Some popes have made void the decrees of some councils."—V. HIS POWER OF DISPENSATION, OF MAKING LAWS, &c. 1. He challenges this. Bened. XIV., Ferraris, and Gratian, cited. Maxims of Greg. VII.: 2. Originally the church had *one Lord*: 3. Next ancient customs, Con. Nic. I., canon 8. Force of these customs. Cyprian cited: 4. Institution of general councils: 5. Power of metropolitans in their provinces: 6. The pope anciently bound to submit to the judgment of his colleagues: 7. And to the canons: 8. The synods governed the churches: 9. In 860 the Greeks did not admit the Roman decrees: 10. The decretal epistles gave rise to this assumption of the popes. Character of these forgeries: 11. The emperors possessed the supreme authority.—VI. THE POPE NOT THE FOUNTAIN OF JURISDICTION. 1. This is maintained. Bellarmine cited, Pius II., Council of Trent: 2. The Scripture contradicts it: 3. The primitive church against it: 4. The vicarship of the clergy to the pope is the product of ambition and flattery. Institution of legates.—VII. THE POPE HAS NOT UNIVERSAL JURISDICTION OVER THE CLERGY. 1. It is claimed. Dens, Bened. XIV., cited: 2. Originally there was no such jurisdiction: 3. Nor had one bishop jurisdiction over another: 4. Instances of the pope's authority are wanting: 5. The popes were subject to the emperor.

It is evident, that the popes of Rome, since Peter's time, in fact, have not possessed or exercised the several prerogatives or branches of power embraced in the supremacy of the pope.

This is a question of *fact*, which will be best decided by a particular examination of the several branches of sovereign power, so that

we may see distinctly whether, in all ages, the popes have possessed and exercised this power. For, if we shall survey the particular prerogatives of the supremacy, we shall find that the pope hath no just title to them by law, or ancient practice. Indeed, the examination of each prerogative, separately, will furnish the material for a good argument against his pretences.

I. *Let us survey the different branches of the supremacy, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the popes of Rome have possessed it.*

1. The supreme authority on which the supremacy is founded, is thus expressed by Benedict XIV., who cites Leo III. "The Roman pontiff," says he, "is the head of all heads, and the prince, governor, and pastor of the entire church of Christ under heaven."^{*}

2. The Roman Catechism contains, in the following words, the elements out of which the prerogatives of the popes grow. It says, "The Catholic Church recognises in the person of the sovereign pontiff the most exalted degree of dignity, and the full amplitude of jurisdiction; a dignity and a jurisdiction not based on synodal, or other human constitutions, but emanating from no less an authority than God himself. As the successor of St. Peter, and the true and legitimate vicar of Jesus Christ, he therefore presides over the universal church, the father and governor of all the faithful; of bishops also, and of all other prelates; be their station, rank, or power what they may."[†]

3. To the same purpose Aquinas says, "The pope hath the plenitude of power;" on which Dens comments by observing, "This power extends itself to all who are in the church, and to all things which belong to the government of the church. Hence it follows that all the faithful, also bishops and patriarchs, are bound to obey the Roman pontiff; and, likewise, that he must be obeyed in all things which concern the Christian religion, and that too in faith, and morals, in rites, ecclesiastical discipline, &c. The pope too hath not only a directive, but also a coactive power over all the faithful."[‡] According to this master in Romanism, the power of the pope extends to all persons and all things, whether of faith, morals, rites, discipline, &c.: that his power in all these things is supreme; not merely directive, but coactive.

4. Bailly expresses himself as follows, concerning the prerogatives of the popes: "The Roman pontiff possesses that primacy, which the Roman pontiffs exercised very often, from the beginning of the church, without any protest or objection; also some noted for piety, from the cradle of the church, exercised frequently the primacy of jurisdiction. For, 1. They instituted bishops, when those, to whom the right of electing bishops ordinarily belonged, neglected to elect them. 2. They sometimes reprov'd bishops, as formerly Victor reprov'd Polycrates, of Ephesus, in the case of Paschasis, and as Stephen did Cyprian and Firmilian, in the case of rebaptizing those who were baptized by heretics. 3. They often deposed bishops, preserving, however, the rights of each province. 4. They prescribed laws, and pronounced decrees of faith to the whole Christian world. 5. For just causes, they granted dispensations from the canons enacted in general councils. 6. They

^{*} Romanus pontifex est omnium capitum caput, atque universæ, quæ sub cælo est, Christi ecclesiæ princeps, moderator, et pastor.—*Benedic. XIV., de Syn., lib. ii, c. i, tom. 1, p. 50.*

[†] *Catechism, p. 296.*

[‡] *Dens, de Eccl., n. 94, tom. ii, p. 430.*

often used the right of excommunicating the faithful, throughout the whole world. 7. 'They were consulted from all countries concerning the various controversies of faith. 8. 'They convened general councils, and presided in them, either themselves, or by their legates. 9. To them lay an appeal from the judgment of all other bishops whatever. No one is ignorant of these things, unless he is a novice in, or a stranger to, ecclesiastical matters.'*

5. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, reciting what Thomas Aquinas says, concerning the power and prerogatives of the pope, gives us the following twenty-four cases, in which the powers and prerogatives of the pope are presented.† 1. The pope is the first and greatest of bishops and patriarchs. 2. He has a universal pre-eminence over the whole church of Christ. 3. He is head of the universal church. 4. He is the husband of the universal church. 5. Christian kings and princes, and, by consequence, all the faithful, are bound to be subjects to the Roman pontiff. 6. It is necessary to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff. 7. The pope is to be obeyed, in preference to any other inferior power. 8. The Roman pontiff succeeds Peter in that perfection of power, and in the dignity of the vicariate of Christ, with which Peter himself, as head and pastor of the universal church, was elevated by Christ in the church. 9. He hath the plenitude of power in the church. 10. From him all power is *derived* to other prelates. 11. The pope can use the power of the keys over any one in the church. 12. The pope may grant that any person may exercise the power of the keys on himself in the court of conscience. 13. Whether one can excommunicate himself. 14. The pope may be called properly the priest of a parish. 15. Or of any individual. 16. He can permit others to preach, hear confessions of the faithful, and use the power of the keys, when the parish priests are wanting. 17. Besides the two orders appointed of God, viz., of bishops and parochial priests, the pope can institute another third order of preachers, who can preach by his authority, and hear confessions. 18. He can compel the colleges of general studies, that those of religious orders may be admitted to their society. 19. 'The regulation of studies and of universities belongs to him. 20. The authority of the universal church, in deciding matters of faith, principally resides in him. 21. 'To the pope it belongs to confirm the decisions of synods. An appeal lies to him from a council. By the authority of the pope alone a general council may be convened. It is not necessary for the pope to call a general council as often as he has any thing to decide concerning the faith. 22. The pope is not subject to the decisions of councils. 23. The pope can change the statutes of the holy fathers in general councils, or he can dispense with them. 24. 'The pope hath the plenitude of power to dispense with all the statutes made by the regulations or bishops of the church.

6. We single out the following prerogatives of the pope as the most prominent, the discussion of which will test the merits of all.

I. That the pope alone has power to call or convene general councils.

II. That he alone, in person or by his legates, can preside in and moderate general councils.

III. That he alone can confirm the decrees of a general council.

* Bailly, de Eccl., tom. ii, p. 473. † Anton., pars. iii, pp. 1235-1246, tit. 22, c. v.

IV. That the *will* of the pope, declared by way of precept or proclamation, concerning the *sanction, abrogation, or dispensation of laws*, is of sovereign authority in the universal church.

V. That the pope is the *fountain of all jurisdiction*, and all other bishops, prelates, and clergy derive their authority from his mandate or commission, and act as his deputies or commissioners.

VI. That the pope has *universal jurisdiction* over the clergy, requiring submission and obedience from them, requiring all cases of weight to be referred to him, citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their causes, &c.

VII. That the pope, by virtue of the foregoing prerogatives, has the *choice or election* of bishops and pastors, the *confirmation* of elections, the *ordination or consecration* of the person to office, by which their character or authority is recognised, and the *jurisdiction* under which they discharge the duties of their several charges.

VIII. That it belongs to the pope to *censure, suspend, or depose* bishops or pastors.

IX. That the bishop of Rome can *restore censured, suspended, or deposed* bishops.

X. That he possesses the right of *receiving appeals* from all inferior judicatories, for the final determination of causes.

XI. That the pope cannot be *called to an account, judged, or deposed*.

XII. That he can *decide controversies* in faith, morals, and discipline.

XIII. That he is *above a council*.

XIV. That he is *infallible*.

XV. That he has supreme power over civil magistrates, kingdoms, and states, both in temporal and spiritual matters, by divine right.

XVI. That the pope is lawfully a temporal or civil prince.

II. *If the pope were possessed of the supremacy, he would always have CALLED, or CONVENED GENERAL COUNCILS; but he has not always exercised this right.*

1. The popes, however, and their advocates, claim this power; and it was claimed a long time before the popes were permitted to exercise it.

Pope Pelagius II., as early as the year 587, claims the privilege of calling general councils. He says, "The authority of convening general synods hath been delivered to the apostolic see, by the singular privilege of St. Peter."*

Adrian II., in A. D. 785, says, "By our Lord's command, by the merits of St. Peter, and by the decrees of the holy canons and the venerable fathers, the singular authority and special power of convening synods hath, in many ways, been delivered to the pope."†

Leo IX., elected in 1048, says, "I wish you to understand that a general council ought not to be celebrated without the consent of the Roman pontiff."‡

Pius II., chosen pope in 1458, teaches as follows: "Among gene-

* *Generalem synodum convocandi auctoritas apostolicæ sedi beati Petri singulari privilegio est tradita.*—*Const. Pelag. II., incip. Manifesto.*

† *Cui jussione Domini, et meritis B. Petri apostoli, singularis congregandarum synodorum auctoritas, et sanctorum canonum ac venerandorum patrum decretis multipliciter privata tradita est potestas.*—*P. Hadr. I., apud Bin., tom. v, p. 565.*

‡ *Nolo vos lateat non debere præter sententiam Romani pontificis universale concilium celebrari.*—*Constit. Leonis IX., incip. cum ex eo, &c.*

ral councils, we find nothing ratified without the authority of the pope, when a pope was reigning; because the church is no body without a head; and all power flows from the head to the members.*

Leo X., in 1512, with the approbation of his Lateran Council, says, "That the Roman pontiff, for the time being, as one who has authority over all councils, hath alone the full right and power of convening, transferring, and dissolving councils; and this not only from the testimony of Scripture, the sayings of the holy fathers, and the decrees of our predecessors, and of the sacred canons; but also by their own proper authority, as well as by the confession of the councils themselves, is manifest.†"

2. It is manifest, notwithstanding their boasts, that there is no old ecclesiastical *canon*, conferring the right of calling general councils on the pope. Nor can they adduce any ancient custom, as there was no general councils before Constantine; and for some ages after the popes did not assume or exercise that power, nor was it considered properly as peculiarly belonging to them. Nothing is more evident from ancient history than that the emperors, by their own authority, convened the first general councils.

3. The Council of Nice, in 325, was called by Constantine. Eusebius says of him, "As a common bishop, appointed of God, he summoned synods of God's ministers."‡ "He commanded a great number of bishops to meet at Arles."§ So he *commanded* the bishops from all quarters to meet at Tyre, to examine into the case of Athanasius.¶ That Constantine called the Council of Nice, all historians are agreed, he himself asserts it, and the fathers in their synodical decisions avow it.

4. The second general council, held at Constantinople in the year 381, was convened by Theodosius I. Theodoret says, that he "commanded the bishops of his empire to assemble at Constantinople."¶ In this council the pope had so little to do, that Baronius says "it was called contrary to his will."**

5. The third general council, held A. D. 431, was called by the emperor Theodosius II.†† In the beginning of each action, it is affirmed that the synod was *convened by the imperial decree*; the synod itself often professes it; the pope's legates acknowledge this; and so does Cyril the president, as may be seen by the authorities in the margin.

6. The fourth general council, held at Chalcedon, in 451, was convened by the emperor Marcian; as is expressed at the beginning of each action, as the emperor asserts, and the council itself avows: "The holy, great, and œcumenical synod, gathered together by the

* Inter concilia nullum invenimus unquam fuisse ratum, quod stante Romano indubitato Præsule, absque ipsius auctoritate convenerit; quia non est corpus ecclesiæ sive capite; et omnis ex capite defluit in membra potestas.—*Constit. Pii II., incip.* In minoribus, &c.

† Solum Romanum pontificem pro tempore existentem, tanquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, conciliorum indicendorum, et transferendorum, ac dissolvendorum plenum jus, et potestatem habere; nedum ex sacræ Scripturæ testimonio, dictis SS. Patrum, ac aliorum pontificum prædecessorum nostrorum, sacrorumque canonum decretis, sed propriæ, etiam eorumque conciliorum confessione manifeste constat.—*Constit. Leo X., incip.* Pastor æternus.

‡ Euseb. in vita Const. I., 44.

§ Euseb. Hist. x, 5, ep. ad Chrestum.

¶ Idem. Vita Const., lib. iv, c. 41–43; Socr. i, 28.

¶ Theod., v, 7.

** Baronii. Annal. 553, sec. 224.

†† Socr. vii, 734; Evagr. i, 8; Syn. Eph., act. i, p. 291

grace of God, and the command of our venerable and Christian emperor, has determined as follows.”*

7. The fifth general council, held at Constantinople in 553, was called by the authority of Justinian I. His letter authorizing it, also asserts that all former great synods were called by the same power. It begins thus: “It hath ever been the care of pious and orthodox emperors, by the assembling of the most religious bishops, to cut off heresies as they sprang up; and by the right faith, sincerely preached, to keep the holy church of God in peace.”† The fathers themselves say, that they had “come together according to the will of God, and the command of the most pious emperor.”‡ So little had the pope to do with calling the council, that, as Baronius says, “it was called against his will.”§

8. The sixth general council, held at Constantinople in 680, was convened by Constantine Pogonatus. This appears from his letters: it is intimated at the entrance of each action, the council itself acknowledges this, and even Pope Leo II. does confess it. The synod, in its epistle to Pope Agatho, inscribes itself thus: “The holy and œcumenical synod, congregated by the grace of God, and the religious sanction of the most pious and most faithful great emperor Constantine.”|| In their definition the council express the same thing.¶

These six are all the synods which posterity hath cordially acknowledged for general councils. For the seventh has been rejected by most of the western churches; and the eighth by the oriental churches. And even some popes** did not reckon them for general. And all the other reputed general councils, ten in number, have been only assemblies of western bishops, held after the breach between the oriental and occidental bishops.

9. It is objected as follows: “When the emperors convened councils they did not do it *coactively* or *authoritatively*, but only *exhortatively* or *persuasively*; but the popes convened them *authoritatively*.” To this we reply, that the assertion is not only without foundation, but it is unqualifiedly contrary to the facts in the case. For the emperors peremptorily required the bishops to convene at the time and place appointed. Constantine, calling the Synod of Tyre, employs these words: “If any one, presuming to violate our command, and meaning,” &c.†† Theodosius II. summons the bishops to the Council of Ephesus in these words: “We take a great deal of care in these things; will not suffer any one, if he be absent, to go unpunished; nor shall he find excuse either with God or us, who presently without delay does not, by the set time, appear in the place appointed.”‡‡

Marcian thus indicteth the Council of Chalcedon, which was first summoned to meet at Nice, but afterward changed: “It properly seemeth good to our clemency, that a holy synod meet in the city of Nice, in the province of Bithynia.”§§

* Syn. Chalc., pars i, p. 53.

† Justin. I. in Syn. v, collat. i, pp. 209, 368.

‡ Idem., col. viii.

§ Baron. Ann. 553, sec. 219.

|| Syn. Const. III., act. xviii, pp. 255, 285, in ep. ad P. Agatho. ¶ Id., p. 256.

** P. Joh. VIII., ep. 247; P. Nich. I., ep. 7, 8, 10; P. Hadr. II., ep. 26.

†† Euseb. de vita Const. IV., 42.

‡‡ Theod. Jun., ep. ad Cyril. Conc. Eph., pars i, p. 226.

§§ In Epist. ad Episc. Syn. Chalc., pars i, p. 34.

Besides, in the imperial decrees, whereby councils were convened, there is nothing said concerning the pope's having any authority to call them. The emperors do not convene councils by the pope's authority, but they act under their own name, and by their sole authority.

But as emperors sometimes called councils at the suggestions of other bishops; so there are instances of popes applying to the emperors with petitions to call synods; in which, sometimes, their petitions were heard, but at other times rejected. So Pope Liberius requested Constantius to call a synod for deciding the cause of Athanasius.* The same pope wrote to Hosius, that he and other Italian bishops had petitioned the emperor to call a council at Aquileia.† Pope Damasus petitioned to have a council called in Italy.‡ Pope Innocent I. petitioned Arcadius to call a synod to restore Chrysostom. But the courtiers repelled the messengers of Innocent, as "troubling another government, which was beyond their bounds," in which the pope had no right to interfere.§ Pope Leo I. frequently applied to the emperor for synods; but mostly without success, as may be seen by consulting his letters, as referred to in the margin.||

Now if the popes had a known right to convene councils, what need was there of all this supplication? Surely the pleas, or rather unfounded assertions of modern Romanists are entirely without ground, when they assert that the popes alone called councils. And when they, in this case, flatly contradict all history, what can we say to their assertions in similar cases?

10. Indeed, the whole business of general councils was an expedient of the emperors, and they were therefore to be regulated by their order. Hence, even in times and places where the pope was most revered, the princes were jealous that the pope should exercise such power over the bishops, their subjects. And to obviate it, they often commanded all bishops not to stir out of their dominions without license. The English, at the Council of Clarendon, decreed, "That the clergy should not go out of the kingdom without the king's leave."¶

General councils, however, were irregular and acephalous bodies. They are not provided for by any Scriptural authority; they were unknown for almost three hundred years after Christ; they originated by the authority of Christian kings; and they were conducted variously. The first were tolerably regular; the next class were more like turbulent and anarchical bodies than assemblies of pious men; and the last class was altogether a complete Roman faction, where the pope reigned uncontrolled.

11. That a general council doth not need the act of a pope to convene it, is manifest from what has several times occurred in the Church of Rome, viz., the convening of councils by other means than the mandate of a pope. The councils of Pisa and Constance provided for this. In the time of the schism between Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., the cardinals called a council at Pisa in the year 1409, which deposed these two popes, and chose Alexander V., who was treated as the true pope. In case of schism, or in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, the cardinals may call a council, as is confessed by Romanists. This

* Theod., ii, 16.

† Baron. Ann. 353, sec. 19.

‡ Theod., v, 9.

§ Soz., viii, 28.

|| P. Leo I., ep. 9, 42, 50, 43, 44.

¶ Concil. Clarend. Vide Mat. Paris, ann. 1164.

proves that the authority of the pope is not always necessary to convene such a council, or indeed not necessary at all.

III. *The popes did not always PRESIDE in, and regulate, general councils.*

1. Nevertheless, the pope now claims that privilege, not permitting any general council to be legitimate in which he does not preside, or which he does not sway, either in person or by his legates. "All Catholics," says Bellarmine, "teach this to be the chief pontiff's proper office, that either in person or by his legate he preside, and as chief judge moderate all."* Benedict XIV. says, "The Roman pontiff presides over general councils, either by himself or by his legates."†

But for this prerogative there is no express Scripture, nor ancient canon, nor established ancient custom. Peter did not preside at the council, or rather meeting, at Jerusalem; for as far as they had a formal president, James filled that station. In the first general councils the popes did not preside. The emperors in person, or persons chosen by them, did, in effect, preside and govern their proceedings.

2. In the Synod of Nice Constantine was the chief manager of its transactions, and under him chief bishops presided; but the pope's legates had very little sway.‡ If any one bishop may be called the president of the council, it must have been Hosius,§ as Du Pin declares, and though a Roman Catholic, he says: "It is more probable Hosius presided there in his own name, and not in the pope's: for he nowhere assumes the title of legate of the holy see, and none of the ancients says, that he presided in this council in the pope's name. Gelasius Cyzicenus, who first affirmed it, says it without any proof or authority."

In the Council of Sardica, held in 346, which was intended for a general council, Hosius, bishop of Corduba, presided. For the name of this bishop is the first in the subscriptions which are in Athanasius, who says, that he was the head and president of all the councils where he was present. Theodoret and Sozomen say he presided.|| In this all ecclesiastical historians agree, none of them speaking of the pope's presiding there by his legates.

3. In the second general council, at Constantinople, the bishops, as Sozomen says,¶ were headed by their patriarchs.

4. In the third general council, at Ephesus, Cyril of Alexandria presided, as Pope Leo I. confesses.** But modern Romanists say, that he presided in the quality of legate of the Roman see, and not in his own name. It is certain that the pope had intrusted him to represent his person, and act as his agent. But Cyril, on this account, could have no authoritative presidency; because the pope himself did not possess this by any law or precedent, and therefore could not delegate it to another. This depended on the emperor's will, or on the election of the fathers, or a tacit regard to personal eminence. If any later historians confound these things, we are not bound to be governed by their ignorance, or to follow their mistake. Besides, if Cyril was the

* Bellar. de Conc., i, 19.

† Quibus, (*scil.* conciliis generalibus,) præsidet Romanus pontifex, vel per se. vel per suos legatos.—Ben. XIV., de Synodo, lib. 1, c. 2, tom. i, p. 4.

‡ Euseb., iii, 13.

§ See Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., vol. i, p. 599.

|| Theod., b. ii, c. 15; Soz., b. iii, c. 11. ¶ Soz., vii, 7. ** P. Leo I., ep. 47.

legate of the pope, why did he send others to act in his place? or, when Cyril did not act as president, why did not the other legates of the pope preside in his stead, and have the first place? But not they, but Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, presided in the fourth and fifth actions, during which Cyril became a petitioner. Wherefore, it was not under the title of legate to the pope that Cyril presided; it was because he was the first of the patriarchs who was present in person at the council.

We may here observe, that sometimes the presidency is attributed to Cyril alone, because he was the most eminent person present; sometimes it is ascribed to Celestine, as being in representation present, and being the first bishop of the church in order; sometimes to Cyril and Celestine; sometimes to Cyril and Memnon. These persons being very active members, and having great influence on the proceedings, are styled the presidents and rulers of the synod.* And the pope himself, and his legates, are said in the acts of the synod, *συνεδρεειν*, to sit together, with the other bishops; which does not agree with his claimed special right to the presidency.†

5. In the Council of Chalcedon, called the fourth general council, Pope Leo assumed a kind of presidency by his legates.‡ Yet, in effect, the emperor, by his commissioners, presided there. They proposed the matters to be discussed; they governed the debates, and conducted them to an issue. In short, they managed the business of the council according to their pleasure, as the legates of the pope did at the Council of Trent.

Abundant proofs can be drawn from the proceedings of the council, to show that it was controlled by the emperor.δ In the great contest about the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see, the fathers of the council decided the matter contrary to the views and endeavours of the pope's legates, the whole synod concurring in these acclamations: "This is a right sentence; we all say these things; these things please us all; things are duly ordered; let the things ordered be held."|| Nor is the presidency of the Roman legates expressed in the conciliar acts; but they are barely said *συνελθειν*, to concur,¶ and *συνεδρεειν*, to sit together, with the other fathers.** Their presidency was nothing like that exercised at Trent, or the other papal councils. The emperor's deputies are always named in the first place, at the entrance of the acts, before the pope's legates, so that they who governed the council were not popish. In truth the emperor was president, as the synod itself reports to Leo: "The faithful emperors, for good order's sake."††

6. In the fifth general council Pope Vigilius was present; but the patriarch of Constantinople was the president, as appears from the beginning of each collation.‡‡ Hence we infer, the pope's presidency is not necessary to a general council.

* Conc. Chalc., act. iv, p. 302; act. 1, p. 173; Defin. in act. v, p. 338; act. v, p. 300; part. iii, p. 522; Cler. Const. in Syn. Eph., i, p. 418; Syn. Eph., act. iv, pp. 338, 420, 422, 347; Relat. Syn., pp. 406, 411.—See Barrow, p. 293.

† Relat. ad Imp. Synod. Eph., p. 422; act. ii, p. 322; act. iv, p. 340.

‡ P. Leo I., ep. 47.

δ Concil. Chalc., act. i, p. 50, 55, 219; act. iv, 289; act. xii, 409, 414; act. xiii, p. 420.—Barrow, p. 297.

|| Id., act. xvi, p. 464.

¶ Act. viii, p. 366.

** Act. iii, p. 230.

†† Relat. Syn. ap Leon, p. 473.

‡‡ Coll. i, p. 312.

7. In the sixth general council, the emperor in each act is expressly said to preside, in person or by his deputies; although Pope Agatho had his legates there. The deputies of the emperor sat in the first place, and are always named first; they proposed what they thought fit to be discussed, declared on what side the majority was, adjourned the council whenever they thought fit, and formed the most important decisions.

8. Indeed, the word *presidency*, like many other words, has different meanings, in consequence of which some have been imposed on. It may be taken to signify a privilege of *precedence*, or for *authority* in governing. The first kind of presidency the pope would undoubtedly have, when present at a council; as being *the bishop of the first see*, as the sixth general council declares,* and the *first of priests*, as Justinian calls him.† And, according to this sense, the patriarchs and chief metropolitans are said to preside, as sitting in one of the first chairs.

But the other kind of presidency was disposed by the emperor as he saw fit; though usually it was conferred on him who, among those present, preceded the rest in dignity. We have an instance of this in the second Council of Ephesus, which in design was general. There Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, presided, by the command of the emperor, notwithstanding the objections of the legates. The presidency of the Council of Chalcedon is ascribed to several chief bishops, by virtue of the emperor's appointment.‡ Hence it appears, that in the early councils the presidency was not affixed to the see of Rome. And even in the Council of Constance, held in 1414, sometimes the cardinal of Cambray, sometimes the cardinal of Hostia, presided by order of the council; and sometimes even the king of the Romans took the chair. This shows, that even then the presidency of the pope was not fully established, though papal authority had been raised high.§

9. Indeed, there is *no good reason* why the pope should preside in general councils; but there are many good reasons why he should not preside.

Erroneous popes, such as Vigilius and Honorius, were not fit to govern a council, collected to consult on and define truths which were opposed to their errors.

Lewd popes, as Alexander VI., John XII., Paul III., and a host of others of the same character, were unfit persons to preside in a council where laws are to be made or enforced, for the purpose of promoting chastity and restraining lewdness.

Warlike popes, as Julius II., would be unfit to regulate an assembly where peace or war was to be discussed.

A pope, engaged in schism, as many have been, would make a singular president of a council convened to suppress schism.

Gregory VII., Innocent IV., Boniface VIII., would be unfit judges, where the controversies concerning the power of the pope were to be discussed.

In any council where the reformation of the church is concerned, the pope is the last man in the world to preside, or even sit in judgment in such cases. For it is notorious that popes, as such, need re-

* Vi, p. 285.

† Justin. Cod., tit. 1.

‡ Syn. Chalc., act. i, pp. 65, 77. See Barrow, pp. 295, 296, with the authorities.

§ Conc. Const., sess. xiv, p. 1044.

formation themselves; they are the great obstructers of it: all Christendom has a long controversy with them for detaining it in bondage.

The declaration of Pope Gelasius will well apply in this case: "I would know of them," says he, "where they would have that judgment they pretend, examined? What! by themselves? that the same may be adversaries, witnesses and judges? To such judgment as this, even human affairs are not to be trusted, much less the integrity of the divine law."*

IV. *The CONFIRMATION of a council by the pope is unnecessary.*

If the pope were sovereign of the church, he would, at least, have a negative power, under certain restrictions, so that nothing should pass against his will, without serious review and examination by a council. This seems to be an essential ingredient of sovereignty.

1. It is therefore claimed by the pope, who hath long pretended that no decrees of synods are valid without his consent and confirmation.

Pope Nicholas I., in his sixth epistle, addressed to Photius, says, "But the decrees made by the holy popes of the chief see of the Roman Church, by whose authority and sanction all synods and holy councils are strengthened and established, why do you say, that you do not receive and observe them?"† He furthermore declares in his seventh epistle: "Lastly, as you know nothing is accounted valid, or to be received in universal councils, but what the see of St. Peter has approved; so, on the contrary, whatever she alone has rejected, that only is rejected."‡

Pope Pelagius II. says, "We never read of any synod that was valid, unless it were confirmed by the apostolic authority."§

Pope Gelasius declares, "We trust no true Christian is now ignorant, that no see is above all the rest more obliged to observe the constitution of each council, which the consent of the universal church hath approved, than the prime see, which, by its authority, confirms every synod, and by continued moderating preserves them according to its principality."||

Pope Benedict XIV., who was elected in the year 1740, affirms: "Beware lest you should infer, that bishops in a general council are judges, or that the Roman pontiff, in bringing in a decision, is bound to follow the majority of the judges, and approve of their doctrine: for though all the bishops are true judges, nevertheless the supreme judgment

* Quæro tamen ab his, judicium quod prætendunt, ubinam possit agitari, an quod ipsos, ut iidem sint inimici, et testes, et judices? Sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divinæ legis judices.—*P. Gelas.*, ep. 4.

† Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes synodi et sancta concilia laborantur, et stabilitatem sumunt, cui vos non habere vel observare dicitis.—*Papa Nich. I.*, ep. 6, *ad Photium*.

‡ Denique ut in universalibus conciliis, quid ratum, vel quid prorsus acceptum, nisi quod sedes B. Petri probavit, ut ipsi scitis, habetur; sicut e contrario quod ipsa sola reprobavit, hac solummodo consistat hactenus reprobatum.—*P. Nich. I.*, ep. 7.

§ Nulla unquam synodus rata legatur, quæ apostolica auctoritate non fuerit fulta.—*P. Pelag. II.*, ep. viii, dist. 17.

|| Confidimus quod nullus jam, veraciter Christianus ignoret uniuscujusque synodi constitutum, quod universalis ecclesiæ probavit assensus, non aliquam magis exequi sedem præ cæteris oportere, quam primam; quæ et unamquamque synodum sua auctoritate confirmat, et continuata moderatione custodit, pro suo scilicet principatu.—*P. Gelas. I.*, ep. xiii, *ad Episc. Dard.*

is from Christ the Lord, committed to his vicar on earth, and intrusted into his hands, so that he can restore to the true faith as many as have deviated into error, whether few or many.”*

He also affirms, “that though the pope may consult the cardinals, the exercise of his supreme power by no means depends on their consent.”†

Ferraris, in giving the common opinion of the church on this point, says, “Although, at first, a council was convened by the apostolic authority; yet, if afterward it was dissolved by the pope, or transferred from that time, it would be acephalous and schismatic, nor is it any longer a council.”‡ The same was decided in the Lateran Council, under Leo X.§

But as this claim has no foundation in the divine law, nor in any old canon, nor in primitive custom, so it is opposed to the sentiments and practice of antiquity: for in the ancient synods many things were ordained both without, and contrary to his consent.

2. Constantine, as Athanasius reports, “confirmed by law the decrees of the great Council of Nice.”|| And Eusebius says, “Constantine ratified the decrees of the synod by his authority.”¶ The letters of Constantine are before the world; in which he exhorts and requires all to conform to the constitutions of the council.

3. Theodorus confirmed the decisions of the second general council. Sozomen says, “he confirmed the suffrages of the council by his decrees.”** And this was done by the request of the fathers of the council, who addressed him as follows: “We therefore beseech thee, that by your pious edict the sentence of the synod may be authorized; that as by the letters of convocation you did honour the assembly, so you would confirm the result of things decreed.”††

4. The third general council was confirmed by Theodosius II., as Justinian informs us: “The above-named Theodosius, of pious memory, maintaining what had been so justly determined against Nestorius and his impiety, made his condemnation valid.”‡‡ And the emperor asserted, that this belonged to him as a matter of right and custom: for he says, “For all things, so as may please God, being examined without contention, and with truth, ought so to be established by our piety.”§§

5. The emperor Marcian confirmed the Council of Chalcedon by his edict, which says, “We, having by sacred edict of our serenity, confirmed the holy synod, did warn all to cease from disputes about religion.”|| Pope Leo signifies his complaisance in these terms: “But

* Ex eo porro, quod episcopi in concilio generali sint veri iudices, cave, ne inferas, teneri Romanum pontificem in ferenda sententia majorem partem judicum sequi, eorumque doctrinam approbare: etenim, uti ratiocinatur idem Melchior Canus, quamvis omnes episcopi sint veri iudices, supremum tamen judicium est a Christo Domino, suo in terris vicario commissum, eidemque inunus demandatum, quotquot in errorem deflexerint; sive pauciores, sive plures numero fuerint, ad veram fidem revocandi.—*Bened. XIV. de Synodo*, lib. xiii, ch. ii, sec. 3, tom. iii, p. 277. Mechlin. 1823.

† Supremæ suæ potestatis exercitium ab eorum assensu nequaquam pendere.—*Id.*, c. i, sec. 6, p. 270.

‡ Ferraris in Concilium, art. i, n. 9.

§ Con. Lat. v, sess. xi.

|| Athan. apud Theod. II., 4.

¶ Euseb. de vita Const. III., 23.

** Soz., vii, 9.

†† Pref. ad Can. Conc. Constant. I., apud Bin., p. 660.

‡‡ Justin. in Quinto Conc., col. i.

§§ Epist. Theod. ad Eph. Conc. in Actis, p. 375. ||| Conc. Chalcedon., part iii, p. 478.

because your piety and most religious will, by all means must be obeyed, I have willingly approved the synodical constitutions about confirming the Catholic faith, and condemning heretics, which pleased me.”* Du Pin, when speaking on this council, says, “The emperor made two edicts to prevent all opposition to the Council of Chalcedon, and invalidated by an edict all that had been done against Flavian.”†

6. Justinian confirmed the decisions of the fifth general council, by punishing with banishment all who would not submit to its decisions.

7. In the sixth general council the fathers requested the emperor, according to *custom*, to confirm its definitions. This may be seen by consulting the decisions of the council.‡

So, by long prescription, commencing with the first general council, the emperors enjoyed this prerogative.

8. In ancient councils some things were ordained *without the consent* of popes, and other things *contrary thereto*.

What particular confirmation did Peter add to the doings of the assembly at Jerusalem?

In some of the first general councils it is manifest that the pope had no negative voice; for the very little regard paid to him shows this clearly. There is not, in the synodical decisions of the councils of Nice and Sardica, any mention of the pope's confirmation.

It is just for us to interpret all those decrees, which are opposed to the supremacy, as passed without the pope's consent. For if these decisions are now good, they were of old acknowledged to be such; and we cannot suppose the popes consented to their passage. The Nicene Council equalling other metropolitans to him, may be supposed to pass without his consent. The canons of the second general council, and of all others confirming them, equalling the privileges of the see of Constantinople to those of Rome, may be supposed to pass without his consent, as several popes acknowledged.

Furthermore, divers synodical decrees passed against the will of the pope. We may pass over those of Tyre, Antioch, Ariminum, &c., and shall mention only general councils; though the decisions of the other synods show that they did not believe in, or know any thing of, the negative of the pope.

In the Council of Chalcedon *equal privileges* were given to the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. And this was *decreed and subscribed*; though the “pope's legates did earnestly entreat, clamour, and protest against it;” the members of the council not knowing, or not acknowledging, the pope's negative voice.

In the fifth general council it was decreed, that the *three chapters* be condemned, and persons deceased were liable to be condemned or excommunicated. But Pope Vigilius opposed their doctrines. Yet the decisions of this council were received by posterity, and succeeding popes approved the decisions of the council. On this Baronius remarks: “Here, stay reader, and consider the matter attentively, that it is no new thing, that a synod in which the pope was not even present, with his legates, but did oppose it, should yet obtain the title of œcumenical synod; when afterward it obtained the pope's assent, that it

* P. Leo I., ep. 59, ad Mart. Aug.

† Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., vol. i, p. 679.

‡ See Syn. vi, act. xviii, pp. 275, 283, 284, 294, 298, 302; Leo Mag., ep. 75.

should obtain such a title.”* So, according to this, the pope can change the nature of things. Such is a specimen of true papal reasoning. Other specimens of similar character might be given.

9. It is here objected by the maintainers of the supremacy, “that divers councils asked the pope’s consent for the ratification of their decrees.” So the second general council, writing to Pope Damasus, say, “In which things, legally and canonically settled among us, we exhort your piety, to acquiesce with us, out of spiritual charity, and the fear of the Lord.”† So the Council of Chalcedon asked the confirmation of Pope Leo I.: “That you may know how that we have done nothing out of favour or spite, but as guided by the divine direction, we have made known to you the force of all that has been done, for your concurrence, and for the confirmation and approbation of the things done.”‡ Pope Leo II. says of the fifth general council, “That he agreed to what was determined in it, and confirms it with the authority of the blessed St. Peter.”§

To the objection we reply, that it was the custom of all general councils, when they framed their decrees for the public good, to ask all Catholic bishops, who were absent, to give their attestation by subscription. So Constantine recommended the Nicene decrees to all bishops for their consent. So the Synod of Sardica, in their epistle to all bishops, say: “Brethren and fellow-ministers, use all diligence, as being present in spirit with our synod, to yield consent by your subscription, that concord may be preserved everywhere by all the fellow-ministers.”|| So Pope Liberius requested the emperor Constantine, “That the faith delivered at Nice might be confirmed by the subscription of all bishops.”¶ Athanasius “procured a synod at Alexandria, to confirm the decrees at Sardica and in Palestine concerning him.”** So the Macedonian bishops are said to have authorized their agents to ratify the faith of consubstantiality.††

Many such instances occur in history, from which it is manifest that the decrees of councils concerning matters of common interest were presented to all bishops, requesting, or even demanding as a matter of right their assent; because, as the Roman clergy declare, “a decree cannot be firm which has not the consent of many.”‡‡ By asking the consent of absent bishops, they, in the absence of mails and the periodical press, promulgated their doings: they did it to maintain concord, to add authority to their decisions, to engage all bishops in observing their decisions, to have the testimony of all bishops to the truth, to edify the church, and secure good government.

It is not therefore marvellous that councils should seek the approbation of so eminent a bishop as he of Rome was; that as every vote had force, his suffrage might aid in attesting the faith, and preserving discipline. The pope’s confirmation of councils was, in effect, nothing more than a declaration of his approbation, adding another vote; as those who were present by their vote, and those who were absent by

* Baron. Ann. 553, sec. 224.

† Theod., v, 9.

‡ Syn. Chalc. ad P. Leo I., p. 476.

§ P. Leo II., ep. p. 306.

|| Σπουδασατε δε πολλον και υμεις, &c.—Syn. Sard. Epist. apud Athan. in Apol. ii, p. 766.

¶ Soz., iv, 11.

** Id., iv, 1.

†† Socr., iv, 12.

‡‡ Quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habere consensum.—Cler. Rom. apud Cypr., ep. 31.

their subscription, are said to confirm the decrees of councils, every such consent being supposed to increase the authority. Hence the number of bishops composing a council is sometimes reckoned according to the *subscriptions* of the absent bishops as well as the *votes* of those present. Thus the Council of Sardica is sometimes said to consist of three hundred bishops, although less than two hundred were present; the rest concurring by subscription to its definitions. The absent bishops, in yielding their consent, express it by, *I confirm, I define, I decree.**

But the effectual and authoritative confirmation of general councils, which gave them the force of law, was in the hands of the emperors, and depended on their imperial sanction. So Justinian affirms in general terms: "All these things, at divers times successively, our fore-named predecessors, of pious memory, corroborated by their laws what each council had determined, and expelled those heretics who attempted to resist the definitions of the aforesaid four councils, and disturb the churches."†

10. It is objected, "That some councils have been rejected for want of the pope's confirmation." In support of this objection it is stated, that the decisions of the Council of Ariminum were null, because the bishop of Rome did not consent to them.‡

To the foregoing it may be answered: 1. That which is alleged against the Council of Ariminum, is not the want of the pope's consent after the session was over, but the want of his consent in the council. 2. The same objection every bishop might allege, as all had a common right and interest to be present, and vote in these assemblies. 3. The dissent of other bishops, particularly of eminent ones, is also alleged in exception; which would be needless, if the pope's dissent alone had been the principal thing. 4. The emperor, and many other bishops, knew of no peculiar necessity of his confirmation.

11. Again it may be objected, "Some popes have made void the decrees of general councils." Pope Leo I. endeavoured to invalidate the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon concerning the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see.§

The behaviour of Leo was, in this case, disorderly, factious, arrogant, and schismatic, proceeding from ambition and jealousy. Such conduct, at length, overwhelmed the dignity and liberty of the Christian republic. Nevertheless, he did not ground his opposition to the decrees of the council so much on his authority to annul its decisions, as upon the inviolable obligation of the Nicene canons, which he presumed a synod could abrogate or alter. Besides, his opposition was not regarded by the church.

Furthermore, it is unreasonable, that the humour or opinion of one man, no wiser or better than others, and of the same office and order

* *Sententias fratrum omnes sequimur, omnes confirmamus, omnes observandas decernimus.*—*Conc. Rom., P. Hill., p. 579.*

† *His itaque omnibus per diversa tempora subsecutis, prædicti recordationis patres ea quæ in uno quoque concilio judicata sunt, legibus suis corroboraverunt, et confirmaverunt; et hæreticos qui definitionibus predictorum S. quatuor conciliorum resistere, et ecclesias conturbare conati sunt, expulerunt.*—*Just. in Conc. v, col. 1, p. 210.*

‡ Theodoret. ii, 22.

§ P. Leo I., ep. 55, ad Pulcher; Aug., ep. 61, ad Syn. Chalc., ep. 62, ad Max. An. ioch. See Barrow on Supremacy, p. 312.

with them, should be preferred to the common agreement of brethren. It is absurd that he should have the power of overturning their decisions, as he possesses no right to do so, grounded on Scripture, ancient custom, or history. The Scripture says nothing of general councils. None were held for three hundred years after Christ; and in the early councils, no canon was made confirming the annulling power of the pope. In conformity to ancient custom, it is more reasonable that the pope should submit to the decision of his brethren, than that all his brethren should submit to him. And this was the judgment of the church, declared by its practice.

V. *The WILL of the pope, declared by way of precept or proclamation, concerning the SANCTION, ABROGATION, or DISPENSATION OF LAWS, is not of sovereign authority in the universal church.*

1. This privilege, however, the pope challengeth to himself; asserting to his decrees and sentences the force and obligation of laws. And, indeed, the body of the canon law, whereby he governs the church, consists principally of papal edicts, or decretal epistles, imitating the rescripts of emperors, and claiming the same force.

Take the following quotations from Benedict XIV., who was elected pope in the year 1740, and who is an oracle, even among popes. In his work on *Synods* he says, "Those constitutions are properly called *canons* which bind the whole church: such are those which emanate from the chief pontiff or a general council; because if the statute of a bishop be confirmed by the pope, and extended to the whole church, then it is properly called a *canon*, as it is now authorized by the pope."^{*}

Again: "When, however, in this economy of the church, nothing occurs which takes its origin in natural or divine law, it hence follows that the pope, for any good and lawful cause, may dispense with constitutions of this kind."[†] "The pope, uttering any thing contrary to any sanction of Trent, does not oppose the mind of that council, nor does he lose that supreme authority granted to him by Christ the Lord, of relaxing and changing, when necessary, any ecclesiastical law; but he rather uses that power on which the Council of Trent itself depends for the stability of its decisions."[‡] "To the pope it belongs to declare, in what circumstances the divine precept ceases to oblige."[§] "To doubt concerning the power of the pope, after he hath dispensed, is sacrilegious. Because it would be the same as to disparage Christ, because he had not sufficiently provided for the church."^{||}

Ferraris, who is a faithful interpreter of Roman Catholic divinity, says, under the word *Dispensatio*, No. 20, "Nevertheless, the pope can interpret and declare the divine law, that it would not be obligatory in some cases under certain circumstances; viz., when, from the observance of the divine law, either something unjust would follow, or a greater good be prevented. Otherwise, when no recourse is had to God for interpretation, he would not be a good father of a family, (which must not be allowed on any account,) if he would leave his flock without a shepherd, who, in doubtful and important cases, would inter-

^{*} *Canones, nomine solæ denotentur constitutiones, &c.—Bened. XIV. de Synod., lib. i, c. iii, sec. 3.*

[†] *Cum tamen in hac, &c.—Id., lib. vi, c. viii, sec. 12.*

[‡] *Id., lib. ix, c. iv, sec. 7.* [§] *Id., lib. vi, c. iv, sec. 3.* ^{||} *Id., lib. vii, c. vii, sec. 7.*

pret and declare the divine will, and thus consult for all citizens in necessary cases.”*

We select the following declarations from Ferraris, on the word *Papa*, article ii, from the thirtieth to the thirty-second number: “The pope is of so great authority and power, that he can also modify, declare, or interpret the divine law.”

“The pope can sometimes counteract the divine law, by limiting, explaining,” &c.

“The pope can modify the divine law, since his power is not of man, but of God, and he supplies the place of God on earth, with ample power of binding and loosing; because God our Lord and Redeemer is said to do what his vicar does, provided he does nothing contrary to the faith.”

“The pope can interpret, and having cause, can limit the divine law, as all commonly teach.”

Let any one consult Gratian, and he will find a multitude of such declarations as those cited above, and of which we present specimens.

“No person ought to have either the will or power to transgress the precepts of the apostolical see.”†

“We who, according to the plenitude of our power, have a right to dispense above law or right.”‡

Pope Agatho says, “Thus all the sanctions of the apostolical see are to be received, as confirmed by the voice of the divine Peter himself.”§

Among the *Maxims* of Pope Gregory VII. we find the following: “The pope alone can make new laws.—No book is to be deemed canonical, but by his authority.—He is to be judged by no man.”

But this power is exercised by the pope by usurpation; as he has no ground for it in Scripture or by ancient practice.

2. Originally the church had no other sovereign except the *one Lord* and *one Lawgiver*.||

3. Anciently, besides the divine laws, before the first general councils, the church adopted *certain customs* for their government, which, in the time of this council, or A. D. 325, were called *ancient customs*.¶ These customs were such as each church enacted in provincial synods; or which were received from one church to another by imitation and compliance. These customs in time became *rules* or *laws*; not of divine, but of human right. And hence, according to the *usages* of different churches, these customs varied; and hence a *variety of usage* in external order or discipline.

The pope could not impose his customs or laws on any church; for such laws were not obligatory on any churches, except those who voluntarily adopted them. And those who did once adopt them, were at liberty to reject them when they saw fit. If the pope imposed his

* Ferrar. in *Dispensatio*, No. 20.

† Nulli fas est vel velle vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta.—*P. Greg. IV.*, dist. xix, c. 5.

‡ Qui secundum plenitudinem potestatis, de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.—*P. Inn. III.*; *Decret. Greg.*, lib. iii, tit. 8, c. 4.

§ Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctionis accipendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce firmatæ sunt.—*P. Agatho*, dist. xix, c. 2. See Barrow, p. 314.

|| Eph. iv, 5; James iv, 12.

¶ *Ἀρχαῖα*. *Conc. Nic. i*, can. 8; *Conc. Const. i*, can. 2.

laws, he was liable to a repulse; as is manifest in the case of Pope Victor, when he would have reduced the churches of Asia to his will, in the time of celebrating Easter.

In the time of Cyprian it was deemed tyrannical for one pastor to prescribe to another. "For none of us," says he, "makes himself a bishop of bishops, or by a tyrannical terror compels his colleagues to a necessity of obedience; since every bishop, according to the license of his own liberty and power, hath his own freedom, and can no more be judged by another than he himself can judge another."* If any new law were then introduced, it was done by the general consent of bishops or pastors, or a majority of them; to whom the rest generally yielded compliance. But the whole authority of such laws was founded on human consent.

4. When the emperors became Christians a different custom prevailed. General councils were then instituted. The pope then had more influence than formerly, as having *the Πρωτεία τιμης, the privilege of honour* in ecclesiastical assemblies. Yet he had no casting vote, or negative above others, as all things passed by a majority of votes. In the Acts of the fifth council we read, "This is a thing to be granted, that in councils, we must not regard the interlocution of one or two, but those things which are commonly defined by all, or by most."† In the sixth council, George, bishop of Constantinople, says, "Seeing everywhere the will of the multitude, or of the most, doth prevail, it is necessary to anathematize the persons before mentioned."‡

5. Metropolitan bishops, in their provinces, had far more power than the pope had in the whole church; yet they had not a negative voice in synodical decisions. For it is decreed in the Nicene Council, canon sixth, that in the designation of bishops *plurality of votes should prevail*.

It is indeed said in that canon, *χωρίς γνώμης, without the opinion of the metropolitan*: but this does not mean that he possesses a negative voice, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without his knowledge or advice and vote. For so the twenty-fourth apostolical canon, to which the Nicene refers, interprets it, viz., that the metropolitan should do nothing without the opinion of all, or the majority. So the Council of Antioch interprets it, decreeing that "a bishop should not be ordained without a synod; and the presence of the metropolitan of the province." And the same synod determines, that "plurality of votes should carry."§

Now, as provincial were more ancient than general councils, and furnished the pattern for them; and should we grant the same privilege to the pope in general councils that the metropolitans had in provincial, which is more than can be granted in truth, yet the pope could not pretend to make laws by himself.

6. The pope was anciently bound to yield to the judgment of his colleagues. So the emperor Constantine told Pope Liberius: "The vote of the plurality of bishops ought to prevail."||

When Pope Julius broke a rule of the church, by communicating with persons condemned by councils, the fathers of Antioch "speedily reprov'd him, showing that they were not to receive canons from him."¶

* Cyprian in Concil. Carthag.

† Conc. vi, act. xvi, p. 240.

‡ Theod., ii, 16.

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† Conc. v, collat. 6, p. 263.

§ Syn. Ant., can. 19.

¶ Soer., ii, 15.

7. The pope, as well as others, was subject to the laws of the church. The Antiochan fathers complained that Pope Julius transgressed the canons; nevertheless the pope did not repel their charge by claiming exemption from their authority, but by affirming that he had not broken them.*

The African fathers told Pope Celestine, that he ought not to admit persons to communion who had been excommunicated by them, as this was contrary to a decree of the Council of Nice.†

The Roman Church told Marcian, "that they could not receive him without the leave of his father who had rejected him."‡ Such is the general tenour of the ecclesiastical canons, which never exempt the popes from the laws prescribed to other bishops.

The privilege of dispensing laws would anciently have been strange, when the pope could not, without censure, excuse himself from breaking the canons: and how useless would the decisions of councils be, if the pope, without them, could make laws? Even when the papal dominion had made considerable advancement; yet the popes durst not challenge power over the universal canons, or exemption from them. Indeed, they boasted to have been the chief observers, guardians, defenders, and executors of them. If they sometimes spoke differently, requiring observance to their constitutions, it was either in their diocesses, or in the provinces where they had greater sway.

8. The synods governed the churches. It is true the popes sometimes speak as if matters were regulated by their authority; when, in truth, they were done by synods, consisting however of western bishops, devoted to the pope. The decrees of those synods were binding in those places, not so much by virtue of papal authority, as by virtue of the consent of their own bishops.

From hence we infer that the acts of modern popes are of no authority, seeing that they do not act in synod; but, on the contrary, they decide *ex cathedra*, or with the advice of a few partisans. And even in the West, their decrees have been contested when they were contrary to the ancient canons, or derogated from the liberties of churches.

9. About the year 860 the Greeks did not admit the Roman decrees, so that the pope, in an epistle to Photius, complains, "that he did not receive the decrees of the popes."

10. The *decretal epistles* gave rise to their assumption. These were forgeries, as the Roman Catholic Du Pin, and others, have fully shown.§

Du Pin proves conclusively: 1. That these decretals were unknown to all the ancient fathers, to all the popes, and all the ecclesiastical authors that wrote before the ninth century. 2. The imposture of these letters is invincibly proved from hence, because they are made up of a contexture of passages of fathers, of councils, of letters of popes, of canons and ordinances of emperors, which have appeared from the third age of the church down to the middle of the ninth century. These passages, drawn out of several places, have been collected together by some impostor, who had not a genius large enough to compose the letters themselves. 3. The scriptures cited in all these let—

* P. Julii Ep. apud Athan. in Apol. ii, p. 748.

† Epiph. Hær. 42.

‡ Ep. ad P. Celest.

§ Du Pin, Ec. Hist., vol. i, pp. 592-593.

ters, follow the translation of Jerome, which proves that the letters were written since his time, and consequently they do not belong to the popes whose names they bear, and who lived before Jerome's time.

4. The matter of these letters does not agree with the times in which they profess to have been written. 5. They abound with anachronisms. 6. The style of these letters is extremely barbarous, and full of solecisms, and there are some words in them not in use at the time.

As these letters appeared in an unlearned age, it is not marvellous that they were received without examination. Nevertheless, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and the French bishops, opposed them then. But in a short time after they acquired some authority, being supported by the court of Rome, whose pretensions they mightily favoured. However, at present, nobody dares undertake to defend them, the imposture being so abominably gross that all people may discover the cheat at first sight. They serve as a remarkable example, both of the credulity of the preceding ages, and the intolerable impudence of impostors.

Du Pin, at the close of his admirable confutation of the decretal epistles, makes the following observation on their contents: "In them are many things to be found that don't in the least agree with the true history of these times, and were purposely said to favour the court of Rome, and establish her pretensions against the rights of bishops and the liberties of the churches. But it would take up too much time to show the gross falsity of these monuments, that are now rejected by common consent, and even by those authors that are most favourable to the court of Rome, who are obliged to abandon the patronage of these epistles, though they have done a great deal of service in establishing the greatness of the court of Rome, and ruining the ancient discipline of the church, especially in relation to ecclesiastical decisions, and rights of bishops."*

11. During the regal government of the church, which commenced with Constantine, and flourished till the supremacy of the pope was established, the emperor possessed the power of enacting and dispensing ecclesiastical laws. This is evident from the codes of Theodosius and Justinian. "These things," saith the Council of Arles, "we have decreed to be presented to our lord the emperor, desiring his clemency, that if any thing be defective, it may be supplied by his prudence; if any thing be unreasonable, it may be corrected by his judgment; if any thing be reasonably ordered, it may, by his help, be perfected, divine grace assisting."† And even popes allowed the validity of imperial decrees: for Pope Gregory I. adduces imperial laws concerning ecclesiastical affairs as obligatory rules of practice.‡

VI. *The pope is not the FOUNTAIN OF ALL JURISDICTION, and all other bishops do not derive their authority from his mandate or commission; nor do they act as his DEPUTIES or COMMISSIONERS.*

1. Nevertheless, the pope maintains that he is the fountain of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that all ecclesiastical power is derived from him.

Bellarmino affirms, "The rule of the church is monarchical; therefore all authority is in one, and from him it is derived to others." And

* Du Pin, as above, p. 586.

† Conc. Arel. iv, c. 26, ann. 813, sub Carolo M.

‡ P. Greg. I., ep. xi, 56.

this he attempts to prove from the form of creating bishops. "We provide such a church with such a person; and we promote him to be father and pastor and bishop of the said church; committing to him the administration in temporals and spirituals, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."*

Pope Pius II., in his Bull of Retraction, says, "In the militant church, which resembleth the triumphant, there is one moderator and judge of all, the vicar of Jesus Christ, from whom, as from the head, all power and authority is derived to the subjected members; which power doth immediately flow from our Lord Christ."†

This monstrous principle shows itself in the ordinary titles of bishops, who style themselves "bishops, by the grace of God and of the apostolic see."‡

The fathers of Trent, the betrayers of the liberties of the church, and the perverters of God's truth, represent bishops as the delegates of the pope, in matters originally belonging to bishops or pastors.

According to the doctrine of Holy Scripture, and the sense of the primitive church, the pastors of the church receive immediately their authority and commission from God, being his ministers.

2. The Scripture teaches that ministers receive their commission or authority immediately from God. The Scripture, speaking of the elders, bishops, or pastors of the church at Ephesus, says, that "the Holy Ghost had made them bishops to feed the church of God," Acts xx, 28.

Again: "He hath given some to be apostles, some prophets, some pastors and teachers," Eph. iv, 11. The pastors and teachers, though outwardly appointed by the apostles, had, nevertheless, their calling from God, and not from the apostles.

The Scripture calls pastors *the ministers of Christ and of God, the stewards of God, the servants of God, fellow-servants of the apostles*. Col. i, 7, and iv, 7; 1 Thess. iii, 2; 1 Tim. iv, 6; 2 Tim. ii, 24; Titus i, 7.

Ministers *preside in the Lord*. 1 Thess. v, 12. They allow no other head but the Lord, *from whom all the body, &c.* Eph. iv, 16.

It is said that "God appoints bishops; but immediately by the pope or his assignees." But they can give no proof that the appointment of ministers to their office must come through the pope; and until such proof is given, we must think and act without it.

3. The primitive church declare themselves to the same purpose. Ignatius, in his epistle to the Magnesians, says, "The bishop presides in the place of God, and we must be subject to him as unto Jesus Christ."

Cyprian affirms that "each bishop is constituted by the judgment of God and of Christ."§

The ancient pastors professed to be as much *vicars of Christ*, as the pope himself. Hence, in their ordinary addresses to the bishop of Rome, and in their declarations concerning him, they called him *brother, colleague, and fellow-minister*. The early popes themselves called other bishops their fellow-bishops, and fellow-presbyters.

4. Indeed, the vicarship of the clergy to the pope is the product of ambition and flattery. It is ridiculous to suppose that Cyprian, Atha-

* Bell. iv, 24; Epiph. Hær. 42.

† P. Pius II., in Bul. Retract.

‡ N. Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia episcopus.

§ Cyprian, ep. 52, and elsewhere.

uasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Augustine, &c., were vicegerents or ministers of the pope. If they were, why did they never acknowledge it? The popes indeed in the fourth century began to practise this mode.*

5. Pope Damasus, who was elected pope in 366, was the first who bestowed on certain bishops the title of *vicars*, pretending thereby to confer on them an extraordinary power, enabling them to perform several things which they could not perform by their own power. Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, was the first who enjoyed this title, being, by Damasus, appointed the first vicar in East Illyricum. Lyricius, successor of Damasus, enlarged the power claimed by his predecessor, and decreed that no bishop should be ordained in East Illyricum without the consent of the bishop of Thessalonica. But it was some time before this decree was carried into effect. Thus the bishops of Thessalonica, probably in the year 382, were first appointed vicegerents or vicars of the bishop of Rome. This contrivance was notably improved by succeeding popes, who, in order to extend their authority, conferred the title, and its annexed power, on the most eminent prelates of other provinces and kingdoms, engaging them thereby to depend on the pope, and to promote the authority of the see of Rome, to the utter subversion of the ancient rights and privileges both of bishops and synods.

The institution of vicars was, by succeeding popes, improved into that of *legates*; or the latter institution was grafted on the former. The legates were vested with far greater power than the vicars.† They were sent into all countries, and, by virtue of their power, oppressed the clergy and people, extorting from both large sums of money, to support their pride and luxury. Hence many nations were compelled, through self-defence, to enact laws for excluding the legates of the popes from their dominions. Of this Pope John XXII. sorely complains; and decrees that all people should admit his legates, under pain of interdicts.

The custom of appointing vicars and legates is a remarkable instance of the policy of the popes; for no other method was more successful in extending and establishing their power.

VII. *The pope has not UNIVERSAL JURISDICTION OVER THE CLERGY, demanding obedience and submission, requiring all cases of weight to be referred to him, citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their causes, &c.*

1. Both popes and divines assert that this power belongs to the bishop of Rome.

Dens affirms, "It is no longer a question, whether the pope can change the jurisdiction of bishops, by extending, restraining, or taking it altogether away: for all Catholics agree that the pope can do this."‡

Benedict XIV. asserts, in his book on Diocesan Synods, that "the Roman pontiff can entirely exempt any church and benefice from the jurisdiction of the bishop."§

* See Barrow, p. 389.

† De Marca., lib. v, c. v.

‡ Nec etiam questio est, an pontifex immutare episcoporum jurisdictionem possit, eam ampliando, restringendo, vel etiam penitus auferendo: hoc enim pontificem posse omnes Catholici consentiunt.—*Dens, de Ecclesia*, No. 93, tom. ii, p. 438.

§ Romanus pontifex possit quamlibet ecclesiam, et beneficium, ab episcopi jurisdictione totaliter subtrahere.—*Ben. XIV., de Synodo*, lib. v, c. vii, sec. 6, tom. 1, p. 365.

But we maintain that the pope originally or anciently had no such right, for the following reasons :—

2. Originally there was no such jurisdiction exercised among Christians, as that which the papal court now exercises, and which is like that exercised in civil governments. Our Saviour prohibited its exercise, and Peter forbade *κατακυριευσεν των κληρων*, *to lord over God's heritage*. 1 Peter v. At first the episcopal power was properly the exercise of the pastoral office, and consisted in paternal admonition, correction of offenders, exhorting and persuading them to amendment; and in case they persisted in disorderly conduct, their case was brought before the congregation of Christians with which they were associated, or a part of them;* and when the cause was there heard, the majority decided the case. Cyprian evidently speaks of this Scriptural custom as existing in his day; for, speaking to the members of the church, he says, "All things shall be examined, you being present and judging."† And again, he says, "According to your divine suffrages; according to your pleasure."‡

And the usurped exercise of this prelatical or papal power, beyond the regular pastoral power, is noticed by the early historians as recently introduced into the church, and possessing the character of tyrannical domineering. So Socrates says, "From that time the episcopacy of Alexandria had already, a great while ago, gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the priesthood."§ He speaks in a similar strain concerning the kind of power which the bishops of Rome had assumed: "The episcopacy of Rome, in like manner as that of Alexandria, had already, a great while ago, gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the priesthood."||

3. Originally no one bishop had jurisdiction over another, as Cyprian, in many places, affirms. Even in after times, when synods sat, the community of bishops did not intermeddle with the proceedings of bishops in their own precincts or charge, except when their conduct concerned the general state of the church.

In cases of general utility, the *custom* of the church, confirmed by the Nicene Council, canon fifth, decided that all causes should be finally terminated in each province; so that no regard was had to the pope. The Synod of Antioch, in its sixteenth canon, embodied in the canons of the universal church, declares: "If any bishop, accused of certain crimes, shall be condemned by all the bishops of the province, and all shall unanimously vote against him, he shall not be judged again by others; but the unanimous sentence of the bishops of the province shall remain valid."

4. If the pope had universal authority over the clergy from the beginning, there would have been *clear instances* of it furnished in the history of the church; nevertheless, there are few instances of it, and these are insufficient or inapplicable.

5. It is well known what commotions existed at Rome when the patriarch of Constantinople assumed the title of œcumenical or univer-

* 1 Cor. v, 4, 12; 2 Cor. ii, 6.

† Examina buntur singulæ presentibus et judicantibus vobis.—*Cypr.*, ep. 12.

‡ Secundum vestra divina suffragia.—*Cypr.*, ep. 40. Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum.—*Id.*, ep. 46; *Tertul. Apol.* 39.

§ Socr., vii, 7.

|| *Id.*, vii, 11.

sal bishop. Nevertheless, it was afterward assumed by the pope. This proves incontestibly, that the *universal jurisdiction* of the pope over the clergy was not primitive; and, therefore, no part of the Christian system.*

CHAPTER XII.

SUPREMACY CONTINUED—PREROGATIVES OF THE POPE.

VIII. THE POPE DID NOT ORIGINALLY POSSESS THE CHOICE, ORDINATION, AND CONFIRMATION OF BISHOPS. 1. He claims this. Explanation of election, confirmation, ordination, jurisdiction: 2. Ordination of Matthias: 3. The deacons: 4. Elders and bishops in the apostles' days: 5. Afterward chosen by the presbyters and people: 6. Choice of bishops by the people, presbyters, and other bishops. Cyprian cited: 7. Subsequently by the province. Import of confirmation anciently: 8. Usurpation of power does not confer a right: 9. The second general council confined bishops to their own dioceses in the exercise of power: 10. The emperors did more in confirming bishops than the popes. Examples of this: 11. General councils decided the matter: 12. All bishops anciently confirmed each other's elections.—IX. IT DOES NOT BELONG TO THE POPE TO CENSURE, SUSPEND, OR DEPOSE BISHOPS OR PASTORS. 1. This prerogative is claimed. Innocent III. The Council of Trent cited: 2. Deposition was done by synods. Many instances cited: 3. In some cases it was different, as bishops deposed each other. Instances given: 4. In cases of heresy, schism, or immorality, the people might desert their bishops: 5. If any pope assumed more than the canons allowed, or what was common to other bishops of his rank, it was an irregularity or usurpation: 6. Popes anciently did not depose without synods: 7. Bishops were deposed by the emperors' authority. Several instances of this: 8. The instances quoted in favour of the pope's authority are not conclusive. Case of Marcian in 253, by Stephen—Flavian, by Damasus. Other instances entirely impertinent.—X. NOR CAN HE RESTORE CENSURED, SUSPENDED, OR DEPOSED BISHOPS. 1. This is asserted. Baronius cited. Gelasius I. quoted: 2. No ancient canon for it: 3. Decrees of synods against it: 4. The apostolical canons were against it: 5. Popes were checked for interfering in such cases.—XI. OF APPEALS TO THE POPE. 1. Claims for this. Council of Florence, Gratian, Pius II., Nicholas I., and Pelag. II. cited: 2. No examples of this in early antiquity: 3. The ancient customs and canons are against it: 4. When the diocesan administration was introduced, the last resort was to the synods and their primates. Council of Chalcedon, canon ninth, cited. Constant. I., canon sixth, cited. The African churches: 5. The popes were opposed for receiving appeals: 6. The ancient fathers speak against foreign appeals. Popes quoted—Augustine, Bernard. Council of Basil cited: 7. The decrees of the Council of Sardis considered. Six considerations on this: 8. The grounds on which the pope asserts it, destroy the validity of their claims: 9. Very often appeals were not made to the pope: 10. Christian states have been compelled to make laws against them: 11. Anciently there were properly no appeals: 12. Instances of appeals are few, and not primitive. Several instances examined.—XII. WHETHER THE POPE CAN BE CALLED TO AN ACCOUNT, JUDGED, OR DEPOSED. 1. They pretend to this, according to the canon law: 2. Antiquity is against them: 3. Popes have been called to an account. Instances given: 4. They gave an account of their faith: 5. Various opinions on this subject. Five opinions mentioned: 6. Great perplexity on this subject. Canon law cited. Archbishop Antonine's opinions on the deposition of wicked and incorrigible popes.—XIII. WHETHER HE CAN DECIDE CONTROVERSIES. 1. It is ascribed to him: 2. The ancients knew nothing of it: 3. Controversies were decided by synods: 4. Many popes were heretical: 5. Their expositions are puerile.

VIII. *The pope did not originally possess the CHOICE, CONSTITUTION, and CONFIRMATION of bishops or pastors.*

1. Nevertheless, the pope claims and exercises these prerogatives

* On the title *universal*, see Bowers, vol. ii, pp. 606, 668–676, 681–684, 722–727.

as far as he can ; pretending, that no bishop can be ordained without his designation, and that all elections, collations, and nominations must receive his confirmation.

In this matter may be distinguished, 1. The designation of the person by *election* or otherwise. 2. The *confirmation* of that. 3. The *ordination* or *consecration* of the person to his office, by which his character or authority is recognised. 4., The *authority* by which he acteth.

Into all these the pope intrudes himself. 1. He claims the disposal of all benefices ; but not being able to deprive patrons of their nominations and corporations of their election, yet by his reservations, provisions, collation of vacancies *apud sedem*, resignations, devolutions, and the like, he encroaches on the rights of all. 2. He pretends that no bishop should be ordained without his license. 3. He obliges the person ordained to swear allegiance to him. 4. He pretends that all bishops are his *ministers* and *deputies*.

Many quotations from popes and papal divines might be given, to show that these claims are made, and the practice of popes show their willingness to obtain what they claim. Benedict XIV. affirms, that “the pope hath authority over bishops and patriarchs, confirming and promoting them, and when necessary deposing them, and what is more, instituting them anew if he chooses, and suppressing those already instituted.”*

Clement IV. says, “Although the plenary disposal of all churches, parsonages, dignities, and other ecclesiastical benefices be known to belong to the pope of Rome.”†

But no such privileges are founded on *Scripture*, *primitive usage*, or *ancient canons*. They originate in ambition and avarice ; they are obtained by usurpation ; are upheld by violence ; and are encroachments on the original rights and liberties of the church. This will appear from the consideration of the ancient usages concerning ordination to the ministry.

2. The first ordination, after our Lord’s ascension, of an ecclesiastical person, was that of Matthias. In this ordination *all the disciples* present *presented two*, and *out of these two God himself chose one*, by determining the lot to fall on Matthias, Acts i. So that this election, partly human and partly divine, went by free election of the whole fraternity so far as it was human ; and Peter assumed nothing peculiar to himself. Indeed, there was no imposition of hands, or particular consecration, practised in this ordination.

3. In the appointment of deacons to attend to the duties of almoners, the apostles committed the selection of the persons *to the multitude of the disciples*, who *elected* them, and *presented them* to the apostles, who by *prayer and imposition of hands ordained them*. Acts vi. Peter performed nothing peculiar in this ordination.

4. In the apostles’ times elders or bishops were appointed in every city ; and between the elders and bishops in these days there was no

* In episcopos et patriarchas auctoritatem habet, &c.—*Bened. XIV., de Syn., lib. ii, c. i, sec. 1.*

† Licet ecclesiarum, personatum, dignitatum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscatur pontificem pertinere.—*Clem. IV. in Sextæ, lib. iii, tit. 4, c. ii.*

difference. Immediately after, however, the apostles' times, the title bishop was given to the senior pastor, or the pastor in charge of the flock. Those were selected whom God designated for the ministry. So Eusebius declares concerning John the apostle, in Asia, that "he set those apart for the clergy whom the Spirit had marked out."* And Clement, of Rome, tells us, this was done with the consent of the Christian people. But he makes no mention of the *confirmation* of the pope.

5. In succeeding times bishops were chosen by the presbyters and people. 1 Tim. iii, 10. The clergy proposed a person, and the people approved, or, by their suffrages, elected one, after a strict examination into his gifts, graces, and usefulness. This is briefly intimated by Tertullian and others. "The presidents of the church are certain elders well approved, who have obtained that honour, not by price, but by proof."† The ancient commentator, cotemporary with Ambrose,‡ and bearing his name, conceived, that on the death of a bishop the oldest of the presbyters succeeded him.

6. Afterward, on the wider diffusion of the faith, bishops were chosen by the people, presbyters, and neighbouring bishops.

The mode seems to be something like the following. The neighbouring bishops convened at the place where a vacancy occurred. Then, in the congregation, the clergy of the place nominated a person, attesting his qualifications and good character. The people then gave their suffrages of approval or disapproval. Then, the bishops present gave their decision. Finally, the bishops, by prayer and imposition of hands, consecrated the person approved to the function of a bishop, or the pastor in charge of a congregation or city.

Cyprian, the best author extant on the discipline of the church, presents this mode of appointing bishops in his time. But it is to be observed, that even in the times concerning which he speaks, there was considerable deviation from the primitive form of government, in which the presbyters, pastors or bishops, who *fed the flock*, were those who also had the right to govern it. The bishops of his time were fast advancing toward that state of things, in which those called bishops no longer fed the flock, and therefore could not govern them; for their government over the pastors, that is, the elders or primitive bishops, was usurpation. The presbyters, in the days of Cyprian, were the bishops in the days of Polycarp, Ignatius, and Clement of Rome. Nevertheless, the testimony of Cyprian is valuable, as it gives the state of things during that period of transition between the government by pastors or bishops in the days of the apostolic fathers, and the government of *prelacy* in the time which followed the days of Ignatius and Polycarp: for *prelacy* and *episcopacy* are essentially distinct.

Let us, however, hear Cyprian. He says, "For which reason, whatever is collected from divine tradition and apostolic observation, is to be held, which also is held with us among almost all provinces. So that for duly celebrating ordinations for that people for whom a president should be ordained, all his neighbouring bishops should be present, and the bishop should be chosen by the people present, who

* Euseb., b. iii, ch. xxiii.

† President probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti. —Tertul. Apol. 39.

‡ In Eph. iv, 11.

know best the life of all, and hath observed the actions of each from their own observation. Which thing we see done with thee in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, that from the suffrage of all the fraternity, and of the bishops who were present, and who had sent letters to you concerning him, the episcopacy should be conferred on him.”*

Again: Cyprian says, “A people, obedient to the Lord’s commands, and fearing God, ought to separate itself from a wicked president, and not to mingle itself with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest; seeing especially that the people hath the power either of choosing worthy priests, or refusing unworthy ones; which thing also we see descends from divine authority; so that a priest is to be chosen before the eyes of all, and in presence of the people; and he who is fit and worthy should be approved by public judgment and testimony.”†

Cyprian further says, “Moreover, when a bishop is substituted in the place of one deceased, when he is chosen peaceably by the suffrage of all the people; whom, if, according to the divine instructions, the whole fraternity would obey, no one would do any thing against the college of priests; no one, after the divine judgment, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of the fellow-bishops, would make himself judge, not indeed of the bishop, but of God.”‡

Take the following from the same author: “Cornelius was made bishop by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage of the people who were then present, and by the college of ancient priests and good men.”§

Again: “Cornelius being in the Catholic Church ordained by the judgment of God, and by the suffrage of the clergy and people.”||

Again: “When a bishop is once made, and is approved by the testimony and the judgment of his colleagues and of the people.”¶

This practice was so notorious that Alexander Severus, as Lamprius** informs us, chose to imitate it in appointing the governors of provinces and other officers.

* Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione observandum, est tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur; ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, quæ singularum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit; quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, et de episcoporum, qui in presentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio episcopatus ei defenetur.—*Cypr.*, ep. 68.

† Plebs absequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi; quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere; ut sacerdos plebe præsentē sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur.—*Id.*

‡ Cæterum quando episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur, quando populi universi suffragio in pace deligitur—cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post cœpiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non episcopi sed Dei faceret.—*Idem*, ep. 55.

§ Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio.—*Idem*, ep. 52.

|| Cornelio in Catholica Ecclesia de Dei judicio, et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato.—*Idem*, ep. 67.

¶ Episcopo semel facto, et collegorum ac plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato.—*Idem*, ep. 41, ad *Cornel.*

** In Alex. Sever., c. xlv.

7. At and previous to the Nicene Council, the ordination of bishops was performed by the metropolitan of the province, and the election or consent of the provincial assembly. Many canons of councils could be quoted to prove this.*

When bishops were mere ministers in charge of single congregations, or a city and its vicinity, as was the case for the first two centuries, the people and assistant clergy chose their president, bishop or pastor in charge of the flock. Afterward, when the bishops ceased to be pastors, and became prelates, and when metropolitan and provincial synods governed, the suffrages of the people, and presbyters, and pastors were of small account in choosing bishops. This was done principally by the bishops themselves in their provincial assemblies: Nevertheless, both the clergy and people had something to say in choosing their chief ministers; but it was only the shadow of what they possessed in primitive times. When the emperors became Christian the government of the church was entirely controlled by them; for by authoritatively commanding the prelates, the people and pastors were stripped of their ancient privileges.†

In all the accounts given by Cyprian, and the councils and writers who speak of the ordination of bishops, there is no mention of any special act of the bishop of Rome in the ordination or confirmation of bishops.

It is objected to the foregoing views, "That there are instances of popes appointing and confirming bishops." As examples the following are mentioned among others. Pope Leo I. says, "That Anatolius, by the favour of his assent, obtained the bishoprick of Constantinople."‡

The same pope writes to his vicar, the bishop of Thessalonica, that he should "confirm the elections of bishops by his authority."§ He also confirmed Donatus, an African bishop: "We will that Donatus preside over the Lord's flock, upon condition that he remember to send us an account of his faith."||

Also Gregory I. complains that a bishop of Salonce was ordained without his knowledge.¶

To the former instances we answer, That they strengthen our argument, as they are of late origin, few in number, and not pertinent to the point in hand. For, if the pope had the power of constituting bishops, more instances of an early date could be easily produced. Indeed, history would abound with such cases, had they existed, as the appointment of bishops was a matter of constant occurrence, and of striking notoriety. At least one instance might be found before the time of Leo I., who was chosen pope in 440, and died in the year 461. Besides, *confirmation* in early times meant no more than *approbation*. So Sozomen says, "The Alexandrians rendered their churches to Peter, being returned from Rome, with the letters of Damasus, which confirmed both the Nicene decrees and his ordination.** Here confirmation means approbation; for the Nicene decrees needed not the

* See Theod. v, 9, for Concil. Constant., can. apost. 1; Concil. Antioch., can. 19; Concil. Laodic., can. 12; Concil. Afric., can. 13; Concil. Nic., can. 4.

† See Barrow on Supremacy, pp. 331-334, with the authorities.

‡ P. Leo I., ep. 54; De Marca iii, 14, sec. 1.

§ P. Leo, ep. 84, ad Anast.

|| Idem, ep. 87.

¶ Greg. I., ep. iv, 84.

** Soz., vi, 39.

confirmation of the pope, for they were duly established without it. But let us look at some of the instances given.

Anatolius obtained the bishoprick of Constantinople, *by the help of the emperor, and by the assent of the pope's favour.** What then? The following: Anatolius was put into that see in the room of Flavian, by the influence of Dioscorus, and favoured the Eutychian faction. Nevertheless Leo, *out of regard to the emperor's interference*, acknowledged Anatolius for bishop, though he was unscripturally put into the bishop's office, and was heretical or schismatic. This was the *favourable assent*, or *confirmation* exercised by Leo; and what does this signify?

Again: Leo did not reject Maximus, bishop of Antioch, from communion, nor deny his ordination, though it was liable to exception. He forbore to quarrel with him, though not duly or regularly ordained; and this any other bishop might have done as well as the pope. For if the pope had a defect in his ordination, another bishop might object to him.

Furthermore, Leo enjoined the bishop of Thessalonica to confirm ordinations, because it belonged to that bishop as *metropolitan*, according to the canons, to confirm those in his *province*, or as *primate* to confirm those in his *diocess*. It belonged to him, as the pope's vicar, in those territories to which the pope extended his usurped jurisdiction, to execute the pope's orders; but what is this to universal authority? Illyricum was then especially subject to the pope's jurisdiction.

The same or similar answers may be given to other instances that may be cited, to favour the prerogative of the pope under consideration.

8. In reference to the appointment of bishops we may sustain the following position, viz., *that irregular proceedings, or usurpations of power, do not confer a right.*

There are divers instances of bishops interfering with the ordination of others, who did not thereby pretend to universal jurisdiction; and it would be extremely ridiculous to infer from hence that they had any reasonable claim to interfere. Thus it was objected to Athanasius, "that he presumed to ordain in cities which did not belong to him."† Eusebius, of Constantinople, obtruded Eusebius Emissenus to be bishop of Alexandria.‡ Eustathius, of Antioch, ordained Evagrius bishop of Constantinople.§ Euzoius delivered to Lucius the bishoprick of Alexandria.|| Lucifer, a Sardinian bishop, ordained Paulinus bishop of Antioch.¶ They need not tell us, that these persons performed these irregular ordinations as the pope's legates, for the historians say no such thing. The pope would then have been anathematized had he sent legates on such errands.

Take a few more cases of irregular ordinations, in which bishops, who had no right from canons, ordained others who were not within their jurisdiction. Theognis and Theodorus made Macedonius bishop of Constantinople.** Theophilus, of Alexandria, ordained Chrysostom.†† The Egyptian bishops clandestinely ordained Maximus, the Cynic philosopher, bishop of Constantinople.‡‡ Acacius forced Eudoxius into the see of Constantinople.§§ Meletius, of Antioch, placed Gregory

* P. Leo I, ep. 55, ad Martianum.

† Soz., iii, 21.

‡ Soz., ii, 5.

§ Socr., iv, 14.

|| Socr., iv, 21.

¶ Socr., iii, 6, and vi, 2.

** Socr., ii, 6.

†† Socr., vi, 2.

‡‡ Soz., vii, 9.

§§ Socr., ii, 13.

Nazianzen into the charge of Constantinople.* Acacius and Patrophilus extruded Maximus from the see of Jerusalem, and placed Cyril in his room.†

9. To prevent such irregular proceedings, that were fast creeping into the church, the second general council, held A. D. 381, canon 2, ordained that no bishop should meddle with ordinations out of his own diocess. In pursuance of this law, the pope was sometimes checked when he presumed to act beyond his bounds. As when Pope Innocent I. sent some bishops to Constantinople, for procuring a synod to examine into the cause of St. Chrysostom, his bishops received the following repulse: "Those of Constantinople caused them to be dismissed with disgrace, as molesting a government beyond their bounds."‡

Even in the western parts, after the pope had so far obtruded himself into most countries as to obtain sway in their transactions, yet in many places he did not interfere with ordinations. "We do not," says Pope Leo I., "arrogate to ourselves a power of ordaining in your provinces."§ Leo was elected in 440, and died in 461.

And indeed in some parts of Italy, so late as the ninth century, the pope did not confirm bishops. This is collected from the submission of the bishop of Ravenna to that condition, under Nicholas I., elected in 858, and who died in 867. It is declared, "That the bishop of Ravenna should have no power to consecrate bishops canonically elected in the region of Flaminia, unless it were granted to him by letters from the apostolic see."||

10. If *examples* could avail any thing to determine right, there are more numerous and clearer instances of emperors or kings interposing in the ordination and appointment of bishops, than of popes. "And Zadock the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar," 1 Kings ii, 35.

Constantine placed a bishop in Antioch in the room of Eustathius.¶

Upon Gregory Nazianzen's retreat from Constantinople, Theodosius, the emperor, "commanded the bishops present to write in paper the names of those whom each approved worthy to be ordained, and reserved to himself the choice of one."*** Accordingly, after they had nominated several persons, "he delivered the see of Constantinople to Eusebius of Nicomedia."††

Constantius was angry with Macedonius, because he was ordained *without his license*.‡‡ He "rejected Elensius and Sylvanus, and ordered others to be substituted in their places."§§

When, before the time of Ambrose, the see of Milan was vacant, a synod of bishops *entreated the emperor to elect one*.|||

Flavian said to the emperor Theodosius, "Give, O king, the see of Antioch to whom you shall think good."¶¶

The emperor called Nestorius from Antioch to the see of Constantinople, and he was, as Vincentius Lirinensis declares, *elected by the emperor's judgment*.***

* Socr., vii, 2, 3.

† P. Leo I., ep. 89.

‡ Euseb. vita Constant. III., 59, 60.

§ Socr., iii, 4.

|| Theodor., iv, 7.

*** Vincen. Lir., p. 330.

† Socr., ii, 238.

|| Plat. in P. Nichol. I.

‡‡ Socr., iii, 6.

¶¶ Theodor., v, 23.

‡ Socr., viii, 28.

** Socr., vii, 8.

§§ Theodor., ii, 27.

The favour of Justinian advanced Menas to the see of Constantinople ; and the same preferred Eutyches thereto.*

In Spain the kings had the election of bishops by the decrees of the Council of Toledo.†

The emperor Charles confirmed bishops, as Pope John VIII. testifies, reproving the archbishop of Verdun for rejecting a bishop, "whom the clergy and people of the city had chosen, and the emperor had confirmed by his consent."‡

When Macarius of Antioch was deposed by the sixth council, the bishops of the diocess requested the presidents of the council to suggest another to the emperor to be placed in his room.§

In Gratian there are several passages wherein popes declared, that they could not ordain bishops to churches, even in Italy, without the emperor's leave. There are also, in later times, other decrees, made by popes of another description, which forbid princes to interfere with the election of bishops.||

Indeed, the emperors for a long time enjoyed the privilege of appointing and confirming the popes. For, says Platina, in the life of Pelagius II., elected A. D. 578, "Nothing was then done by the clergy in electing a pope, unless the emperor approved the election."¶

It is positively affirmed, that "Pope Adrian, with his whole council, delivered to Charles the Great the right and power of electing the pope, and of ordaining the apostolic see. He also defined that archbishops and bishops in every province should receive investiture from him ; and that if a bishop were not commended and invested by the king, he should be consecrated by none ; and whoever should act against this decree, he would bind him in the bond of anathema."** And Pope Leo VIII. attributed the like privilege to the emperor Otho I. : "We give him for ever power to ordain a successor and bishop of the chief apostolic see, and change archbishops."†† And Platina, in his Life, says, "That being weary of the inconstancy of the Romans, Leo VIII. transferred all authority to choose a pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor."‡‡

Now, if this power of confirming bishops belonged to the pope, by divine institution, how could the pope consistently part with it or transfer it to others ? This would plainly be a renunciation of what they call divine right. It is notorious that most Christian princes in Europe invested bishops till the time of Gregory VII., elected in 1073, when that boisterous pope made so much ado about this matter. The princes possessed this right according to the usages of the times, not merely as princes ; but also as patrons, founders, benefactors, and protectors of churches.

The discordant views and practices of the popes on this subject, show the inconsistency and instability of the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church.

11. General councils have decided on the appointment and confirmation of bishops. The second general council confirmed the ordination

* Evag., iv, 38.

† P. Joh. VIII., ep. 70.

|| Dist. lxiii, c. 9 ; Greg. I., ep. iv, 15, cap. 15-18 ; P. Leo IV. et Steph., dist. lxiii, c. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7.

** Dist. lxiii, c. 22.

† Concil. Tolet. xii, c. 6 ; Dist. lxiii, c. 25.

§ Syn. vi, act. xii, p. 208.

¶ Plat. in Pelag. II., p. 154, dist. lxiii, c. 21.

†† Ibid., c. 23. ‡‡ Plat. in Leo VIII., p. 201.

of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, and of Flavian, bishop of Antioch, although the Roman Church opposed both.* The fifth council confirmed the ordination of Theophanius, bishop of Antioch. The Council of Pisa appointed Alexander V.; that of Basil, Felix V.; and that of Constance, Martin V.

12. All Catholic bishops, in ancient times, might, and commonly did, confirm the elections and ordinations of bishops, to the same extent that popes did. That is, they signified their approbation of the orthodoxy of their faith, the purity of their morals, the regularity of their ordination; and they manifested this by admitting them to communion of peace and charity, and interchange of good offices, which they expressed by returning *κοινωνικαί επιστολαί*, *letters of communion*, in answer to their synodical communicatory letters. So Cyprian, and all the bishops of that age, confirmed the ordination of Pope Cornelius.†

But bishops were complete bishops before they gave such an account of themselves; so that it was not in the power of the pope, or any others, to reverse their ordination, or dispossess them of their places.

IX. *It does not belong to the pope to CENSURE, SUSPEND, or DEPOSE bishops or pastors.*

1. The pope claims this by divine prerogative.

Pope Innocent III. declares, "Therefore these three things, (the translation, confirmation, and deposition of bishops,) which we have premised, are reserved to the Roman bishop, not so much by canonical constitution as by divine institution."‡

The Council of Trent allows this power to the pope. "The more weighty criminal causes against bishops, though it should be heresy, (which may God avert,) which are worthy of deposition or deprivation, are taken cognizance of and terminated by the Roman pontiff alone."§

Such power did not anciently by custom or canon, much less by divine right, belong to the pope: because,

2. Deposition of bishops was done by provincial, or patriarchal, or diocesan synods. In them causes were discussed, and sentences pronounced. So it was resolved in the Council of Nice.||

The African Council urge the same, in their letter to Pope Celestine, in the following notable words: "Whether they be clergy of an inferior degree, or whether they be bishops, the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed them to the metropolitan's charge; for they have most prudently and justly discovered, that all matters whatsoever ought to be determined in the places where they take their rise."¶ The same law was recognised and enacted by the Councils of Antioch, Constantinople, Chalcedon, &c.; and we have numerous examples wherein these canons were exercised.

Paul of Samosata, for his error against the divinity of Christ, and

* Theod., v, 9.

† Cypr., ep. 52, 45.

‡ Et ideo tria hæc quæ præmissimus non tam constitutione canonica, quam institutione divina soli sunt Romano pontifici reservata.—*P. Inn. III. in Greg. Decret.*, lib. i, tit. 7, c. ii.

§ Causæ criminales graviores contra episcopos, etiam hæresis, (quod absit,) quæ depositione aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipso tantum summo Romano pontifice cognoscantur et terminentur.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxiv, c. v. || *Conc. Nic. i*, canon 5.

¶ Decreta Nicæna sive inferiores gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt: prudentissime enim justissimeque orderunt quæcunque negotia in suis locis ubi orta finienda.—*Syn. Afr., Ep. ad P. Celest. I.*

for his scandalous conduct, was deposed by the Council of Antioch.*

Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, was removed by a synod of the same place.†

Another Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, was deposed by the Council of Gangra.‡

Thus a council of Constantinople deposed Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, for heterodoxy in reference to our Lord's divinity.§

Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, was deposed by a council held there, *gathered by the emperor's command.*||

Athanasius was tried and condemned by the Council of Tyre, though the sentence is generally considered to be unjust.

Chrysostom was deposed, though unjustly, by a council at Constantinople.¶

The bishops at Antioch, according to the emperor's order, deposed Stephen, bishop of that place, for a wicked contrivance against the fame of Euphratas and Vincentius.

In all these condemnations, censures, and depositions of bishops, the bishop of Rome had no concern. All the proceedings went on the supposition, that, according to the canons or existing laws of the church, such decisions were to be passed by synods. It is said of Chrysostom, in connection with his synod, that he *deposed fifteen bishops.***

3. In some cases, however, bishops, as defenders of the faith, and executioners of the canons, deposed other bishops. Their deposition consisted in not allowing wicked or heretical bishops to be capable of holding their offices, and presuming that their places were properly void. This argues that the remains of the primitive episcopacy or pastorship, which existed in the primitive church in the ages immediately succeeding the apostles, had still some hold in the church.

Pope Gelasius proposed for a rule, "That not only a metropolitan, but every other bishop, hath a right to separate any persons or any place from the Catholic communion, according to the rule by which his heresy is already condemned."†† On this account the popes quarrelled with the bishops of Constantinople for a long time, because they did not reject Acacius from the number of bishops, in consequence of his communicating with heretics. So Cyprian rejected Marcian, bishop of Arles, for adhering to the Novatians.‡‡ Athanasius deposed Arian bishops, and substituted others in their places.§§ So Acacius, and his accomplices, deposed Macedonius and divers other bishops.¶¶

Indeed, the bishops of those times *deposed one another* on various occasions.¶¶ So Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, deposed Athanasius. So Eusebius, of Nicomedia, threatened to depose Alexander of Constantinople, unless he would admit Arius to communion.*** Acacius, and his accomplices, extruded Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem. He also deposed and expelled Cyril of Jerusalem, and deposed many other

* Euseb., vii, 30; Socr., i, 24.

† Soz., ii, 19.

‡ Socr., ii, 43.

§ Soz., iii, 14; Socr., i, 36.

|| Socr., ii, 28, 29.

¶ Theod., ii, 10.

** Δεκαπεντε επισκοπους καθειλεν.—*Syn. Chalc.*, act. xi, p. 411.

†† P. Gelas., ep. 4.

‡‡ Cypr., ep. 67.

§§ Soz., iii, 21.

¶¶ Socr., ii, 42.

¶¶ Socr., ii, 24.

*** Socr., i, 37.

bishops at Constantinople.* Cyril deposed Nestorius; and Nestorius deposed Cyril and Memnon.† Cyril and Juvenalis deposed John of Antioch; and John of Antioch, with his bishops, deposed Cyril and Memnon.‡ And after the Council of Ephesus, John of Antioch, *gathering together many bishops, deposed Cyril.*§ And Stephen writes thus concerning Bassianus: "Because he had entered into the church with swords; therefore he was expelled out of it again by the holy fathers, both by Leo of Rome, the imperial city, and by Flavianus; by the bishop of Alexandria, and also by the bishop of Antioch."||

Cyprian affirms, that when "any bishop becomes heretical, or tears and spoils the flock of Christ, the rest may succour the flock, and gather together the sheep of our Lord into one flock."¶ The same doctrine was taught by Celestine I., in his epistle to the Ephesine Council.** The nature of the censures of these times consisted in disowning persons guilty of heresy, schism, or immoral acts; and in refusing to hold communion with them; which every bishop had a right to do.

4. In cases of heresy, schism, or immorality, every Christian had a right to desert his bishop. So John of Jerusalem, becoming erroneous in faith, Epiphanius wrote to the monks of Palestine, "not to communicate with him, till they were satisfied of his orthodoxy."†† For the same reason Jerome, while living in Palestine, declined communion with its patriarch, asking him, "if it were said anywhere to him, or commanded, that without satisfaction concerning his faith, they were bound to maintain communion with him?"‡‡

5. If any pope assumed more than the canons allowed, or was common to other bishops of his rank, it was an *irregularity* and an *usurpation*. Nor would examples of extravagant proceedings in a pope give him any right, any more than to other factious bishops. Indeed, when the pope attempted this, his power was disavowed as illegal and novel. Even other bishops took occasion to depose popes.§§ So, the orientals, at Sardica, deposed Pope Julius, for fostering heretics and criminal persons condemned by synods.

6. Popes, in ancient times, on important occasions, did not presume to depose bishops, *without the joint authority of synods.*||| Pope Julius did not presume to depose Eusebius, of Nicomedia. Pope Innocent did not depose Theophilus and his accomplices for wrongfully deposing Chrysostom: but he endeavoured to get a general council to do it. Pope Leo I., without the assistance of a synod, would not attempt to judge Dioscorus, who favoured Eutyches, and persecuted the orthodox.

We are, however, safe in concluding that popes would frequently have deposed bishops, had it been regular for them to do so, or did public opinion allow it, or did they expect success in accomplishing it. This is a just inference from the various attempts, professions, and principles of popes.

* Socr., ii, 38; Theod., ii, 26.

† Sozom., iv, 24. act. Syn. Eph., p. 380.

‡ Syn. Chalc., act. xi, p. 405.

** Conc. Eph., act. ii, p. 324.

†† Alicubine dictum, aut tibi alicubi mandatum est, quod sine satisfactione fidei communionem tuam subiremus. *Ibid.*

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† Socr., vii, 34.

§ Socr. vii, 34.

¶ Cypr., ep. 67, ad Stephan.

‡‡ Hier., ep. 61, ad Pammach., c. xv.

§§ Soc., iii, 11.

||| P. Gelas. I., ep. 13.

What has been done in this matter jointly by popes with others, or with synods, is not to be ascribed to the authority of popes as such. It might be done by their *influence*, but not by their *authority*. So the Council of Sardica,* and not Pope Julius, corrected the opponents of Athanasius. The Council of Chalcedon, and not Pope Leo, deposed Dioscorus. The Roman synod, and not Pope Celestine, corrected Nestorius. and that of Ephesus deposed him.

7. If *examples* were arguments of right, there would be other pretenders to the deposing power as well as the pope.

Particular *bishops* would have it, as was before shown.

The *people* would have the power, for they have sometimes deposed popes. Of Pope Constantine Platina says, "At length he is deposed by the people of Rome, being very much excited by anger and the disgrace of the case."†

There are many instances of bishops being removed or deposed by the *imperial authority*.

Constantine the Great "commanded Eusebius and Theogonius to depart out of the cities over which they presided as bishops."‡

Constantius deposed Paul of Constantinople.§ He also ejected all that would not subscribe to the creed of Ariminium.||

The emperor Leo deposed Timotheus Ælurus, for which Pope Leo commended and thanked him.¶

Justinian banished Anastasius, bishop of Antioch; and expelled Anthimus of Constantinople, and Theodosius of Alexandria.**

Indeed, emperors disposed of several popes. Constantius banished Pope Liberius, and caused another to be put in his room. Otho extruded John the twelfth. Justinian banished Pope Vigilius, and deposed Pope Sylverius.

During the period of the regal or imperial form of church polity, no great patriarch was finally deposed without the power or leave of the emperors. Flavian was supported by Theodosius against the pope. Dioscorus maintained his standing by the power of Theodosius, junior; and the deposition of Dioscorus, in the Synod of Chalcedon, was voted with the following reserve: "If it shall please our most sacred and pious lord."††

Indeed, the emperors deposed all bishops who were ordained contrary to their general laws. For Justinian, having laid down conditions and required qualifications concerning bishops, subjoins: "But if any bishop be ordained without using our forementioned constitution, we command you that by all means he be removed from his bishoprick."‡‡

8. The instances quoted by the advocates of the supremacy, to prove that to the pope it belongs solely to depose bishops, are not conclusive.

* Cyril ad Joh. Ant. Concil. Eph., pp. 197, 332; Syn. vi, p. 11; P. Felix, ad Petrum, Antioch apud Baron. Ann. 483, sec. 68.

† Tandem a sede dejicitur a populo Romano ira et indignitate rei percito.—*Plat.*, p. 223.

‡ Soz., i, 21; Theod., i, 20; Socr., i, 27; Athanas. Apol. ii, p. 778.

§ Socr., ii, 7.

|| Socr., ii, 37.

¶ Evagr., ii, 11; P. Leo I., ep. 99.

** Evagr., iv, 11, 41.

†† Conc. Chalc., act. ii, p. 202.

‡‡ Si quis autem citra memoratam observationem episcopus ordinetur, jubemus hunc omnibus modis episcopatu depelli.—*Justin. Novell.*, cxxiii, c. i.

(1.) They allege the case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, concerning whom Cyprian, in his sixty-seventh epistle, exhorts Pope Stephen to direct letters to the bishops of Gaul and people of Arles, that Marcian should be deposed, and another chosen in his place. Cyprian's words are: "Let letters be directed to the province and the people living in Arles, by which, on the expulsion of Marcian, another may be chosen in his place."*

On the foregoing we remark,—

The statement of the case is as follows: Shortly after the election of Pope Stephen in 253 he received a letter from Faustinus, bishop of Lyons, in the name of the Gallic bishops, informing him that Marcian, bishop of Arles, had embraced the doctrine of Novatian. They wrote to Cyprian at the same time, on the same subject; not caring to come to any vigorous measures against their colleague, Marcian, without the *advice* and *approbation* of other bishops, especially of Rome and Carthage; the former being eminent for the dignity of his see, and the latter for his zeal, piety, and learning. But Faustinus did not find in the bishop of Rome, the concurrence he expected; and therefore he wrote a second letter to Cyprian, exhorting him to animate the other by his example. Cyprian wrote to Stephen, pressing him to send letters to the bishops of Gaul, exhorting them to depose Marcian, and elect another in his place. This is a plain statement of the case. On the Roman Catholic version of the case we furnish the following reply:—

Faustinus, and the bishops of Gaul, did not on this occasion apply to Stephen alone, but to Cyprian also. If, therefore, their application to the bishop of Rome be construed into a tacit acknowledgment of his universal jurisdiction, the like construction may be put on their applying to the bishop of Carthage.

The case was not referred to Stephen or Cyprian for *adjudication*; but for *advice* and *approbation*. Stephen was backward in giving his, and therefore Cyprian, in a letter,† pressed him to encourage, with his letters, the people of Arles, and bishops of Gaul, to depose Marcian, and appoint another in his place. This was plainly acknowledging, not in the bishop of Rome, but in the people and clergy, the power of deposing one bishop, and appointing another in his stead.

Cyprian does not ascribe to the pope any *peculiar* authority, but a *common* one, which himself and all other bishops might exercise. He says in the same letter, "It is our part to provide and succour in such a case; therefore the body of the priests is so numerous, that by joint endeavour they may suppress heresies and schisms." And he exhorts Stephen to aid the French bishops, "that they would not suffer Marcian to insult over the college of bishops."

Besides the churches of Arles and Gaul being near Italy, the pope may be allowed to have greater sway there than in more remote places. On this account Cyprian may have especially referred the case to him.

I subjoin the solution of this case by Regaltius, a learned Roman Catholic, in his note on the sixty-seventh epistle of Cyprian: "In this

* *Dirigantur in provinciam et ad plebem Arelate consistentem literæ, quibus abstanto Marciano alius in ejus locum substituatur.*—*Cypr.*, ep. 67.

† *Cypr.*, ep. 70.

case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles, if the right of excommunication did belong solely to the bishop of Rome, wherefore did Faustinus, bishop of Lyons, advertise Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who was so far distant, concerning those very things touching Marcianus, which both Faustinus himself and other bishops of the same province had before sent word of to Stephen, bishop of Rome, who lived nearest, being moreover of all bishops the chief? It must either be said, that this was done because of Stephen's negligence; or, what is more probable, according to the discipline then used in the church, that all bishops of neighbouring places, but especially those presiding over the most eminent cities, should join their counsels for the welfare of the church, and that the Christian religion might not receive the least damage in any of its affairs whatsoever: hence it was that in the case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles, the bishop of Lyons united others to the bishop of Rome and Carthage; and again, that the bishop of Carthage, as being most remote, did write to the bishop of Rome, as being his brother and colleague, who, by reason of his propinquity, might more easily know and judge of the whole matter."*

The foregoing things being duly considered, what advantage can they draw from this instance? Does it not rather afford a considerable objection against it? The other instances are of a later date, and therefore not of such weight in the case.

(2.) They allege as an instance, that Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, was deposed by Damasus.

The true state of the case is this: The excellent Flavianus was substituted in the place of Meletius by the college of bishops.† A party adhered to Paulinus, and, after his death, chose Evagrius, and ordained him, contrary to the canons of the church. Yet the pope and Roman bishops joined with this faction, and used their influence in vain with the emperor against Flavian. But the emperor, after duly considering the case, left Flavian in quiet possession of his see. Here is nothing of the pope's deposing power; but of his joining with a schismatical party. Indeed, in this case we have an instance of the error of the Roman bishop, and of his great rashness.

Several other instances are alleged by the papal doctors, as Nestorius by Celestine; Polychranus of Jerusalem by Sextus III.; Dioscorus of Alexandria by Leo; Anthonus of Constantinople, in 536, by Agapetus; Acacius by Felix III.; Pyrrhus and Paul by Theodore. The reader who wishes to see these cases discussed may consult Barrow on the Supremacy,‡ and Bowers' History of the Popes,§ who prove triumphantly that the cases alleged, in the place of proving, undoubtedly overturn the assumed power of the pope in deposing bishops.

X. *The popes cannot RESTORE CENSURED, SUSPENDED, or DEPOSED bishops.*

1. This power, however, is claimed by the popes, and ascribed to them by the supporters of the supremacy.

Baronius says, "It is a privilege of the Church of Rome only, that

* In hac Marciani episcopi Arelatensis causa, &c.—*Rigalt. in Cypr.*, ep. 67

† Theod., v, 23; Socr., v, 15; Soz., viii, 3.

‡ Pp. 355–359.

§ Vol. ii, p. 462; vol. iii, pp. 53, 54.

a bishop deposed by a synod, may, without another synod of a greater number, be restored by the pope.”*

Pope Gelasius I. says, “That the apostolic see of St. Peter has a right of loosing whatever the sentences of other bishops have bound—that the apostolic see, according to frequent ancient custom, had a power, no synod preceding, to absolve those whom a synod had unjustly condemned, and without a council to condemn those who deserved it.”†

But that such power of old did not belong to them we prove. For,

2. There is no ancient custom or canon in the church to authorize it.

3. The decrees of *provincial synods* in the former times, and of *diocesan* afterward, were inconsistent with such a power. For the decisions concerning episcopal causes were deemed irrevocable; and consequently no power of reversing their decisions was reserved to the pope.

4. The apostolical canons, which, at least, illustrate ancient custom, and several synodical decrees, prohibited entertaining communion with any person condemned according to the canons.‡ And Pope Gelasius himself says, “That he who had polluted himself by holding communion with a condemned person, is a partaker of his condemnation.”§

5. In ancient times popes were opposed for receiving bishops rejected by particular synods. So Cyprian|| declared the restitution of Basilides by Pope Stephen void. The fathers of the Antiochene Council reprehended Pope Julius for admitting Athanasius and Marcellus to communion after their condemnation by synods. The oriental bishops of Sardica excommunicated the same pope for communicating with the same persons. These instances show that the popes were not then, according to common opinion, endowed with such power.

6. As it regards the *instances* of restoration cited by the Romanists, they are not valid in opposition to the foregoing considerations. This will appear to any who will examine the import attached to the word *restitution* in ancient authors, and in examining the cases adduced.¶

XI. Of APPEALS to the pope.

1. He claims the right to receive appeals from all inferior judicatories, for the final determination of causes.

At the Council of Florence this was the first great branch of authority which the pope required of the Greeks to avow. “He will have all the privileges of his church, and that appeals be made to him.”**

When Pope Alexander III. was advised not to receive an appeal in

* Privilegium quidem solius ecclesiæ Romanæ esse reperitur, ut depositus a synodo episcopus absque alio synodo majoris numeri restituti possit per Romanum pontificem.—*Baron. Ann.* 449, sec. 127.

† Quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum sedes B. Petri apostoli jus habet resolvendi—sedes apostolica frequenter more majorum, etiam sine ullo synodo præcedente et absolvendi quos synodus inique damnaverat, et damnandi nulla existente synodo quos oportuit habuit facultatem.—*P. Gelas. I.*, ep. 13.

‡ Canones Apostol., 10–13; Conc. Nic., can. 5; Conc. Sard., can. 16, 17; Cod. Afr., can. 9; Conc. Antioch., can. 6, 15; Evag., ii, 4.

§ Damnati hominis communione pollutus, damnationis ejus factus est particeps.—*P. Gelas. I.*, ep. 13.

|| Cypr., ep. 68.

¶ See the cases particularly considered by Barrow on the Supremacy, pp. 361–367; Bowers’ History of the Popes, vol. i, pp. 83, 165; vol. ii, pp. 579–581.

** Conc. Flor., sess. xxv, p. 846.

Becket's case, he replied in the following profane language: "This is my glory which I will not give to another." He was also accustomed to encourage appeals on the slightest occasions. He says, "Concerning appeals for the smallest causes we would have you hold, that the same deference is to be given them for so slight a matter soever they be made, as if they were for a greater."*

There are many such decisions found in Gratian's decrees, taken from the spurious epistles of ancient popes; but ratified by their successors, and authoritatively established for current law.†

Pope Pius II., in his bull dated January 18th, 1460, declares: "An execrable and unheard of abuse in all ancient times has lately crept in, being countenanced by some through a spirit of rebellion, and in order to avoid the punishment due to their crimes; I mean the abuse of appealing from the Roman pontiff, Christ's vicar on earth, to whom it was said in the person of St. Peter, *Feed my sheep; whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, &c.*, to a future council. This, all who are in the least acquainted with the canons must look upon as contrary to the established laws of the church. By these appeals the apostolic see is restrained from doing justice to those who recur to it; all are at liberty to commit with impunity what crimes they please; the discipline of the church is trampled under foot, the hierarchy overset; and every thing must fall into disorder and confusion. Besides, how absurd is it to appeal to what does not exist, and perhaps never will? We therefore condemn, upon the most mature deliberation, all such appeals; we pronounce, declare, and define them to be contrary to the canons, and in themselves null; and order, that, for the future, no one shall presume, under any pretence whatsoever, to appeal from our judgment, or from that of our successors. If any one shall act contrary to this ordinance, after two months from the day of its publication, in our chancery, he shall, by what dignity soever distinguished, the royal, imperial, and pontifical not excepted, incur, *ipso facto*, the sentence of excommunication, from which none but the pope himself shall have power to absolve him, except at the point of death. All universities, colleges, notaries, witnesses, and every other person, who shall assist at such appeals, or be any ways concerned in them, shall be liable to the same penalty."‡

Every one, in any degree acquainted with ecclesiastical history, knows that this bull is contrary to the canons and the practice of the church. So the Roman Catholic continuator of Fleury allows.

Pope Nicholas I. declares, "They are the canons which will that all appeals of the whole church be brought to the examination of this see, and have decreed that no appeal be made from it, and that thus she judge of the whole church; but herself is to be judged by no other."§

* De Appellationibus, &c., Alex. III. ep. ad Vigorn. in Decret. Greg., lib. ii, tit. 28, c. 11.

† Grat. Cons., quæst. 6, iii, 6; ix, 3, c. ii, 16.

‡ Execrabilis et pristinis temporibus inauditus, &c.—*P. Pii II. Decretum Concil.*, torn. xiii, p. 1801.

§ Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipsa vero nusquam prorsus appellari debere sanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de tota ecclesia judicare ipsam ad nullius committere judicium.—*P. Nick. I.*, ep. 8.

In another epistle he says, "The holy statutes and venerable decrees have committed the causes of bishops, as being weighty matters, to be determined by us."*

Pope Pelagius II., in his eighth epistle, says, "As the synod has appointed, and usage requires, let greater and difficult cases be always referred to the apostolic see."† And Pope Gelasius says, "They are the canons which will have the appeals of the whole church tried by this see."‡

In the primitive church the pope had no such power.

2. The history of the primitive church furnishes no examples of appeals to the pope.

3. The ancient customs and canons are against it. So the Council of Nice decrees, as the African fathers allege in defence of their refusal to allow appeals to the pope. "The Nicene decrees most evidently did commit both clergymen of inferior degrees and bishops to their metropolitans."§

So Theophilus says, "I suppose you are not ignorant what the canons of the Nicene Council command, ordaining that a bishop should judge no cause out of his own district."||

4. When the *diocesan* administration was introduced, the final resort was to their diocesan synods and their primates.

It was a peculiar privilege of patriarchs to receive appeals from metropolitans and provincial synods, and of reversing their decrees, if they were found faulty. The Council of Chalcedon¶ says, "If any bishop or clergyman have a controversy with the metropolitan of his province, let him have recourse to the exarch of the diocess."

In the seventeenth canon it is said, "If any man is injured by his bishop or metropolitan, let him bring his cause before the exarch of the diocess, or the throne of Constantinople." These canons are adopted into the civil law, and confirmed by imperial edicts. For by one of Justinian's constitutions the patriarch is to receive appeals from a provincial synod, and give a final determination to all causes that are regularly brought before him: and the regular way of proceeding is there specified, which is, "That no man shall bring his cause first before the patriarch, but first before his own bishop, then before the metropolitan, after that before a provincial synod, and last of all before the patriarch, from whose judgment there lay no appeal."** The same is repeated and confirmed by other laws of that emperor.††

In the second general council it was ordained, canon sixth, "It is manifest, that in every province a provincial synod ought to rule, and determine every matter."

* *Sacra statuta, et veneranda decreta episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censuræ mandarunt.*—*P. Nich. I.*, ep. 38.

† *Majores vero et difficiles quæstiones (ut sancta synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit) ad sedem apostolicam semper referantur.*—*P. Pelag. II.*, ep. 8.

‡ *Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri.*—*P. Gelas. I.*, ep. 4.

§ *Decreta Nicæna sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive episcopos suis metropolitans apertissime commiserunt.*—*Syn. Afr. in Ep. ad P. Celest.*

|| *Arbitrar te non ignorare quid præcipiant Nicæni Concilii canones, sanctientes episcopum non judicare causam citra terminos suos.*—*Pallad.*, c. 7.

¶ *Conc. Chalc.*, can. 9.

** *Cod. Just.*, lib. i, tit. 4, c. 2.

†† *Just. Novel. 123*, c. 22; *Phot. Nomocan.*, tit. xxix, c. 1.

Several provincial synods expressly prohibited all appeals from their decisions.

The African provinces had always a primate at Carthage, after diocesses were erected, who was independent of all others, as Justinian declares in his Novels.* And it is plain, the African councils always thought so; for they never sent to Rome for ordinations; and they prohibited all appeals thither upon any account whatever. This is evident from the twenty-second canon of the Council of Milevis, held A. D. 418, which declares, "If they think it necessary to appeal, they should not appeal, unless to African councils, or to the primates of their provinces. But if any one appeals beyond the seas, he should not be received into communion by any one in Africa."†

This decree was further confirmed by several acts of their general synods, made upon the famous case and appeal of Apiarius, an African presbyter, whom Zosimus, bishop of Rome, pretended to restore to communion, after he had been deposed by an African council. Zosimus alleged for himself a pretended decree of the Council of Nice, giving him authority to receive appeals; but this the African fathers proved to be a forgery, by sending for authentic copies of the Nicene decrees to Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, where no such canon was known. Upon this the African fathers wrote a sharp letter to Pope Celestine; for Zosimus and Boniface both died while this controversy was pending. The letter itself is so full of good sense, and so appropriate, that we shall give our readers the following large extract:—

"For we must let your venerableness know, that it hath been so established by the Council of Nice. And although mention is there made only of clerks and laymen; yet there is no room to doubt but it was their intention that such a regulation should extend to bishops also. And it would be a great irregularity should your holiness hastily and unduly admit to your communion bishops who have been excommunicated in their own provinces. Your holiness therefore must not receive the presbyters and other clergymen, who, to avoid the punishment which they deserve, recur to you; the rather as we know of no constitutions thus derogatory to the authority of our churches; and the Council of Nice hath subjected the bishops themselves to the judgment of their metropolitan. The fathers of that council have decreed, with great wisdom and equity, that all disputes should be finally determined in the places where they began, being sensible that the grace of the Holy Spirit, necessary for judging rightly, would not be wanting in any province. Especially as every man, who thinketh himself injured, may apply for redress, if he pleaseth, to the synod of his own province, or to a national council. Would it not be presumption in any of us, to suppose or imagine, that God will inspire a particular person with the spirit of justice, and refuse it to many bishops assembled in council? And how can a judgment, given out of the country, and beyond sea, be right, where the necessary witnesses cannot be present, by reason of their sex, age, or some other hinderance? As for your sending

* Novell. 131, c. 4.

† Quod si et ab eis appellandum putaverint, non provocent nisi ad Africana Concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communione suscipiatur.—*Conc. Miles.*, c. 22.

legates, we find no such ordinance in any council, nor in the writings of the fathers. As for what you have sent us by our colleague, Faustinus, as a canon of the Council of Nice, we must let you know, that no such canon is to be found in the genuine and uncorrupt copies of that council, which have been transcribed and sent us by our fellow-bishop, Cyril, of Alexandria, and the reverend Atticus, of Constantinople. Those copies we sent to Boniface, your predecessor, of worthy memory. We therefore earnestly beg you would send no more legates nor ecclesiastics to execute your judgments here, lest you should seem to introduce worldly pride and arrogance into the church of Christ." They conclude by entreating him not to suffer Faustinus to continue any longer among them. Celestine, finding it to be useless to employ force at this juncture, thought it best to acquiesce for the present.

5. The popes were strenuously opposed for receiving appeals.

Thus when Felicissimus and Fortunatus, after being deposed in Africa, applied themselves to Pope Cornelius, Cyprian maintained their application to be irregular and unjust.*

When Basilides and Martialis, who were deposed in Spain for their crimes, applied to Stephen for restoration, the clergy and people of Spain paid no attention to the judgment of the pope.

When Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, &c., who had been condemned by synods, applied for relief to Pope Julius, the oriental bishops opposed him, and denied that the pope had any power to meddle in these cases. Nor could Julius produce any law to prove his claim, and justify his proceedings, except a common right, which belonged to all bishops as well as himself.

The contest of the African Church with Pope Celestine in the case of Apiarius is famous; and the reasons which they assign for repelling that appeal are still valid.

The bishops of Gaul vigorously and successfully opposed Zosimus, when he interfered with the regulations of the Gallic dioceses.†

6. Indeed, the early fathers present us with strong reasons against foreign appeals, showing their injurious tendency.

Cyprian, and the African bishops, present such as the following:—Because there was an ecclesiastical law against them; because they infringe on the authority bestowed on Christian ministers; they interfere with the time and attention, both of ministers and people; causes could be better decided where witnesses of fact could be obtained; there is everywhere a competent authority equal to any that might be had elsewhere.‡

And even some early popes were of the same opinion. Fabian, elected in 236, says, "Let the cause be always heard where the crime is committed."§

Pope Liberius I., elected in 352, desired Constantius that the judgment of Athanasius might be made in Alexandria, "because there the accused, the accusers, and their defender were."||

Pope Damasus, elected in 366, affirms himself incompetent to judge in a case which had been before determined by the Council of Capua.

* Cypr., ep. 55, 68.

† See Bowers' Hist. of the Popes, vol. i, p. 468–474.

‡ See Cypr., ep. 55, 68, &c.

§ Semper ibi causa agatur, ubi crimen ad mittitur.—*P. Fab.*, epist. 3.

|| Theod., xi, 16.

He says: "But since the Synod of Capua has thus determined it, we perceive we cannot judge it."*

And even Leo I., elected in 440, in his eighty-second epistle to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, reproves him for compelling Atticus, a bishop, *to take a rough and dangerous journey, through snow and unknown ways*. This was a fault committed by many popes since his time.

Augustine, in matters of appeal, or rather of reference to candid arbitration, which is more proper for ecclesiastical causes, conjoins other apostolical churches with that of Rome. In his hundred and sixty-second letter against the pertinacity of the Donatists, he says: "For the business was not about priests or deacons, or the clergy of an inferior order; but it concerned our colleagues, (bishops,) who may reserve their cause entire for the judgment of their colleague, especially those of the apostolic churches."†

* In the same epistle he says: "Probably Melciades, bishop of Rome, with his transmarine bishops his colleagues, ought not to have usurped that judgment which had been decided by seventy Africans, when Trigistanus presided as primate. But why might he not assume it? Because the emperor, when requested, sent bishops to be judges, who would sit with him, and would determine whatsoever appeared just in the whole case."‡

Bernard complains of the mischiefs of appeals in his own times, in these words: "How long will ye be deaf to the complaints of the whole world, or pretend that you are so? Why sleep you? When will the consideration of so great confusion and abuse in appeals awake in you? They are made without right or equality, without due order, and against custom. Neither place, nor manner, nor time, nor cause, nor person, are considered. They are everywhere made lightly, and for the most part unjustly," &c.§

On the evils of appeals the Council of Basil, held A. D. 1431, employs the following language: "Hitherto many abuses of intolerable vexations have prevailed, while many have too often been called and cited from the most remote parts to the court of Rome, and that sometimes for small and trifling matters, and are so wearied with charges and trouble, that they sometimes think it best to recede from their right, or buy off their trouble with great loss, rather than be at the cost of suing in so remote a country."||

7. In opposition to the foregoing, the decrees of the Council of Sardis are introduced to authorize appeals to Rome.

* Sed cum hujusmodi fuerit Concilii Capuensis judicium—advertimus quod a nobis judicandi forma competere non possit.—*P. Damasus*.

† Neque enim de presbyteris aut dioconis aut inferioris ordinis clericis; sed de collegiis agebatur, qui possunt aliorum collegorum judicio, præsertim apostolicorum ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare.—*August.*, ep. 162, tom. ii, p. 469, A.

‡ An forte non debuit Romanæ ecclesiæ Melciades episcopus cum collegis transmarinis episcopis illud sibi usurpare judicium, quod ab Afris septuaginta ubi Primus Tigistanus præsedet, fuerat terminatum. Quid quod nec ipse usurpavit? Rogatus quippe imperator, judices misit episcopos qui cum eo sederent, et de tota illa causa quod iustum videretur statuerent.—*August.*, ep. 162, p. 470, D.

§ Quousque murmur universæ terræ aut dissimulas, aut non advertis? &c.—*Bern. de Consid.*, lib. iii, c. 2.

|| Irraleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, &c.—*Concil. Basil.*, sess. xxxi, p. 86.

The canons of Sardica, referred to, are the third, fourth, and fifth, which we give from Du Pin, and are as follows :—

“ In the third canon Hosius proposes, first, that it should be forbidden to appeal to judges of a neighbouring province ; and, secondly, he says, that for the honour of the memory of St. Peter, he judged it convenient, with the leave of the council, to ordain, that if a bishop, condemned in his own country, thought himself innocent, those who had judged him should write to the bishop of Rome, to inquire whether the cause of the bishop accused should be examined anew. That if he and the judges he should name were of this opinion, they must proceed to a new decision upon the place ; but if he did not think fit that the cause should be examined anew, then the sentence already past must stand good.”

“ Gaudentius adds in the fourth canon, that a bishop deposed by the synod of the province, who desires this new decision, must not be expelled his see till the bishop of Rome has determined whether the cause ought to be examined anew.”

“ Lastly, in the fifth canon, according to the Greek, and the seventh, according to the edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, Hosius says, that when the bishop of Rome thinks fit that the cause of a bishop should be examined a second time, he ought to write to the bishops next adjoining to his province, that they examine the whole matter with care and exactness ; that he must also be empowered to send legates in his own name to this new synod, unless he think it more convenient to leave the judging of the case to the neighbouring bishops of the province only, without sending thither his legates. The bishops of the council approve these propositions of Hosius and Gaudentius.”*

Against the conclusions drawn from these canons, we furnish the following reasons :—

(1.) These canons were not formed as the canons of other councils, in the form of laws ; but they are propositions made by Hosius and other bishops, which are approved by all the synod.

(2.) The discipline which the fathers of Sardica establish in these canons is *new* ; for it is contrary, both to the decisions of the Councils of Nice and Antioch. It is contrary to the two following canons of the Council of Antioch, held in 341 or 342, about six years before the Council of Sardica.

“ Canon 14. In case the bishops of one province cannot agree about judging of a bishop, the metropolitan may call the bishops of the neighbouring province, to judge and decide this controversy.

“ Canon 15. But if a bishop is condemned unanimously by all the bishops of the province, he cannot be judged anew, and the sentence of the synod of the province ought to remain firm.”

The canons of Sardica were contrary to those of Antioch ; and the latter were entirely conformable to the ancient practice and discipline of the church, as is manifest from the decisions of the Council of Nice, which have been already cited and frequently referred to.

(3.) The fathers of Sardica do not give the bishop of Rome power to judge the cause of a bishop in his own tribunal at Rome ; but they only give him authority to inquire whether it were well or ill deter-

* Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., vol. i, p. 606.

mined; and in case he find that it was determined wrong, to order a new decision of it in the country, and by the neighbouring bishops of the province where it was determined, whither he might send legates in his own name to be present, if he thought it convenient.

This power of receiving appeals, with respect to the judging and deposing of bishops, has been extended by the popes to all cases, even the most trivial. Alexander III. extended the power of appeal to all matters, even the most trivial.*

After times seem also to have added the following to the decisions of the council, and foisted it into their letter to Pope Julius:—"It is very meet or reasonable that all bishops should acquaint their head, that is, the see of St. Peter, with what passes in their respective provinces."† But this is manifestly a forgery, because it stands unconnected in the letter, and is contrary to the canons of Sardis themselves.

(4.) The canons of Sardis are contrary to the canons of the Council of Constantinople, held in 381. The second canon of this council *renews and confirms the ancient law of the church, authorized by the fourth, fifth, and sixth canons of the Council of Nice*, commanding the bishops of each province to be ordained by those of the same province, and such of the neighbouring provinces as they should think fit to call in; directing all ecclesiastical matters to be settled by a council composed of the bishops of the province; or at least of the diocess composed of all the provinces under the same vicar, and strictly forbidding the bishops of one diocess to interfere with the business of another diocess.‡ By this canon the decisions of the Council of Sardica are revoked, or rather disowned, and all appeals from the council or synod of the diocess are forbidden.

By the third canon the see of Constantinople is declared first in rank and dignity after that of Rome. The council gave rank to the see of Constantinople, but no jurisdiction. It was the Council of Chalcedon that gave authority and jurisdiction; for by that council they were authorized to ordain the metropolitans of the diocesses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace.

(5.) The canons forbidding all appeals to Rome, made about the year 426, were still quoted among the other canons of the African collection in 825, and confirmed by a council held at Carthage that year.

(6.) The canons of the Council of Sardica were never received into the code of the universal church. On this we quote Du Pin, who says in his concluding remarks on this council: "These canons end with these words in the edition of Dionysius Exiguus, *The whole council hath said, the Catholic Church spread over all the earth shall observe what has been now ordained.*§ However, the canons of the Council of Sardica were never received by the Catholic Church as general laws. They were never put into the code of the canons of the universal church, approved by the Council of Chalcedon. The East never received them, neither would the bishops of Africa own them. The popes only used them, and cited them under the name of the Council of Nice, to give them the greater weight and authority."

* In Decr. Greg., lib. ii, tit. 28, c. 11.

† Theod., v, 9; Socr., v, 8; Soz., vii, 9.

‡ Hilar., Frag. i.

§ Ecc. Hist., tom. iii, p. 607.

8. The grounds on which the popes formerly asserted the right of appeal, destroys the validity of their claim.

Pope Zosimus, in his notable contest with the Africans, though bent on exalting his see, and straining every prerogative to the highest pitch, yet did not presume to exalt it above the canons, nor claim the power of receiving appeals independently of the canons. That was conceding that he was equal to other bishops, except the official authority vested in him by the canons. The scandalous course which he took in the case of Apiarius, to extend his power, and curtail that of the African bishops, is a proof that he derived his claim from the canons alone. No better opportunity could be offered to urge a *divine right*. Therefore, as Zosimus never mentioned such a right, we may safely infer he had no idea of such a right, or did not think it sufficiently valid to be of any use in the present dispute. And yet this *divine right* of receiving appeals from all parts of the world is now held as an article of faith, by all true Roman Catholics; so that to dispute it would be no less dangerous, in countries where the inquisition prevails, than to dispute any article of the apostles' or Nicene creed. It is true Innocent I. claimed, by divine right, the power of deciding controversies; but he seems to have confined it to articles of faith. This pretension, to its utmost limits, was claimed in process of time by his successors. When subsequent councils repealed or contradicted the canons of Sardica, on which the popes founded all their usurpations, they revived the claim of Innocent, and challenging no longer the prerogative of receiving appeals by the canons, but by divine right, they put it out of the power of all future councils to abridge or restrain it.

9. On many occasions appeals were not made to the pope, which proves that he was not generally believed to have possessed the power of receiving them. Paul of Samosata appealed to the emperor. The Donatists did not appeal to the pope, but to the emperor.* And their cause was, by the emperor, not referred to the pope singly, but to him and other judges as the emperor's commissioners. Athanasius did first appeal to the emperor. Chrysostom requested the pope's succour; but he did not appeal to him as a judge. He appealed to a general council, which Innocent judged to be necessary for a right decision in his case.† Eutychès appealed to all the patriarchs, and Theodoret intended to appeal to all the western bishops. Thus appeals were made to other bishops, as well as to the popes.

10. Christian states, to prevent the mischiefs arising from appeals to the pope, have been compelled to make laws against them.

The English statutes of *Provisors*, *Premunire*, &c., are notable examples of the opposition raised against papal usurpations in the exercise of appeals.

In the year 878, the kingdom of France was so harassed with appeals, that Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, was appointed to address the pope on the subject. Hincmar, after showing that such a practice, if encouraged, would entirely subvert all ecclesiastical discipline, quotes the canons of Sardica, on which the popes grounded their right of receiving appeals, and proves from these very canons, that bishops

* August., ep. 102.

† Soc., viii, 26.

are to be judged only on the spot, and that priests are only allowed to appeal to their metropolitans.

11. Indeed, anciently there were properly no appeals in the church. They were first introduced by Cyril of Jerusalem, who, as Socrates says, "first appealed to a greater judicature, against ecclesiastical rule and custom."* This proves that about that time, or the middle of the fourth century, *diocesan* synods were established, and were the last resort; as the provincial synods were the last resort previous to the erection of dioceses.

In proof of the want of regularity in ecclesiastical appeals in the early ages of Christianity, appeals were often made to the emperors. Paul of Samosata appealed to Aurelianus.†

So the Donatists appealed to Constantine. Athanasius,‡ and the Egyptian bishops, to the same.§

Priscillian appealed to Maximus, and Idacius to Gracian.¶ Hence canons were made to restrain bishops from having recourse to the civil tribunals.

12. Instances of appeal are *few*, and *not primitive*.

Nevertheless, several cases are quoted by the Roman Catholic writers; but, on examination, it will be found that they are few compared to the occasions for them: they are mostly late, when papal encroachments had advanced: some of them are impertinent: others of them may be retorted on them with advantage: and all of them fall short of establishing papal appeals. If the popes had originally a known, unquestionable right of receiving appeals, there could be produced many ancient, clear, appropriate, and undoubted instances of it. The following are the principal ones alleged by their writers:—

(1.) Marcian, in 142, is represented as appealing to the pope. But the truth was, that Marcian, for having corrupted a maid, was, by his own father-bishop of Sinope, *driven from the church*. He then *fled to Rome*, and there *begged admittance to communion, but none granted it*. On his expostulating, the pope replied, "We cannot, without the permission of thy honourable father, do this; for there is one faith, and one concord; and we cannot cross thy father, our good fellow-minister."¶

This was the case, and is it not strange that it should be produced as an instance of an appeal, when it was only a supplication of a fugitive criminal to be admitted to the communion of the church? This instance may be retorted with great advantage against Roman appeals.

(2.) The case of Felicissimus and Fortunatus, in 252, is adduced as an instance of appeal to Pope Cornelius. But this was only the irregular application of desperate and wicked men, on whom a definite sentence had already passed by their proper judges in Africa, from whom there could be no appeal.**

(3.) The case of Basilides, in the year 253, to Stephen, is also alleged. But his application to the pope was resisted by Cyprian, and proved ineffectual.††

* Socr., ii, 40.

† Ad imperatorem appellaverunt.—Aug. de Unit. Eccl., c. 14.

‡ Apol. ii, p. 804.

§ Apol. ii, pp. 797, 798.

¶ Ad principem provocavit.—Sulp. Sev. ii, 63, 64; Concil. Antioch.; De Marca, iv, 4.

¶ Epiph. Har. 42.

** Cypr., ep. 55.

†† Cypr., ep. 68.

These are all the instances which they can collect from the first three hundred years ; so that during all this time the power of receiving appeals by the pope was either unknown, or was not exercised.

(4.) Other cases might be introduced, which would go to prove that for several centuries after Christ there were no regular appeals to the pope. Here our limits do not allow us to enlarge, though we might adduce numerous cases, and select those that contain the greatest show of reason on the side of the Romans ; and yet they would not prove the practice of regular appeals to the pope. We would examine the case of Athanasius to Julius, in 350 ; of Chrysostom, in 403, to Innocent I. ;* of Pelagius and Celestine to Innocent I., in 416 ;† of Antony, in 422 ;‡ of Apiarius, in 426, to Celestine ;§ of Cyril, in 430, to Celestine ;|| of Flavianus of Constantinople to Leo I., elected in 440 ; of Theodoret to the same Leo ; of Eutyches to the same Leo, in the time of the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 ; of John of Lappa, in 669, to Vitallianus.¶ Also of Maurus, in the same year.** See also the cases of Wilfrid of England, in 678 ;†† of Hincmar, in 864.‡‡ In connection with the references to Mr. Bowers, and the authorities he adduces, Barrow may be advantageously consulted.§§ If the reader examine these cases, he will be able to trace the grounds on which Romans found their doctrine of appeals to the pope. Indeed no enlightened and candid Roman Catholic will examine these cases without taking the ground, that the cases of apparent appeals, for more than eight hundred years after Christ, furnish no good reason in favour of the power of receiving appeals, since practised by the popes of Rome.

XII. *Whether the pope can be CALLED TO AN ACCOUNT, JUDGED, OR DEPOSED, has been differently believed and as variously decided.*

1. The popes generally pretend to this privilege, according to those maxims contained in their canon law, drawn from the decisions of popes which have obtained authority in their courts ; whether the decisions were forged or genuine, it makes little difference to the close adherents to the supremacy.||||

2. But early antiquity decided differently. For it considered the pope as no less obnoxious to correction than other bishops, if he should deviate notoriously from the faith, or violate canonical discipline. This was not questioned in former times.

3. There are many instances in which popes have been called to an account, and sometimes deposed.

Some popes, in accordance with the usages of the times, have found it necessary to *purge themselves by oaths*. Mention is made by Gratian,¶¶ how Leo, bishop of Rome, in the church of St. Peter, in the presence of the emperor Charles, the clergy, and the people, purged himself by oath. Pelagius being accused that he was accessory to the death of

* Bowers, vol. i, pp. 392–406.

† Id., p. 458.

‡ Id., vol. iii, p. 113.

†† Id., vol. iii, pp. 130–138 and 211–213.

§§ Barrow on Supremacy, pp. 376–383.

|| Bellar. de Pontif. ii, c. 26 ; de Conc. ii, c. 17 ; Gratian. Dist. xl, c. 6 ; Dist. xxi, c. 7 ; Caus. ix, qu. 3, c. 10 ; Extrav. Comm., lib. i ; Tit. viii, c. i ; Pope Leo IX., ep. i, c. 10–17 ; Pope Nich. I., ep. 8 ; Pope Joh. VIII., ep. 75 ; Pope Gelas., ep. 4, 13 ; Pope Greg. VII., ep. 8, 21.

¶¶ Conc. Herdens. decret. 3, ex Grat.

† Id., pp. 430–444.

|| Id., pp. 515–538.

** Id., vol. iii, p. 115.

‡‡ Id., vol. iv, pp. 408–419.

Vigilius the pope, cleared himself by oath.* So Paschal I., Leo III., and Leo IV., did the same.

There are several instances in which notable bishops *refused communion* with the pope; which is certainly a species of censure. In the time of Polycrates and Pope Victor, the whole eastern church withdrew communion from the pope.† Divers bishops of Italy and Illyricum renounced communion with popes for a long time, because they admitted the authority of the fifth general council.‡

Some popes have been deposed by *other bishops*. So Hilary anathematized Pope Liberius on his defection to the Arians.§ Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, anathematized Pope Vitalianus.||

In some instances, popes were *censured and acquitted*. Sixtus III. being accused by one Bassus, a council was assembled at the command of the emperor Valentinian, and *after a great examination he was cleared by a synodical decision of fifty-six bishops.*¶ Symmacus, being accused of Festus and Probinus, two senators of Rome, assembled one hundred and fifteen bishops, *and a synod being formed, he was cleared from crime.***

Instances occurred in which the emperors deposed popes. Constantinus deposed Pope Martin. The emperor Otho II. having, with good advice, laboured to reclaim Pope John XII. without effect, "called a council consisting of the bishops of Italy, by the judgment of whom the life of that wicked man should be judged;" and the issue was, that he was deposed.†† Pope Nicholas I. desired to be judged by the emperor.‡‡

Some popes were *deposed by councils*, both general and provincial. The fathers of the council of Antioch threatened to depose Pope Julius.§§ And the oriental bishops at Sardica did excommunicate him. The fifth general council, held A. D. 553, condemned in general terms Pope Vigilius; and the emperor Justinian banished him for not complying with its decrees. The sixth general council, held A. D. 680, anathematized Honorius as a heretic, and ordered his books to be burned.||| The Council of Pisa, in 1409, deposed Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. The Council of Constance, held in 1414, deposed John XXIII. for his wicked conduct. The Council of Basle, held in 1431-1442, deposed Eugenius IV.

4. The practice of popes, in giving an account of their faith, when entering on their office, to other chief bishops, supposes that they are liable to be judged by others. For examples of these, we have the synodical epistles of Pope Gregory I. Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, complained that this practice was disused in his time.

5. It is curious to notice the various opinions entertained among Romanists on this subject.

The first opinion is that of those who believe the pope cannot possi-

* Ex Pontif.

† Epiph. Hæres. 70; Ardianorum Firmil. apud Cypr.

‡ P. Pelag., ep. iii, 13.

§ Anathema tibi Liberi.—Hilar. Frag.

|| Luitprand. vi, 6.

¶ Cum magna examinatione per judicium synodicum a lvi episcopis purgatur.—Ex lib. Pontifical.

** Et facta synodo, purgatur.—Ex Pontifical.

†† Baron. ann. 669, sec. 2.

‡‡ Gratian. Caus. ii, qu. 7, c. 41.

§§ Sozom. iii, 8.

||| Conc. Cons. iii, act. 13, 14, 17, tom. vi, 943, 967, 1010.—Editio Labbe et Cessari.

bly fall into error or heresy ; and therefore he cannot be deposed on any account. . This is the sentiment of Pighius.

The second is the opinion of those who believe that the pope for secret heresy is really deposed of God : and therefore he may also be deposed or judged of the church. Johannes de Turrecremaia holds thus.

Cajetan is of the opinion that the pope, for manifest heresy, is rightly deposed of God ; and may actually and formally be deposed by the church.

The fourth opinion is, that the pope is not rightfully deposed for secret or manifest heresy ; and cannot be actually deprived by the church.

The fifth opinion is that of Bellarmine, that the pope cannot be deposed for any cause but heresy ; and not for all heresy, but that which is manifest ; neither is he then deposed by any act of the church, but is deposed by himself, or ceases to be pope in consequence of his heresy. But the church may afterward punish him ; but he is then no pope ; for as soon as he became a heretic, his popedom by this act departed from him.* His reasoning is this : A manifest heretic is not so much as a member of the church, much less can he be a pope, who is the head of the church ; therefore, in such a case the pope is deposed without any sentence. If the church afterward proceed against him, they do not judge the pope, but the man. The statement of such trifling is its own confutation.

6. The greatest perplexity is found connected with the question, *Can the pope be deposed for any cause?* In former times this question was discussed in the Church of Rome ; but since the power of the pope has become fully established, his deposition is a question which does not admit of discussion. It is not now pretended that a pope can be deposed for wickedness, however enormous. Heresy seems to be the only crime for which he can be deposed, according to Jesuitical interpretation ; and this is so evaded and explained, that little definitely can be gathered from their evasive expositions.

The following is the decision of their canon law on this point : “ No mortal can presume to correct the faults of the pope, because he can judge all men, and is judged by none, unless he is found to deviate from the faith.”† Hence it is inferred that he may be deposed for heresy. Indeed, the gloss on this point says, that he may be deposed for any notorious crime, as adultery, simony, or the like, if he be incorrigible, and a scandal to the church. But this conclusion is contrary to the canon law, which declares *that no one can judge the chief see, not even the emperor, all the clergy, kings, or people ; nor a general council, saith the gloss.*

We give the substance of what St. Antonine, archbishop of Florence, says on this topic, who follows Augustine of Ancona, and Petrus de Palude. He says, “ That the pope for any crime, however notorious, cannot be deposed, because such a deposition, or accusation, would tend to the injury of the whole church ; since, if his accusation

* Bellar. de Pontif., c. 30.

† Quod hujusmodi culpas redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus, quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius.—*Dist. xl, Si Papa.*

were heard, the church would be without a head; and he ought not to be deposed, unless for the sin of heresy, for which he would correct himself, or amend. Thus the bishops collected in council did not depose Marcellus for heresy and idolatry, because he was prepared to be corrected, and reverse his opinion, which he also did. But for heresy itself he is very properly deposed *de facto*, because the pope is chosen for the head of the whole church, according to Eph. i, 22. *He gave him (Christ) to be the head over all the church*, which is his body. But the pope represents the person of Christ. Hence, also, Christ calls Peter *Cephas*, that is, *head*, and it belongs to the head to cause life to flow to all the members. But the beginning of spiritual life is faith, because *without faith it is impossible to please God*, saith the apostle. If, therefore, the pope be found to deviate from the faith, he is destitute of spiritual life, and of consequence cannot cause life to flow to others; hence as a dead person is not a man, so the pope who is taken in heresy is not pope, because, *ipso facto*, he is deposed. The same saith Petrus de Palude, as above. Because the pope, on no account, as long as he is a pope, for any crime whatever, can be deposed by a council, nor by the whole church, nor by the whole world. And this, not merely because he is superior and hath no man above him who can judge him, but because he is of God, who reserves the judgment of the Roman prelate to himself, as long as he is pope. But when he falls into heresy, then he is cut off by that very act from the church, and ceases to be head, and then he is deposed *de facto* and not *de jure*; because *he who believeth not is condemned already de jure*, and this is previous to any judgment, because, on account of his being heretic, he is cut off from the church; but a head cut off from a body, as long as it is cut off, cannot be the head of that body from which it is cut off. Hence the pope, on this account, ceases to be the head of the body, the church. And thus the pope cannot remain heretical, because the keys of the church cannot be had out of the church. But by other sins the pope becomes a languid head, which however does not cease to be head, nor can it, of consequence, be judged by the members.* Such is the interpretation of Antoninus, whom Bellarmine followed.

But it is curious to hear how he disposes of *a wicked, incorrigible pope*. "What," says he, "then is to be done when a pope is so wicked that he destroys the church of God by his morals? Peter de Palude says there is a twofold remedy. The first is the example of Paul, who resisted Peter, face to face, at Antioch. So we are not to obey the pope in evil, but to resist him by honest reprehension. The second remedy is the example of St. Hilary, who prevailed against the pope by prayer. The whole church therefore is to pray for such an incorrigible pope, that God may correct him, or take him away. For God would never despise his church, that he would not hear; and a council is to be called against him, if he is unwilling to call it. In that case the cardinals may call it."†

Antonine, after citing from the canon law the quotation given above, gives the following views respecting a wicked pope: "And if it should happen that some may be chosen to the papacy who are not good men,

* S. Antonini Summa Theol., pars. iii. pp. 1207, 1208; tit. 22, c. 4, sec. 3.

† Id.

they may, nevertheless, be sometimes good prelates. For charity alone simply makes a good man. But a man can be a good prelate by prudence and knowledge, which makes a man good as it respects his intellect, in the exercise of which he can be useful in governing others. For it is said, *Distinc. 61*, that the government of the church is not to be committed to the ignorant or the unskilled. And in this appears the singular providence of God, by which he governs his church well and usefully by the instrumentality of wicked men. But if such is chosen to the papacy, who is a wicked man, and a bad prelate; nevertheless, the power of such is from God, and under such a government, the predestinate are purified and saved, and the wicked are subdued and condemned. Yet he is always to be honoured on account of his dignity.*

Now as bad or wicked popes are generally acknowledged for lawful popes, and as a large number of them were bad men, it is no wonder that *wicked* clergy too are considered as lawful clergymen. Consequently, bad laymen are also *good Christians*, or rather *good Catholics*, and are ranked among the *faithful* in the Church of Rome. Thus immorality is not only sanctioned and tolerated, but it is supported in this corrupt church, from the pope down through all the ranks of clergy to the flocks, who, how wicked soever they are, boast of the name of *faithful* and *good Catholics*.

Read the following from the same Antonine, archbishop of Florence: "And since the pope can do all things and many more, he can also do that which is common to all, viz., he can err and sin, and may be more severely punished in hell than others, unless he repent. For he may commit simony, according to St. Thomas, in giving spiritual benefits for temporal ones for reward, as is reported of Boniface IX.; and he may become a heretic, as is said concerning Liberius or Leo; and he may perniciously favour heretics, as is written of Anastasius; and he may be guilty of necromancy, as is said in the annals of a certain Pope Sylvester, a magian, but he repented; and he may be involved in rapine, as Peter Damian says of Pope Benedict; he may also be given to luxury, as is said in the annals of John XI., who, when he was in the act of adultery, was suddenly smitten by the devil; he may also commit any other crimes. Nevertheless, on these accounts, obedience, or due reverence, is not to be withdrawn from him, on account of the person whom he represents, viz., our Lord Jesus Christ, unless he becomes a heretic; nor can his election be affected or invalidated by any one, if it be made by two-thirds of the cardinals, unless on account of heresy, if he remain in it."†

XIII. *That the pope can DECIDE CONTROVERSIES is another prerogative claimed by him and those who strictly adhere to the supremacy.*

1. It is one of the powers which is ascribed to him, that to him it belongs to decide controversies in faith, morals, and discipline. But the ancients knew no such prerogative, nor did they apply to it in cases of difficulty.

2. For the ancient writers, as Irenæus, Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and the other apologists and champions of Christianity, when treating on

* Id., tit. 22, c. 2, p. 1182.

† Et quum omnia possit papa et multa alia, potest etiam et hoc, quod est commune omnibus, scilicet errare et peccare, &c.—*Anton. Sum.*, pars. iii, tit. 22, c. 7, p. 1251.

matters of controversy, had no recourse to the pope's authority, as one of the modes of deciding disputed points.

Indeed, many of them openly dissented from the opinions of popes, nor were they condemned for doing so; nor was it considered as unusual or out of place. So Polycarp dissented from Pope Elutherius, Polycrates from Pope Victor; Cyprian from Stephen; Dionysius of Alexandria from Pope Stephen. And all these were renowned for wisdom and piety in their day.

3. The most notable controversies were decided by synods or councils, out of Scripture, history, or what they then called tradition, and the dictates of reason, and the fitness of things, without reference to the pope, as such. Several councils of Africa and Asia defined the point about rebaptization, without the pope's leave, and contrary to his opinion. The Council of Antioch condemned the doctrine of Paul of Samosata, without the interference of the pope, and before they gave him notice. The pope had very little to do in the first Council of Nice. The general council of Constantinople decided the point on the *divinity* of the Holy Ghost against Macedonius, without the pope, who did no more than afterward to consent. The Council of Africa decided against Pelagius without the knowledge of the pope.

4. Many popes have been heretical themselves; and therefore incapable of correcting others. This was the case anciently with Pope Stephen in part, Pope Liberius, Pope Felix, Pope Vigilius, Pope Honorius, &c. In later times, those who have received the decrees of the Council of Trent are all in gross error, as well as their predecessors for several centuries.

5. The expositions of popes themselves, on several portions of Scripture, would prove amply their incompetency to decide controversies.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPREMACY CONTINUED—PREROGATIVES OF THE POPE.

XIV. WHETHER THE POPE IS ABOVE A COUNCIL. They are divided on this subject. 1. Some maintain that the pope is above a council. Baronius, Gelas. I., Pighius, Benedict XIV., Dens, fifth Council of Lateran, cited : 2. Others maintain the superiority of a council. Pope Leo, Council of Constance, Council of Basil, cited : 3. The question much debated : 4. Anciently the pope was considered to be below a council : 5. Their arguments for the superiority of a council from Almain : 6. Opinions of their opponents from Cajetan : 7. In the twelfth century, and subsequently, the popes did every thing they pleased in councils. Sentiment of Ennodius, viz., That the pope by virtue of his office was holy. Du Pin cited : 8. The supremacy cannot be supported by universal tradition.—XV. THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE. 1. Distinctions and explanations on questions of right and of fact. Of speaking *ex cathedra*, and as a private person : 2. Some believe him to be infallible. Dens, Pighius, Bishop Hay, Cajetan, the Jesuits : 3. Some do not believe it. The French divines : 4. The common opinion according to Ferraris : 5. Great diversity of their sentiments. Lieberman cited. Their evasion concerning opinions. Bishop Hay's evasive doctrine. Contests in France in 1661. Doctrine of the Gallic Church censured : 6. The arguments which they bring to support it considered : 7. Arguments against the pope's infallibility. General councils have decided against it : 8. The expositions of some popes are express proofs against their infallibility. Exposition of Jer. i, 10, by five popes : 9. The ancient Christians did not refer to it as a mode of deciding controversies : 10. If the pope were infallible, the consent of the church were unnecessary : 11. Popes have contradicted popes in faith and morals. Instances given : 12. Some have issued, officially, impious and wicked decrees, both in faith and morals : 13. Others have contradicted Scripture : 14. Some have been heretics, and taught heresy : 15. Some have made ignorant and foolish decisions : 16. Some have decided to suit their passions : 17. Others decided sophistically : 18. Others have adopted a new creed : 19. Some have decided contrary to general councils : 20. The evasive manner in which they evade the charge of heresy. Their authors cited : 21. Whether he can fall into heresy, or lose faith as a private person. Ferraris cited. Opinion of Dens : 22. Conclusion.

XIV. *Whether the pope is above a council, is a point on which the Roman Church is divided into two parts. The one maintains that he is above a council ; and this part generally believes that he is also infallible. Others believe that he is inferior to a council, and can be corrected by it.*

1. Let us hear the statements of those who assert that the pope is above a council.

Bellarmino* stands foremost in this division of Roman Catholic sects.

And Baronius, the great annalist and supporter of supremacy, reckons this as an error in Hincmar, bishop of Rheims, "That he held as if the canons of councils were of greater authority in the church of God than the decrees of popes, which is an absurd and unreasonable opinion."†

Pope Gelasius I. affirms, "That the authority of the apostolic see in all Christian ages has been preferred before the universal church, both the canons of our predecessors and manifold traditions confirm."‡ Nothing can be more destitute of foundation than this declaration.

Pighius, who died in 1543, and wrote, among other things, a work

* De Concil. ii, 17.

† Baron. ann. 992, sec. 56.

‡ Apostolicæ vero sedis auctoritas, quod cunctis seculis Christianis ecclesiæ prælata sit universæ, et canonum serie paternorum, et multiplici traditione formatur.—Pope Gelas. I, ep. 8.

on the hierarchy in six books, dedicated to Paul III., declares in his sixth book as follows: "Unless I am deceived, it is sufficiently demonstrated from these things, that all the authority of all councils is entirely derived from the authority of the apostolic see; from it alone they receive their authority and force; that it was always the controller in all councils, and the infallible rule of orthodox faith, and not the contrary. Councils, without the authority of the pope, however full and universal, not only can err, but have frequently erred even in the definition and business of faith. But the pope never erred, but was the rule of orthodox faith, which he received from the beginning pure from the chief apostles; he hath continually preserved it, and will preserve it to the end. He always succoured erring councils."*

Benedict XIV., who was elected in 1740, affirms that "the pope is above a council."†

Dens, after explaining that the inquiry is not concerning a council collected with the pope, but, "It is inquired whether a general council taken by itself without the pope, but nevertheless legitimately called, is above the pope?

"*Answer.* The French hold the affirmative: out of France it is generally maintained that the pope is above a council, so that he can transfer it, dissolve it," &c.‡

The fifth Council of Lateran, sess. xi, says, "It is manifest that the Roman pontiff hath a power embracing authority over general councils."§ On this Bailly observes, "We do not acknowledge the fifth Lateran Council as œcumenical, so that to this day, as Bellarmine says, it remains a question among Catholics."||

2. There are others who are of the opinion that a council is superior to a pope.

Pope Leo, in his ninety-third letter, directed to Theodoret, having learned that the orthodox faith had triumphed over the errors of the Nestorians and Eutychians in the Council of Chalcedon, expressed his joy "that the council had confirmed by its judgment, which was not subject to amendment, the doctrines which he asserted." On this Du Pin observes,¶ "These words are very remarkable, because they evidently prove to us, that there is no judgment but that of a universal

* Satis ergo, ni fallor, ex his demonstratum est, omnem prorsus actionem conciliorum omnium ex unius apostolicæ sedis auctoritate dependere; ab eâ solâ suam auctoritatem, suum robor accipere; eam esse fuisseque semper conciliis omnibus moderatricem et orthodoxæ fidei regulam infallibilem, non vice versâ; illa siquidem hujus auctoritate seclusâ, quantumvis frequentia et universalia non solum errare posse, sed errasse frequenter, etiam in fidei definitione et negotio: hanc vero nunquam, sed normam orthodoxæ fidei, ut eam ab initio accepit ab apostolorum principibus illibatam, conservasse perpetuo, et conservaturam ad finem; errantibus conciliis hanc semper succurrisse.—*Pighius, de Hierarchiâ*, lib. vi. See Du Pin, *Ecc. Hist.*, tom. iii, p. 393.

† Qui (Romanus pontifex) supra concilium est.—*Benedict XIV., de Synod.*, lib. xiii. c. xii, sec. 2, tom. iii, p. 502.

‡ Quæritur ergo, utrum concilium generale, seorsim sumptum sine pontifice, sed tamen legitime congregatum, sit supra pontificem?

Responsio. Affirmativam tuentur Galli: extra Galliam communiter sustinetur pontificem esse concilio generali superiorem, adeò ut possit illud transferre, dissolvere, &c.—*Dens, de Eccles.*, n. 95, tom. ii, p. 440.

§ Solum Romanum pontificem, tanquam super omnia concilia auctoritatem habentem, potestatem habere constat.—*Conc. Lat. v, sess. xi.*

|| Bailly, de *Eccles.*, c. 14, art. iv, tom. ii, p. 504.

¶ *Ecc. Hist.*, tom. i, p. 474.

council, which may not be re-examined, and that the judgment of the pope himself is subject to amendment." Leo was elected pope in 440, and died in 461.

Almain maintained, against Cardinal Cajetan, that the pope is inferior to a council.*

The Council of Constance, held A. D. 1415, in its fifth session declares, "This holy synod decrees and declares, that being legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, forming a general council and representing the Catholic Church, hath its power immediately from Christ; which every person of every condition or dignity, even the papal, is bound to obey in those things which concern the faith and the extirpation of the aforesaid schism, and the reformation of the church in its head and members.—Whosoever, of any condition, state, or dignity, even papal, who pertinaciously disdains to obey the commands and statutes of this synod, and any other general council lawfully assembled, should be subjected to proper penance and properly punished, unless he repent."†

The Council of Basil confirmed the decision of the Council of Constance respecting the power of the pope. They decreed, "First, That it is a verity of the Catholic faith, that the holy general council has power over the pope and every other person. Secondly, That the general council being lawfully assembled, cannot be dissolved, translated, nor adjourned by the authority of the pope, without its own consent. Thirdly, He that does obstinately resist these truths ought to be accounted heretical."‡

The faculty of divinity of Paris in their declaration made to the king, in 1663, declare, in their fifth article, "That the pope is not above a council."§

3. This is a question vigorously debated among Romanists; but the greater number, as Eneas Sylvius, afterward Pius II., said, adhere to the pope's side, because he *disposes of benefices*, but councils give none. As the pope has been the supreme executive power in the Church of Rome, and has therefore the gift or confirmation of benefices, he has so far gained by this tremendous power, that the authority of councils has been entirely subverted, and the greater number of bishops have fallen in with his opinions.

4. But anciently the pope was not understood to be above councils; for "greater is the authority of the world than of one city."|| This has been so fully shown in various places that we need not enlarge.

5. Let us look at the arguments adduced by Romanists themselves to prove that a council is superior to the pope.

* Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., iii, 385.

† Hæc sancta synodus decernit et declarat quod ipsa in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata concilium generale faciens et Ecclesiam Catholicam repræsentans, potestatem immediate a Christo habet, cui quilibet cujusque status vel dignitatus, etiam papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis et reformationem dictæ ecclesiæ, in capite et in membris.—Quicumque cujuscumque conditionis, status, et dignitatus, etiam papalis, qui mandatis et statutis hujus synodi et cujuscumque alterius concilii universalis legitime congregati, pertinaciter obedire contempserit, nisi respuerit, condignæ poenitentiae subijciatur, et debite puniatur.—*Conc. Constantiense*, sess. v.

‡ Du Pin, tom. iii, p. 38; *Conc. Basil*, sess. xxxiii, and xxxviii.

§ Du Pin, Hist., seventeenth cent., tom. i, p. 149.

|| Major est auctoritas orbis quam urbis.—*Hier. ad Evagr.*

Perhaps the greatest champion among them, in favour of this point is Almain, who wrote in the sixteenth century, and was the antagonist of Cardinal Cajetan, who maintained the opposite views. We will give an outline of his arguments as collected by Du Pin.* In his treatise on the *authority of the church and councils*, he laid it down as a principle, "that Jesus Christ gave the ecclesiastical power immediately to his church; he concludes against Cajetan, that the church, or general council that represents the church, are superior in power to the pope. He proves this proposition, 1. By the testimony of St. Augustine, who, speaking of Pope Miltiades' decree, says, that supposing he had not determined aright, recourse might have been had to a full council of the universal church. 2. By the twenty-first canon of the eighth general council, which allows that the general councils should examine the decisions of popes. 3. By the testimony of Pope Damasus, who remitted the judgment of Bonosus to the council. 4. Because, according to St. Augustine's opinion, St. Peter received the keys, as he represented the church. 5. Because it would be a strange thing, if the pope should make an ill use of his authority, that there should be no power that could hinder him from ruining the church and ruining himself. 6. Because the pope being a son of the church, he ought to submit to it. 7. Because when there is a double election, so that there are two who pretend a right to the papacy at the same time, it is necessary there should be a judge who has power to determine which of the two has the just title. This judge must be the superior, and cannot be any other than the church. 8. Because St. Jerome and the popes themselves do acknowledge this superiority in the church, and in the council as representing the church, which indeed is founded on the light of nature: so that the general council, whether the pope be assisting in it or not, as it represents the whole Catholic Church, is always superior to the pope."

"It is objected against this doctrine, 1. That the pope is head of the universal church. 2. That it was only to St. Peter that Jesus Christ said, *Feed my sheep*; and that thereby he constituted him monarch of the church and sole and universal pastor; and that the members of his council are his sheep. 3. That the pope is bishop of the whole church, as every bishop is of his own diocess. 4. That the pope has a sovereign power in the church, and consequently there can be no power above it, or equal to it. 5. That the pope is the immediate vicar of Jesus Christ, and not of the apostles. And, 6. That the general councils receive their authority from the pope." Almain proceeds to answer these objections, which contain the leading principles of those who maintain the superiority of the pope to a council.

It were needless to our purpose to adduce those arguments by which this class of Romanists support their doctrines. Bailly enumerates them briefly in his *Tract de Ecclesia*, chapter fourteenth, to which the reader is referred. We will, however, give the principles which he deduces from his arguments, and which are the following:

"That the power of the pope is not exercised or governed by his own will, but according to the received rules of the church, and the canons, especially those made by general councils."

"That the government of the church is monarchical, but mixed, or re-

* Ecc. Hist., tom. iii, p. 285.

gulated by aristocracy. 1. It is monarchical: For a monarchical government is that in which some one person is superior, who should have the right of introducing laws, and to whom obedience is due. But in the church the pope is superior to others; he hath the right of introducing laws, and obedience is due to him, unless the church objects. This is the doctrine of Cardinal de Alliaco, Gerson, Almain, and constantly of the sacred faculty of Paris. 2. This government is not purely monarchical, but it is regulated by aristocracy: for the power of the pope is not absolute, nor is it altogether independent, but is tempered by the authority of bishops, who are the (*optimates*) nobles who receive their authority from Christ, and who, taken collectively, are united in a general council, and are superior in authority to the Roman pontiff."

Almain maintained that the final decision of matters of faith belongs to a general council. Cajetan maintains that it belongs to the pope, and that all his decrees in matters of faith are infallible. Almain asserts the contrary, that the pope may be deceived in judging; and he proves this proposition from the numerous facts in which popes contradicted each other in their decrees.

6. Cajetan was the champion of the pope for the superiority of the see of Rome. In his *Tract on the Comparison of the Authority of the Pope and a Council*,* he maintains, "That the pope's authority is sovereign in the church, and that Jesus Christ gave the keys only to St. Peter, that he and his successors might enjoy the sovereignty in the church; that the apostles, as such, were all equal, and received their apostleship immediately from Christ: but if they be considered as sheep of Christ, they belonged to Peter, whom Christ constituted the only and sovereign pastor of the flock. There are five several things in which the power of Peter differed from that of the other apostles, viz., 1. It belonged to Peter according to the *natural order*, but to the rest of the apostles by a *special grace*. 2. He was constituted the *vicar general* of Jesus Christ; whereas the other apostles were only *lieutenants* or *delegates*. 3. He was invested with authority and power over the other apostles; whereas they had no authority over each other. 4. The power of the other apostles was to cease in their persons; whereas that of Peter was to continue in his successors. 5. The power of the apostles was only *executive*, whereas the power of Peter was *legislative*."

These are distinctions which were little heard of before his time; and which Cajetan founded on frivolous conjectures. For instance, to prove that the apostles had only an executive power, he adduces the words in the preface of the mass, where it is said of the apostles, *That they are the vicars of the work of Jesus Christ, quos operis tui vicarios*; On which he observes, That they are not said absolutely to be the vicars of Jesus Christ, but the vicars of his work, that is, vicars for executing. The answers that he gives to the objections which he proposes against himself are similar to the foregoing.

He further maintains, "That if we take the church and the council in conjunction with the pope, they have no more power or authority than the pope alone has; and that the church and council, without the

* *Tractatus de Comparatione auctoritatis Papæ et Consilii*; for an account of which see De Pin, *Ecc. Hist.*, tom. iii, p. 364.

pope, have no power at all, being only an imperfect body, a trunk without a head."

Cajetan endeavouring to destroy the authority of the Councils of Constance and Basil, in opposing the Council of Pisa, affirms, "That the church, without the pope, has no authority to make laws, or to judge of persons, or to hold a full and perfect council. Yet in some certain cases a council may be called without the pope's authority; as when the pope refuses to call it when he is required, or if he deserves to be deposed as a heretic, or if there be several persons who pretend to the papacy, and contend for it. But the power of this council is restrained to the single point of determining what concerns the pontificate; and in every other case, if a general council were called when there is a pope whose right is not controverted, and who is not a heretic, the meeting of such a council would be to no purpose, because the pope has power to annul every thing that the council can do or order. Though the pope, being a heretic, has no superior whose power is absolute above his own, yet there is a ministerial power which may depose him. There are three things to be distinguished; the *papal authority*, the *person* of the pope, and the *union* of his person with his authority. Though the papal authority be immediately from God, yet the union of that authority with the person of such a man is made by human election. So that a man may be pope, and may cease to be so, dependantly on human power, which is neither superior nor equal to himself, but is even inferior. And this has no right over the union of that power with the person of such a man. A pope cannot be deposed for any other crime but heresy; for it is only in the case of heresy that the law of God requires he should be deposed, and that he is above all other laws, and that infidelity or heresy are the only things that are directly contrary to the conditions that are requisite for being a pope."

"There are six cases in which the church may depose a pope. 1. In the case of perpetual captivity. 2. In the case of incurable madness. 3. If all the cardinals should happen to die, after the election of a pope, and before that election were made public. 4. When the cardinals cannot prove that their election was canonical. 5. If all the world were so prejudiced against the pope, that there was no probability they would obey him. In this case the pope ought not to be deposed. 6. If the pope were bound by oath or vow to resign the papacy, but would not do it. In this case the church could not force him to resign."

Almain flourished from 1508 to 1515. Cajetan flourished from 1508 to 1534. The latter, in 1508, when he was thirty-nine years of age, was chosen general of the Dominicans. Shortly after he undertook the defence of the pope's sovereign authority against the Council of Pisa, and for this purpose he wrote a treatise. The services which he performed on that occasion were well rewarded by the pope; for he was made bishop of Cajeta, and afterward archbishop of Parma, and at last to be cardinal by Leo X., in 1517, and sent legate to Germany to oppose Luther. When Cajetan published his book on the pope's supremacy, about 1511, it was sent by the Council of Pisa to the faculty of divinity of Paris, that they might write an answer to it. They laid the charge of this on Almain, who performed the task so well that the work was approved by the faculty and by the court. Nevertheless,

the sentiments of Cajetan have very generally prevailed, and have obtained the dominancy in the Church of Rome, as is manifest from the decisions of the Council of Trent, and the manner in which they have been ultimately received.

7. In the twelfth century, and subsequently, the popes did almost every thing in councils according to their own will. Indeed, if we except the Councils of Constance, Basil, and Pisa, all the councils were controlled by the popes, from the session of the first Lateran Council in 1123, to the Council of Trent in 1545. So that the power of the pope over councils was finally completed, and is now, at least, practically the true and received doctrine of the Church of Rome.

Indeed, the sanctity of the reigning pope, by virtue of his office, seems to have, in the corruption and ignorance of the times, grown up to considerable maturity. This sentiment was broached by Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, who died in 521. He wrote in defence of Pope Symmachus, and took occasion to state, "that the pope had no need of reformation, because he that was promoted to this dignity was holy, and God would not suffer that he who held a place so eminent should be corrupted. That in strictness the pope could not be judged by a council, yet he had voluntarily subjected himself to its judgment."* In commenting on this sentiment of Ennodius, which was afterward gravely advocated by some, Du Pin observes, "I do not think that there are many who will pass this proposition, that a man being promoted to the papacy becomes holy, and that this dignity either finds or makes him such. It is a paradox that may be overthrown by many contrary examples. Yet Ennodius had no other way to exempt the pope from the jurisdiction of a council, and in effect there is no other way to do it; for it is against order that there should be no remedy to hinder the excesses and exorbitancies of the first bishop of the church: and therefore if all men be agreed that this way is indefensible, and that the popes may be corrupted and disorderly, is it not necessary that a council should be able to remedy this inconvenience? and how can this be done unless it has a right to judge the pope?"

Du Pin, in his observations on the ecclesiastical affairs of the twelfth century, says, "The most part of the councils were called either by them or by their legates, and they were the authors of the constitutions that were made therein, and to which the bishops scarce did any thing else but give their consent."† Indeed, although the name œcumenical or general councils was applied to the eight councils held in the Levant, which were attended principally by bishops of the eastern churches: those of the western being represented by the legates of the see of Rome, who often were accompanied by few or none of the bishops of the western churches, after the separation of the Greek and Latin churches, the succeeding general councils were composed only of western prelates, convened by the popes, who published decisions conformable to the doctrine and discipline which the western bishops approved. But in most of them, almost every thing was done by the control of the pope.‡

From the preceding we may infer that the pope cannot pretend to supremacy by universal tradition, or, in other words, by the voice of

* Du Pin, *Ecc. Hist.*, tom. i, p. 521.

† Du Pin, tom. ii, p. 395.

‡ *Id.*, p. 388.

ancient history; and if he cannot prove it by this, how can it be proved? Certainly not by Scripture, nor by the decrees of ancient synods, nor by any clear or convincing reasons.

XV. *The infallibility of the pope.*

Among Romanists there is great diversity of sentiments concerning the infallibility of the pope; some denying it altogether, others qualifying it, and others holding it as an article of faith.

1. There are several *distinctions* made by Roman divines, the explanation of which will be necessary, in order to understand their statements and reasonings. These concern questions of *fact*, and *questions of faith*; *speaking ex cathedra*, and *speaking as a private doctor or person*. We take the definitions of these from Dens* and Bailly;† the latter denying with the French divines the absolute infallibility of the pope, and the former affirming it.

There is, says Dens, as cited below, one question *of right*, (*juris*), and another *of fact*, (*facti*.)

A question *of right*, or *of faith*, or *doctrine*, (*dogmatis*), is that in which it is inquired what is this or that doctrine in itself, whether true or false, catholic or heretic, &c.; for instance, whether Christ is consubstantial with the Father.

A question *of fact* is that in which it is inquired, what is the doctrine contained in these propositions, books, or authors, viz., whether the heresy which denies the Word to be consubstantial with the Father, is contained in the writings of Arius.

Questions of fact are distinguished in a threefold point of view.

1. A fact may be *immediately revealed*, for example, the incarnation of the Word. 2. A fact may be *merely historical* or *personal*, which refers to the truth of the thing done, or the state, condition, internal sense of the mind, guilt or innocence of any person. 3. A fact may be *dogmatic* which attributes any dogma of faith to any book or person.

The pope is said to define or speak *ex cathedra*, but sometimes not.

"He is considered," says Dens, "to speak *ex cathedra* when he speaks from the plenitude of his power, prescribing to the universal church any thing as a doctrine to be believed as an article of faith, or to be observed in morals, or received as good and religious." Or, as Bailly defines it, "The pope defines *ex cathedra* when he acts and speaks as supreme pontiff, as the successor to Peter, as universal pastor, or head of the whole church; then he truly teaches *ex cathedra* pontifically, and sitting, as it were, in the chair of Peter, whose office he holds."

The pope may be considered speaking as a private person, or doctor, when he writes a private letter, or writes a book, &c. "All," says Dens,‡ "acknowledge that the church is infallible in facts immediately revealed. All admit that the church can err in facts purely historical and personal." In reference to the pope, he affirms, "the chief pontiff, as also an entire general council, can err in mere facts, or in things not pertaining to faith or morals. He can also err when he does not speak *ex cathedra*; but when he speaks *ex cathedra* he is infallible."§

Many others deny the infallibility of the pope; and among those who hold it, there are some who hold it under this qualification, that the

* De Ecc., n. 84, 96.

† De Ecc., n. 84.

‡ De Ecc., tom. ii, p. 484.

§ De Ecc., n. 96.

consent of the bishops is necessary to decide finally on the infallibility of the pope's decision. But the great controversy is between those Romanists on the one hand who maintain the pope's infallibility, and those who deny it in conjunction with the Protestants, with whom this class make it a kind of common cause.

2. As we said, some believe the pope to be infallible, from whose statements we will collect their proper sentiments.

Dens affirms, "The chief pontiff, defining *ex cathedra* things pertaining to faith or manners, is infallible; which infallibility proceeds from the special assistance of the Holy Spirit."*

Pighius declares, "the judgment of the apostolic see, with a council of domestic priests, is far more certain than the judgment of a universal council of the whole earth without the pope."†

Bishop Hay, in his *Sincere Christian*,‡ says, "When the head of the church, without calling together other pastors, publishes any decree concerning faith and morals, and this decree is accepted and received by the body of the pastors, either expressly or tacitly, it then becomes a decree of the whole church, and of the same infallible authority as if it had been made by a general council."

"Q. 27. On what grounds do those divines found their opinion, who believe that the pope himself, when he speaks to all the faithful, as head of the church, is infallible in what he teaches?"

"A. On several very strong reasons, both from Scripture, tradition, and reason."

"Q. 28. What proofs do they bring from Scripture?"

After enumerating the case of the high priest, *Thou art Peter, Feed my sheep*, he says, "whence it follows, that St. Peter, as head of the church, and consequently his successors in office, shall never fail in faith, or teach false doctrine."

"Q. 29. What proofs of the infallibility of the head of the church do they bring from tradition?"

"A. From the testimonies of the holy fathers from the very earliest ages, which shows that this was the belief of the church in their days."

"Q. 30. What proofs are brought from reason?"

"A. The proofs from reason are founded on facts, and on principles received by all members of the church as divine truths: for, 1. There never was an instance of any pope who proposed any doctrine to be believed by the church that was contrary to the sacred truths of the faith revealed by Christ; for though there have been a few, and only a few, popes that were bad men in their own practice, yet the most inveterate adversaries of the Catholic faith could never yet show that any pope ever taught bad doctrine. From all which the infallibility of the head of the church naturally flows; for if Christ obliges all to be united with him in faith and doctrine, he certainly is obliged to preserve him from teaching false doctrine." Bishop Hay concludes that there are no solid proofs against the infallibility of the pope. And from his doctrine of

* Summus pontifex ex cathedra definiens res ad fidem vel mores spectantes, est infallibilis: quæ infallibilitas provenit ex speciali assistentia Spiritus Sancti.—*Dens, de Ecc.*, n. 96, tom. ii, p. 444.

† Longe certius est unus apostolicæ sedis cum concilio domesticorum sacerdotum iudicium, quam sine pontifice iudicium universalis concilii totius orbis terrarum.—*Pighius, de Hierarch.*, lib. vi.

‡ Vol. i, pp. 184–190.

infallibility he infers "that the church of Christ is the sacred rule of faith and the supreme judge of controversy, and that she is fully qualified by her divine Spouse to discharge this office, so as to pronounce sentence upon *every point of revelation clearly and distinctly, and with infallible certainty.*"

Cajetan maintains that "the last decision in matters of faith belongs to the pope; and that all his decrees in matters of faith are infallible."*

In 1661, a Jesuit maintained, in the college of the Jesuits at Paris, a thesis, in which he inserted this proposition: "Jesus Christ has granted to St. Peter and his successors, as often as they speak *ex cathedra*, the same infallibility which he had himself;" from whence he concluded, "that there is in the Roman Church an infallible judge of controversies, even excluding a general council, as well in questions of *right* as those of *fact*; and that since the constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. have been published, one ought to believe, as an article of divine faith, that the book which bears for its title *The Augustinus of Jansenius* is heretical, and that the five propositions taken out of this book belong to Jansenius, and are condemned in his meaning." Shortly after, the author of the thesis published the following explanation: "*First*, that he did not acknowledge in the pope the same personal infallibility which is in Jesus Christ, but only an infallibility of assistance, whereby the vicars of Jesus Christ are rendered infallible in their definitions. *Second*, upon his having extended this infallibility to questions of fact, he declares that he spoke only of facts joined to questions of faith, such as that of Jansenius."†

4. There are some Roman Catholics who do not believe in the infallibility of the pope.

The sixth article of the declaration of the faculty of divinity of Paris, presented to the king May 8th, 1631, is the following: "That it is not the doctrine or opinion of the faculty, that the pope is infallible when he has not the concurring consent of the church."‡ The Gallic clergy in those days were opposed to the infallibility of the pope.

Of the same opinion were all the first councils of the church. And the Councils of Basil, Constance, and Pisa expressly declare against it.

5. The following is perhaps the *common opinion* on the infallibility of the pope, as it is now held in the Church of Rome.

We translate this from Ferraris: "As it respects the infallibility of the pope, it is to be observed that the pope can be considered in a two-fold point of view. In the first place, as it regards himself, and as a private person, and a private doctor. In the second place, he may be considered, in reference to others, as a public person, and master of the universal church, teaching it *ex cathedra*, in proposing what is to be believed, or what is to be done. For the pope to speak *ex cathedra* is nothing else than that he is constituted by God master of the universal church, and its visible rule, and hence, by the supreme authority of his pontificate, he can judge and define concerning the doubtful matters in faith, the doctrine of morals, and dogmatic facts, and thus to teach the church what she is to believe or do. This is, in reality, the *common opinion*. Hence, to speak *ex cathedra*, he is not closely confined to those things which the pope proposes as revealed by God and believed

* Cited by Du Pin, tom. iii, p. 285.

† See Du Pin's Hist., seventeenth cent., vol. i, p. 147.

‡ Id.

by us with a theological faith ; so that when he condemns any doctrine as heretical, or defines it to be of faith, but moreover it is extended to other things which he proposes, either to be held, or preserved, that when he prescribes any doctrine as rash, scandalous, and the like, or declares any contract or fact to be unlawful and the like."

"It is concluded, from these things briefly noted, that the decrees which the pope utters *ex cathedra* about the doctrine of faith and manners are infallible, IS OF FAITH."*

6. As there is great diversity of opinion among Romanists concerning the infallibility of the pope ; consequently warm controversies have arisen in the Church of Rome on this head.

It is true, they may be divided into two classes, viz., those who believe in the infallibility of the pope, and those who deny it. Those who profess to believe it, hold the doctrine under so many modifications, that it is difficult to find out the endlessly varying shapes in which it is formed.

Some allow the pope the attribute of infallibility in as ample a manner as Jesus Christ possessed it, as far as decisions in faith, doctrines, and discipline, are concerned. The Jesuits and many others are of this class.

Others allow that the decisions of the pope are infallible when they are received by the whole church, or body of bishops. The following proposition is maintained by Bailly, who limits much the infallibility of the pope, or rather, indeed, denies it: "The Roman pontiff, though teaching *ex cathedra*, is not infallible in matters of faith ; or his decrees are not irreformable, unless the consent of the church is added."†

Another class believe that the pope is infallible when, by the advice of his domestic priests or bishops, he utters any thing concerning faith or morals. Of this opinion was Pighius, who was followed by others.

Lieberman, a recent writer, the third edition of whose theology was issued in 1831, in his *Theological Institutes*, maintains the following proposition: "From the principles of Catholic faith, it is certain that the chief pontiff hath the chief part in deciding controversies of faith ; and his judgment is irreformable if the consent of the church is added. But whether his judgment is infallible before the consent of the church is annexed, is a matter of controversy among Catholics, provided the faith be safe."‡ From this he deduces the following corollary: "therefore the infallibility of the Roman pontiff cannot be urged against heretics ; neither can it be adduced to establish the Catholic faith."§

Many other shades of doctrine might be given, and all of them are liable to still additional variations, associated with questions of *opinion*, as distinguished from questions of faith and morals, on which the judgments of the pope decide. This is further increased by the distinction

* Ferraris in *Papam*, art. ii, n. 38-41.

† *Romanus pontifex etiam ex cathedra docens in rebus fidei non est infallibilis, seu irreformabilia non sunt ipsius decreta, nisi accesserit ecclesie consensus.*—*Bailly, de Ecc.*, art. iii, tom. ii, p. 486.

‡ *Ex principiis fidei Catholicæ certum est, summum pontificem in dijudicandis fidei controversiis præcipuas partes habere ; ejusdem judicium, si ecclesie consensus accesserit, esse irreformabile. An autem ante ecclesie consensum infallibile sit, salva fide inter Catholicos controvertitur.*—*Lieber. Inst. Theol.*, tom. ii, p. 540.

§ COROLLARIUM. Ergo infallibilitas Romani pontificis urgeri non potest contra hæreticos ; neque adhiberi ad stabiliendam fidem Catholicam.—*Id.*, p. 542.

arising from questions of fact and questions of right; and questions of fact are also subdivided into those which pertain to faith, and those which do not. And furthermore, to decide as a private doctor, or a private person, in the place of speaking *ex cathedra*, may make a serious distinction in Roman Catholic divinity. From these varieties in the doctrines of Romanists concerning the infallibility of the pope, connected with questions of right and questions of faith, with deciding *ex cathedra* and otherwise, there is an endless series of doubts and difficulties associated with the infallibility of the pope. Hence there is little real agreement among themselves when discussing this subject; and the ambages of endless evasions meet Protestants at every step of the investigation of the principles, practice, and discipline of the Church of Rome. If the constitution of a pope is quoted against them, either the decision was only on a matter of *opinion*, or it was not a question of right; or if it was a fact, it was not one concerning faith or morals; or at any rate, his holiness did not speak *ex cathedra*, or officially, and his sentiment is only that of a private person, or at best of a mere theologian. But the doubts are not yet at an end; for there remain many more cavils. The decree may not have been received by all the bishops, and hence the decree goes for nothing. On every item of these we could give numerous examples to prove the evasive manner in which the infallibility of the pope is made the instrument of endless disputes and evasions. But our limits will not allow us to enlarge; and those who are acquainted with their various systems of theology, know that in this case we speak the words of soberness and truth. We will, however, give a few specimens of their evasions.

Bishop Hay represents it as no article of faith that the pope is infallible, and that therefore those of his church may differ among themselves on this point, and yet be good Catholics. He says, concerning the infallibility of the pope, "As this is a question in which faith is not concerned, because the church has never given any decision about it, one may believe it or not in his private opinion, according as he thinks the reasons on each side preponderate."* And again, "When the head of the church publishes any decree concerning faith and morals to which he requires submission from all the faithful, is he himself infallible in what he teaches? Answer. This is not proposed as an article of faith, nor has the church ever made any decision concerning it. Great numbers of the most learned divines are of opinion, that in such a case the head of the church is infallible in what he teaches; but there are others of a contrary opinion, who think that his decree is not to be considered as infallibly certain, till the body of the bishops receive it, either by their express approbation, or by their tacit submission to it, by which it becomes a decree of the whole church, whose infallibility is undoubted."† Bishop Hay, however, treats with the utmost contempt the opinion of those who deny the infallibility of the pope, by stating that they have neither Scripture, tradition, nor argument to support their position.

In the year 1661, and subsequently, the doctrine of the infallibility of the pope created considerable controversy between the Jesuits on the one hand, and the regular clergy on the other. When the Jesuits maintained their theses, as quoted in a preceding page, they were vi-

* *Tracts, vol. 1, p. 101.*

† *Id., p. 105.*

gorously met by the other clergy. A tract immediately appeared, entitled, *The Frauds of the Jesuits in their Treatise*. Shortly after appeared a larger work, entitled, *A Defence of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, against the Theses of the Jesuits, maintained at Paris, in the College of Clermont, the 12th of December, 1661, addressed to all the Parliaments of France*. The Jesuits, however, persisted to maintain their favourite doctrine. This called for an *arret* of parliament against it. And this again called forth the renewal of the declaration of the faculty of the Sorbonne, passed May, 1661, and was presented to the king by the archbishop of Paris; the sixth article of which was, "That it is not the doctrine or opinion of the faculty that the pope is infallible, when he has not the concurrent consent of the church." This terminated in an *arret* of parliament, May 13th, 1663, which asserts, "That no one is ignorant of the efforts and artifices practised by the partisans of the court of Rome above thirty years, to advance the power of the pope by fictitious prerogatives, and to introduce into those parts of the world the new opinions of ultra-mountains. That the parliament, equally jealous of maintaining the royal authority, the rights of the crown, the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the ancient doctrine, to all which these opinions of the infallibility and superiority of the pope over a council, are directly opposite, has not failed to restrain these enterprises; so that these monsters have been stifled in their birth, and these attempts have been so far from meeting with any success, that they have served only more powerfully to confirm the truth, and to cover with shame the emissaries of the court of Rome. But since the six propositions contain not only the condemnation of every thing that could establish any superiority of the pope in temporals, but also whatever could be brought to support the chimera of infallibility, and also of an imaginary dependance of a council upon the pope, it is needless to examine whether all these propositions are conceived in affirmative terms; it being certain that there is no medium between two contradictory propositions, and if the faculty does not believe that the pope is infallible, it must, by a necessary consequence, believe that he may fall, or be seduced into error, and corrected by a superior power, which can be no other than that of a council and the universal church." The parliament furthermore prohibits the inculcation of the infallibility of the pope, because "it was contrary to the ancient doctrine of the church, the canons of general councils, the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the ancient decrees of the faculty of divinity."* Such is a very brief outline of the dispute concerning the infallibility of the pope, between the Jesuits and the Church of France; and this account is drawn from the documents in the case furnished by their historian, Du Pin.

But the doctrine of the Gallic Church has not escaped censure, and is considered by many of the Church of Rome as *bordering on heresy*. So Bellarmine, speaking concerning this sentiment of the French Church, says, "It is not properly heretical: for as yet we see those who hold this sentiment are until now tolerated by the church: nevertheless, the opinion seems by all means erroneous, and bordering on heresy."†

* Du Pin, seventeenth century, tom. i, pp. 147-151.

† Non est proprie hæretica: nam ad huc videmus ab ecclesia tolerari, qui illam sententiam sequitur; tamen videtur omnino erronea, et heresi proxima.—*Bellar. de Pontif.*, c. 2.

Lieberman manifests no great friendship for the doctrine of the Gallic Church in 1663. He observes, "I have no disposition to defend their opinion; and, to say the truth, I cannot even now understand what benefit flowed from it to the church, unless that new seeds of discord were thrown among the children of the same church, who, until then, dwelt peacefully in the same house; for from that time their minds were heated with contentious altercations."* But the bishop of the Canaries speaks out concerning all those who modify in any way the pope's infallibility, and considers them as the *pests and destroyers* of the church. He declares "the Roman pontiff cannot err in deciding controversies of faith; and those who teach the contrary are the pest and ruin of the church."†

7. In support of the infallibility of the pope, its advocates adduce Scripture and other proofs. But they labour to such an extent in their arguments, that the result goes to show that their doctrine is untenable. But we may require them to settle this point in their own church before they present it to others for adoption. To the asserters and deniers of the pope's infallibility, we might present the following syllogism:

The supreme judge must be infallible. The pope is not infallible; therefore, &c.

The Jesuits, canonists, and courtiers, are obliged to prove the *major* proposition, as it is their own assertion; and they do prove it, in their way of proving such things. The *minor* proposition has been asserted by the French doctors. We leave the *conclusion* to those who are concerned. And here we might dismiss the subject, as far as the reason of the case would demand.

8. Nevertheless, we will furnish arguments against the pope's infallibility sufficient, we think, to disprove it altogether.

The decisions of general councils are at variance with the infallibility of the pope.

The first councils proceeded on the supposition that the pope was not infallible, by deciding authoritatively without any reference to inferrancy in the pope.

And some councils, as those of Constance and Basil, have pointedly declared against it.

9. Some expositions of Scripture furnished by popes are express proofs against their infallibility.

Take, as a specimen, the exposition which several popes give of the following text, containing the commission given to Jeremiah: "See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant," Jer. i, 10. Pope Alexander III., elected pope in 1159, having told some of his brethren how "the emperor held his stirrup when he mounted his palfrey;"‡ in his next constitution quotes the place of Jeremiah, cited above, and says, "That the power over nations, and kingdoms, to pull up, cast down, and destroy, was given to Jere-

* Mihi quoque, &c.—*Lieberman*, tom. ii, p. 538.

† Romanus pontifex fidei controversiis finiendis errare non possit: eosque qui contrarium adstrunt pestem ecclesie ac perniciem afferre.—*Canariensis Epis.*, lib. vi, c. 7; cited by *Lieberman*, tom. ii, p. 537.

‡ *Omne secundum nostrum palfredum nostrum*, Fridericus imperator stapham tenuit, &c.—*Constitutiones*, tom. i, p. 65, col. 2.

miah, and in him to the evangelical priest, to Peter and his successors."* Innocent III., elected in 1198, in his epistle to the emperor of Constantinople, cites the same text of Jeremiah,† and another in Genesis,‡ more impertinent, if possible, to prove that "God designed that the pope should obtain the supreme magistracy of the world."§ And Pope Boniface VIII. cites the same text for the same purpose. He says, "The spiritual power ought to judge the earthly, if it be not good: thus is verified the prophecy of Jeremiah, *I have placed thee over the nations.*"|| And Pope Paul III., in his bull condemning Henry VIII., dated Rome 1535 and 1538, tells us that he was vicar of Christ our blessed Saviour, and placed in the throne of justice above all kings in the whole world, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, and then cites the words of Jeremiah.¶ And Pope Pius V., in 1570, in his bull of condemnation of Queen Elizabeth, says, "Our blessed Saviour committed to Peter and his successors the government of the church, with all fulness of power. He constituted him alone a prince over all nations and all kingdoms, to pull up and throw down, to dissipate and destroy, to plant and build, that he might be a saviour to all his faithful people."** Here are five popes successively perverting a passage of Scripture; and that, too, *ex cathedra*, or officially, in behalf of the whole church. Were these infallible interpreters? Many other instances might be given, in which the great fallacy of this pretended infallibility would be as manifest as in the interpretation of Jer. i, 10. We might expect infallible commentaries on Scripture, were the popes infallible. But, instead of this, we have interpretations from them at variance with the canons of sound interpretation.

10. The ancient Christians did not refer to the infallibility of the pope as a mode of deciding controversies. In the controversy between Pope Stephen and the Africans, concerning baptism, the decision of Stephen was not received by the Africans, the bishops of the East, and many others. This is a proof that the infallibility of the pope was neither known nor acknowledged by them. This did not break the communion of the church, as Augustine says.†† And he elsewhere excuses Cyprian because "a plenary council had not yet decided on this point."‡‡ Many instances of disproving the infallibility of the popes could be drawn from the history of the early ages. But the nu-

* Deus Jeremiam et in illo evangelicum sacerdotem instruxit dicens; ecce constitui te super gentes et regna, ut evellas, destinas, dispendas, &c., quæ potestas imminet in Romano antistite, qui a Christo, ut sit caput ecclesiæ, accepit.—*Id.*, *Const.* 9, p. 65, col. 2.

† Cap. Solicit. 6. Extrav. de major et obed.

‡ Gen. i, 16.

§ Deus papam totius orbis præcipuum obtinere voluit magistratum.—*Bonif. VIII.*, in *Bulla vi.*

|| Cap. unam sanctam I. de major. et obed. Extrav. commune Spiritualis potestas terrenam judicare debet, si bona non fuerit: sic verificatur vaticinium Jeremiæ, constitui te super gentes, &c.

¶ Ejus vices gerentes in terris et in sede justitiæ constituti, juxta Jeremiæ vaticinium, super omnes reges universæ terræ.—In *Bulla Damnationis Henry VIII.*, data Rom. 1535 et 1538.

** Petro et successoribus, ecclesiam in plenitudine potestatis gubernandam tradidit. Hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia regna, principem constituit, qui ovetat destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et ædificet; ut fideles salvos exhibeat salvatori.—*Bulla Pii V. contra Eliz. reg. Aug. anno 1570, soc. i.*

†† Sed cum iis in unitate permanserunt.—*Aug.*, lib. ii, *de Bapt.*, c. 15.

‡‡ Quia plenarium concilium hac de re nondum habebat ecclesia.—*Id. ibid.* lib. iv.

merous references to such cases to which we have had recourse in discussing the supremacy will amply satisfy the reader.*

11. If the pope were infallible, his decisions would be such without the consent of the churches.

Among the ancients, when a controversy arose, they had recourse to the several churches. So Irenæus says, "It is necessary to have recourse to the ancient churches with which the apostles were conversant, and from them to receive what is certain and clear.† And Tertullian, in his Prescriptions, says, "What Christ hath revealed to the apostles, I will here affirm, that it is not proper to receive it otherwise than by those churches which the apostles constituted."‡ And even in the sixth century, at the fifth general council, in which the three chapters were condemned, Pope Vigil was disposed to insist on his own sentiment; but the fathers of the council decided "that the truth cannot be otherwise ascertained in common disputes concerning the faith, than by discussing the question among the bishops; for each one needs the aid of his neighbour."§

If the decisions of the pope were not infallible before their approval by the other bishops, they could not be rendered such by any subsequent act. For error cannot become truth, nor truth error. These are essentially opposite to each other, and do not change their nature by the suffrages of men.

But we have incontestible proofs of the fallibility of the popes from their actual errors.

12. Some popes, in matters of faith and morals, have made decrees officially, *contrary to the decrees of others*.

John XII. and Nicholas III. uttered contrary decrees on this question: "Whether Christ and his apostles had any property?"

Pope Innocent III. and Pope Celestine contradicted each other in the matter of divorce, when either the husband or the wife were heretics.

Pope Pelagius and Gregory the Great differed about the marriage of the sub-deacons of Sicily.

Gregory III. determines that "the husband, if his wife be taken with any infirmity, so that she cannot render her due to him, may marry another."|| Pope Nicholas I. declares the contrary, and says, "On account of this infirmity, their marriage cannot be dissolved."¶ One of these must be in error.

Lucius approves of marriages made without consent of parents.** Evaristus, before him, defined such marriages not to be lawful.††

Seven popes, viz., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Alexander IV., Nicholas III., Martin IV., Nicholas IV., and Clement V., cursed all who

* See on this point Bailly de Ecc., tom. ii, pp. 486-488.

† Oportet in antiquas recurrere ecclesias, in quibus apostoli conversati sunt, et ab eis sumere quod certum et liquidum est.—*Iren.*, lib. iii, c. 4.

‡ Quid Christus apostolis revelaverit, hic præscribam aliter probari non decere, nisi per easdem ecclesias, quas apostoli condiderunt.—*Tert. de Præscrip.*, c. 21.

§ Non potest in communibus de fide disputationibus aliter veritas manifestari, quam discussâ inter episcopos quæstione, cum unusquisque sui proximi adjutorio indigeat.—*Conc. can. ii, act. viii.*

|| Virum, uxore infirmitate correpta, et non valente ei debitum reddere, aliam ducere.—*Greg. III., Ep. ad Bonifacium.*

¶ Ob hanc infirmitatem conjugia talium dissolvi non possunt.—*Nich. I., de Matr.*, can. 6.

** De Raptor. caput, cum causa.

†† Ep. i.

denied that the Franciscan friars had no property in common or in private. Another pope, John XXII., cursed all who maintained it, and resorted to the fagot, to use his own words, in order "to root out of the church so pestilential, erroneous, heretical, and blasphemous a doctrine." When the pope was informed that his decision occasioned great scandal in the church, he replied, "That they were mistaken, since it might be proved, by innumerable instances, that what had been decreed wrong or amiss by one pope or council, could be rectified and amended by another."*

Pope Gregory the Great condemned the worship of images, and the use of the title of *universal bishop*; he avowed himself to be a subject of the emperor; he denied the books of Maccabees to be *canonical*, and asserted the perfection of Scripture.† It is well known how contrary these sentiments are to the decisions of many other popes.

Pope Leo and Pope Gelasius condemned partaking in one kind.‡ The later popes taught the contrary.

Pope Alexander III., in a council held at Rome of three hundred bishops and archbishops, in A. D. 1179, condemned Peter Lombard, master of the sentences, of a heresy concerning the incarnation. Pope Innocent III., in 1215, or thirty-six years after, absolved him without repentance or recantation of his sentiment.

Now is it possible that popes are infallible, seeing they contradict each other in matters of faith and morals, and that, too, when they decide *ex cathedra*, or officially?

13. *Some popes, in matters of faith and morals, have officially made impious and wicked decrees.*

For some popes, deciding *ex cathedra*, have frequently attempted to depose kings and princes, to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance, and have transferred their dominions to others. So Innocent VI. pronounced a sentence of deposition against the emperor Frederick. Paul III. deposed Henry VIII. of England, in the year 1535; he deprived his children of their inheritance of his kingdom, he absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, charged the clergy not to obey him in any thing, &c. Pius V., in 1570, deprived Elizabeth, queen of England, of her kingdom, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and charged them under pain of anathema not to obey her.

Pope Urban II.§ allowed it was lawful for good Catholics to commit murder on excommunicated persons. Pope Innocent IV. called kings *the pope's slaves*.||

Certainly that power cannot be infallible which arrogates to itself a power inconsistent with itself, or contrary to the acknowledged principles of morality. For the popes, in such decisions, make void the most solemn obligations, and unhinge society. Now popes have taught these things to *all the faithful*, and consequently they taught, *ex cathedra*, the impious doctrines of rebellion, perjury, rapine, and violence.

14. *Other popes have decided contrary to Scripture.*

In the canon law, *de majoritate et obedientia*, the pope's supremacy

* See Bowers, vol. i, p. 11, preface.

† Greg. M., ep. vii, 11; c. ii, 62; iv, 32, 36, 38; vi, 30. In Job, lib. xix, c. 13; xviii, 14.

‡ Dist. ii, c. 12. § Grat. de Consecr., dist. ii, c. 42; Caus. xxii, qu. 5, c. 47.

|| Mancipia papæ.—Matt. Paris, ann. 1253.

over kings is proved from the first chapter of Genesis ; and the pope is the sun and the emperor is the moon. Every pope who teaches the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome, such as auricular confession, sacerdotal absolution, transubstantiation, &c., teaches contrary to Scripture. The doctrines of the creed of Pius IV. are clearly anti-scriptural.

15. *Some popes have been heretics, and taught heresy in that sense in which the Church of Rome herself understands the term.*

Pope Victor, in the year 192, approved the prophetic spirit of Montanus and his two prophetesses, Prisca and Maximilla ; for Tertullian, his cotemporary, tells us that Victor received them.* Baronius and Bellarmine acknowledge that the pope was deceived and imposed on ; but nevertheless they will not give up his infallibility. Baronius† says that it is no new thing that a pope should be deceived by impostors. And Bellarmine‡ says, the Montanists craftily concealed from the pope what was erroneous and heretical in prophecies. But these apologies furnish no plea in reference to infallibility ; as this supposes a degree of freedom from error, on which impostors cannot impose.

Marcellinus, under Dioclesian, sacrificed to idols. Augustine, however, and after him Baronius, Bellarmine, Christian Lupus, &c., say that this was a figment of the Donatists. Binius, Schelstrate, and others, who confess his fall, say that Marcellinus, through fear of death, sacrificed to idols, so that he sinned against the profession of faith, but that inwardly he did not lose faith.

Liberius subscribed to the Arians and consented to the condemnation of Athanasius.

Honorius I., elected in 625, was condemned by the sixth general council as a Monothelite, and therefore a heretic. Perhaps no fact is more clearly asserted by history ; and yet the devotees of Rome will not allow that he was truly a heretic.

Pope John XXIII. denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body ; and this heresy was openly objected against him by the Council of Constance.

Eugenius IV. was deposed by the Council of Basil as *a pertinacious heretic deviating from the faith.*§

Pope Adrian II. did not take the pope to be infallible, when he said he might not be judged, excepting for heresy, and therefore he excuses the orientals for anathematizing Honorius on account of heresy.

Innocent I. and his successors, at least as far as Gelasius I., asserted the communion of infants as necessary.||

Pope Vigilius denied two natures in Christ ; and, in his epistle to the empress Theodora, anathematized all who said he had two natures in one person.

There is one heresy which many popes are guilty of, according to the best historians—the *heresy of simony.*¶ Great numbers of popes have been guilty of this heresy and sin.

16. *Some popes have decided questions ignorantly or foolishly.*

* Tert. in Prax., c. 1. † Ad ann. 173, n. 4. ‡ De sum. pontif., lib. iv. c. 8.

§ A fide dovius, pertinax hæreticus.—*Conc. Basil*, sess. xxxiv, pp. 96, 107.

|| P. Gelas. I., ep. ix, p. 636.

¶ Simoniaca hæresis.—*P. Greg. VII.*, ep. lib. iii, 7 ; *P. Jul. II.* ; *Conc. Lat.*, sess. 5.

It often happens that the pope is not skilled in divinity, as Pope Innocent X. was accustomed to say concerning himself, "That the vicar of Jesus Christ was not obliged to examine all things by dispute; for the truth of his decrees depended on divine inspiration."*

Nicholas I.† allows that baptism administered only in the name of Christ, without express mention of the other persons of the Trinity, is valid, which is a manifest error. Matt. xxviii, 19.

If we may believe Tertullian, Pope Zephyrinus approved the prophecies of Montanus; and on that account granted peace to all the churches of Asia and Phrygia, till Praxeas persuaded him to revoke his act.

Pope Innocent III. urges that the Mosaic law is still binding on Christians, and supports his position by this interpretation: "Indeed the word Deuteronomy signifies *second law*, and is proved from the meaning of the word; so that whatever is decreed in that book, ought to be observed in the New Testament."‡

But there is worse yet; for when there was a corruption crept into the decree called *Sancta Romana*,§ where, instead of these words, "Sedulii opus *heroicis* versibus descriptum," all the old copies, till recently, read, "*hereticis* versibus descriptum." This very mistake made Adrian VI.|| and others, believe that all poetry was heretical: because Pope Gelasius, whose decree that was, though he believed Sedulius to be a good Catholic, yet, as they thought, concluded his verses to be heretical.

These are ignorances, which were compatible with the character of good men; but they are utterly inconsistent with infallibility.

17. Some popes have made decisions to serve their own ends.

Many instances of this might be given.

18. Others have decided questions *sophistically*.

Of this many examples might be adduced.

19. Other popes have adopted officially a new creed. This applies especially to Pope Pius IV., and his successors.

20. Some popes have decided contrary to general councils.

By a canon or law of the Roman Church presbyters, deacons, and sub-deacons are forbidden to marry, or are required to part with their wives, if married. The general council, called Quinisext, held in 691, which is a kind of supplement or appendix to the fifth or sixth general council, condemns this practice in their thirteenth canon, not only as a deviation from the apostolic canons, but as expressly forbidden by the words of Christ, "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," Matt. xix, 6; and by his apostle, "Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed," 1 Cor. vii, 27. Therefore they command that practice to be suppressed, and, after recommending marriage, as instituted by Almighty God, and sanctioned by Christ, they close the canon with the following words: "If any one shall henceforth presume, against the apostolical canons, to deprive the clergy of the lawful

* Le pape respondit, que le vicaire de J. C. n'estait point obligé d'examiner toutes choses par la dispute; que la verité de ses decrets dependoit seulement de l'inspiration divine.—*Memoir. Hist. de 5 Propos.*

† Decret. i, de Bapt.

‡ Sanè cum Deuteronomium secunda lex interpretur, ex vi vocabuli comprobatur, ut quod ibi decernitur, in Testamento Novo debeat observari.

§ Cap. per venerab. qui filii sint legitimi.

|| De Sacerd. barb.

company of their wives, let him be deposed." From this we infer, that the pope at the close of the seventh century was not thought to be infallible in questions of morals; otherwise the council would not have condemned a practice established by several popes.

Pope Stephen approved the baptism of heretics, contrary to the decrees of the Council of Nice, and other councils.

21. It will be proper here to mention the evasive manner in which they answer the charge of heresy brought against the popes.

It is confessed by Baronius, Stella, Almain, Occham, Canus, Du Pin, Bailly, and generally by the best scholars, and best men in the Church of Rome, that a pope may be a heretic, that some of them actually were so, and that three general councils, the sixth, seventh, and eighth, believed it; and the canon *Si Papa* affirms it in express terms. But then they can easily explain all this away. For though it be true, that if a pope were a heretic, the church might depose him; yet no *pope* can be a heretic; the *man* may be a heretic, but the pope cannot, for when he becomes a heretic, he is *ipso facto* no pope, for he is no Christian. So teaches Bellarmine.*

Cajetan maintains that the power by which the council deposes the pope is not *authoritative*, but *ministerial*; and that it cannot be inferred from thence that the council has any authority over the papal dignity, but only over the *person* of that man who is clothed with it. Almain calls this mode of reasoning, "a piece of chicanery that cannot be maintained, and a pitiful defence." With him Du Pin accords.†

Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, Petrus de Palude, Augustine of Ancona, as we have already shown, express themselves in the same style with Bellarmine, Cajetan, Dens, and the Jesuits generally. Comment on such gross evasions, sophistry, and wilful perversion of truth, would be lost labour to any intelligent and considerate person. It is no wonder Alphonsus à Castro calls them *impudent flatterers of the pope*, who ascribe to him infallibility in judgment, or interpretation of Scripture.‡

22. Whether the pope can fall into heresy as a private person, or lose faith, stands closely connected with the foregoing. Indeed, the negative side of this question must be taken by such divines as Bellarmine, Cajetan, &c., if they are at all consistent. In truth this may be set down now as the legitimate doctrine of the Church of Rome. Ferraris, the standard ecclesiastical lexicographer of the Church of Rome, maintains it; and Dens, one of their true Catholic divines in dogmatic theology, supports it most positively. Let us hear them:—

The following is the explanation of Ferraris:§ "It is also more probable that the pope as a private person cannot fall into heresy, and lose faith. Our conclusion is proved from the words of Christ to Luke, chapter xxii. Hence, when it is manifest, that Peter was so confirmed of God, that his faith, even personally, by no means could fail, the same may be said of the popes his successors. For such a privilege is bestowed on them that they might confirm their brethren in the faith. But how will they confirm, if they themselves are heretics or infidels? Will they confirm in others that faith which themselves abhor

* Lib. ii, c. 30.

† Ecc. Hist., tom. iii, p. 286.

‡ Impudentes papæ assentatores.—Lib. i, c. 4, *advers. Hæres.*, edit. Paris, 1534.

§ In Papa, art. ii, n. 62–66.

or oppose? Then, because the pope is the living rule, which all the faithful ought to follow, and to have continually before their minds, it is necessary to fortify it with some singular privilege, by which not only the see itself, but also its person, should be preserved from error in those things which are of faith. Otherwise, if we admit that the pope himself should fall into heresy and lose faith, what else can be hoped but that the blind will lead the blind into the ditch?"

"Nor is it of any weight to say, that if every pope, even as a private person, like Peter, cannot fall into heresy and lose faith, that this is an article of faith, and, consequently, they are heretics who hold the contrary opinion. This conclusion is not proper, since distinguished doctors, as well canonists as theologians, hold the contrary opinion; and those who hold the contrary are not heretics, because they do not hold it with pertinacity, as is required to constitute heresy, but they are ready to obey the decision of the church."

Dens, on this point, argues as follows: "Can the pope as a private person be a heretic? *Answer.* Although the affirmative would not be contrary to the preceding conclusion, (viz., that as a private person the pope may err,) yet the negative opinion seems more probable, so that the privilege of Peter may also pass to the successors of Peter; and this is conformable to the promise of God, that whoever is the guide of our faith cannot himself fall from faith. It is also proved from this, that it cannot be proved of any pope thus far, that he was a formal heretic: and this is testified by Augustine, in his 165th letter, concerning the popes down to his own time. *Obj.*, Dist. 40, Can. *Si Papa*: 'The pope is said to judge all, and is judged by none, unless he be a heretic; therefore he can be a formal heretic.' *Answer.* The consequence is denied; for it is only said, what may be, in a case in which a pope would fall from the faith; but we suppose a case which never happened, and never will."*

The candid reader will easily perceive that Dens employs sophistry and evasion in the place of reason, and quibbles most unjustifiably. It may also be true, in the main, what Augustine says concerning the popes previous to his day. But his remark will not answer for those who hold the doctrines of the Council of Trent previous to its session, and those who since that time embrace its heresies, and those of the new creed of Pius IV.

23. Our inquiries concerning the infallibility of the pope might be extended toward the *canonization of saints*, the *beatification of saints*, and the *approbation of religious orders*; to all of which the infallibility of the pope is extended by those who believe his infallibility in other matters. Ferraris and Dens maintain the infallibility of the pope in all these, and attempt to support it by such arguments as they employ to establish his inerrancy in other points. The principles and practice of the modern Church of Rome are founded on the supposition that the pope is infallible in establishing the various religious orders, and in selecting the proper objects of worship in the canonization and beatification of saints.†

* Dens, de Ecc., N. 97, tom. ii, pp. 448-450.

† See Ferraris, in Papa, art. ii, N. 49-61; Dens, de Ecc., N. 85, tom. ii, pp. 417-419.

CHAPTER XIV.

SUPREMACY CONTINUED—PREROGATIVES OF THE

XVI. POWER OF THE POPE OVER CIVIL MAGISTRATES, KINGDOMS, &c.
 1. Statement of the question. Bailly cited. Three opinions among them French did not allow a direct, or indirect power. 3. Some ascribe to a direct and supreme power over the world in temporals as well as Gregory VII. and Benedict XIV. cited: 4. Others ascribe to him *power*, by divine right, over civil and temporal affairs. Bellarmine's opinion of Dens. The indirect power includes the direct: 5. The power by *divine right*. Pius V. and Paul IV. cited: 6. The *nature* and *extent* of power. Sentiments of Antonine, viz., that the pope hath power to ordain what is to the public good, and remove what prevents it. All inferior power is subject to his as to its institution, conferring, and removal. All inferior powers, even secular, are to aid the pope in what pertains to good government, and are subject to him in this is concerned. His power is exercised over pagans, in punishing them for acts contrary to the law of nations. And over Jews, and over heretics and schismatics by punishing them in a fourfold way, viz., by excommunication, deposition, confiscation of temporal goods, and military persecution. His power over Catholics is that he can elect or choose the emperor; can appoint the electors, and change them; can depose and provide for a new emperor by hereditary succession; deprive him of the throne and raise up war against him: 7. Arguments brought by them to prove the contrary answered: 8. Eight arguments against it: 9. The distinction between the direct and indirect power of the pope over princes and Christian people is evasive: 10. The power over temporals, whether direct or indirect, was asserted and claimed by the Council of Trent. Instances given.—**XVII. THE POPE AS A TEMPORAL PRINCE.** 1. They assert it: 2. Their arguments for it. Examples of Melchisedek; of Moses; of the Maccabees. Sentiment of Gelasius I.: 3. Grant of Constantine. Sentiments on this point: 4. The various opinions on this subject: 5. Scriptures against it: 6. It is inconsistent with the Christian ministry to pronounce a man's death: 7. Or go to war.

XVI. Power of the pope over civil magistrates, kingdoms, or

1. The members of the Church of Rome are much divided on this point, as they are on many others. The French maintained that the pope has no direct or indirect power over the temporal concerns of kingdoms. This is the first article in the famous declaration of the Gallican clergy. This sentiment is maintained by Bailly, who says concerning the Italians, "That they reject truth, as well as concord. They are divided into two classes. Some teach that the Roman pontiff received from Christ a plenary, direct, immediate, and efficacious power, not only in spiritual matters, but also in civil, and over the temporal concerns of kings; that kings may be deposed by him, and absolved from their oath of fidelity. Bellarmine, whom many follow, softens the matter a little by saying," &c.*

The French formerly maintained that the pope had neither direct nor indirect power, over the civil affairs of kingdoms or states. The Italians believe that his power was without limit over spiritual and temporal matters; and the third class, which modify the sentiments of the high Romanists, assert that the power of the pope over kingdoms is only indirect. But Bailly maintains, as cited above, that this is only softening a little the uncontrollable power of the pope, both in spiritual and temporal matters. We shall state the sentiments of each on the true doctrine of the Church of Rome on this point, as far as we can, amid such discordant and evasive sentiments and shifts.

* Bailly, Tract. de Ecc., c. xiv, art. 5, tom. ii, p. 506.

2. The French did not allow a direct, or indirect power to the pope over kingdoms or princes in temporal or civil matters. Their sentiment is, "that kings and princes, in temporal matters, are not subject to pontific or ecclesiastical power; that they cannot directly or indirectly be deposed by the power of the keys; or their subjects be freed from fidelity and obedience, or set free from their plighted oath of allegiance." This is the declaration of the Gallic clergy in 1682, which many others followed. The senate of Paris, in 1610, proscribed the treatise of Bellarmine on the power of the pope in temporal matters.

The English and North American Romanists profess similar sentiments.

3. Some ascribe to the pope a *direct* and supreme power by divine right over the whole world, as well in temporals as in spirituals.

Pope Gregory VII., in 1085, in his *Maxims*, maintains, among other things, the following propositions: "It is lawful for the pope to depose emperors. The pope can absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance, which they had taken to a bad prince. His judgment no man can reverse, but he can reverse all other judgments. He is to be judged by no man."

These *dictatus Gregorii VII.*, maxims of Gregory, are to be found at the end of his fifty-fifth letter, and second book; and the same sentiments are contained in his letters. Some question the genuineness of the piece. But it is admitted as genuine by Baronius, Panvinius, De Marca, and several other able critics. At any rate, he and other popes have maintained this doctrine, and practised largely on it, as we have already seen, and will have more occasion hereafter to show. Bellarmine himself* acknowledges that such sentiments are held, and Dens confesses the same.† Benedict XIV., in the year 1752, calls himself and his fellow-popes, *the ex officio administrators of the goods of the church.*‡

4. There are others who ascribe to the pope an *indirect* power, by divine right, over the civil and temporal concerns of kings, princes, emperors, and states. This, as Bailly justly observes, *softens the matter a little.*§

Bellarmino, the master in Roman controversy, delivers his sentiments as follows: "That the pope hath not directly and immediately any temporal power, but only spiritual; nevertheless, for this spiritual end, he hath indirectly a certain power, and that too supreme in temporals; so that the pope cannot, as pope, ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for a just cause, in that manner in which he deposes bishops; but he can change kingdoms, and take them away from one, and give them to another, as supreme spiritual prince, if this be necessary for the salvation of souls."||

* De Rom. Pontif., lib. v, c. 1.

† De Eccl., N. 98.

‡ Pro generalis bonorum ecclesiasticorum administratoris officio.—*Bened. XIV.*; *Bullar. Const. incip. Urbem Antibarum*, vol. ix, p. 200.

§ Rem paulisper emollit.—*Bailly, de Ecc.*, art. v.

|| Romanum pontificem non habere directè et immediatè ullam temporalem potestatem sed solum spiritalem; ratione tamen spiritali, habere indirecte potestatem quamdam, eamque summam in temporalibus, adeo ut non possit papa, ut papa, ordinariè temporales principes deponere, etiam justà de causâ, eo modo quo deponit episcopos; sed possit mutare regna, et uni auferre, atque alteri conferre, tanquam summus princeps spiritalis, si id necessarium sit ad salutem animarum.—*Bellar. de Pontif.*

Bellarmino furthermore says, "The thing is certain and thoroughly examined that the pope, for just temporal causes, can also sometimes depose temporal princes."* And to make it certain concerning the nature of the doctrine, he says, "The existence of this power in the pope concerning temporals, is not a matter of opinion among Catholics, but a certainty."† He teaches furthermore, that it is not only lawful to depose heretical princes, but it is *necessary*, and the Catholics are bound to do it under pain of committing mortal sin. He says, "The church would sin very grievously, if she would allow any king who would tolerate any heresy without punishment, and who would defend heretics."‡ And further, "It is not right for Christians to tolerate a heretical king, if he endeavour to draw away his subjects to his heresy."§

Bellarmino reckons up of this opinion twenty-one Italian authors, fourteen French, nine German, seven English and Scotch, nineteen Spanish, and these not common, but eminent authors.||

Dens, the leading class-book in the hands of Roman theologians, falls in with the opinion of Bellarmine. He says, "Bellarmino, Sylvius, and others say, that the pope hath not, by divine right, direct power over temporal kingdoms, but indirect; that is, when the spiritual power cannot be freely exercised, and cannot obtain its end by spiritual means, then it can recur to the temporal; according to Aquinas, who teaches that princes can sometimes be deprived of their dominion, and subjects liberated from their oath of allegiance; and this was done more than once by the popes."¶

The reason alleged for expulsion is heresy or infidelity, or to force subjects to be infidels or heretics.

The indirect power virtually embraces the direct. This modification of the exercise of papal supremacy, introduced by Bellarmine, and followed by others, was very displeasing to Sixtus V., as an improper modification of the power of his see. Nor was it better received by princes and states; because it virtually contained all the offensive doctrine of the direct power. Hence by the senate of France, the doctrine of Bellarmine was condemned with the same degree of disapprobation as the doctrine of the direct power of the pope in temporals. With what facility can the indirect power be transformed into the direct? The kingdom of France knew this to its cost. If the pope called their prince *Huguent*, as he did Henry IV.; or *tyrant*, as Henry III.; or *unprofitable for the church and kingdom*, as he did King Childerick; then the monarch may be dethroned. Or, if the prince be called a *heretic*, or a *favourer of heretics*, as was pronounced against Elizabeth; then he may be dethroned, his subjects absolved from allegiance, and his dominions transferred to others.

* Est res certa et explorata, posse pontificem maximum justis de causis temporalibus judicare atque ipsos temporales principes aliquando deponere.—*Contra Barlaamum*, c. iii.

† Sic igitur de potestate in temporalibus, quod ea sit in papa, non opinio, sed certitudo apud Catholicos est.—*Ibid.*

‡ Ecclesia nimis graviter erraret, si admitteret aliquem regem, qui vellet impune fervere quamlibet sectam, et defendere hæreticos.—*Lib. v, de Pontif.*, c. vii.

§ Non licet Christianis tolerare regem hæreticum, si conetur pertrahere subditos suam hæresim.—*Ibid.*

|| *Contra Barlaamum in princip fere.*

¶ Dens, de Eccl., N. 98.

5. They further maintain that this power of the pope over the temporal concerns of kingdoms and states is of *divine right*. In the preface to the bull of Pope Pius V., against Elizabeth, the power given to the pope is ascribed to God. "He that reigneth on high hath granted to Peter, and his successors."*

This is only a common specimen of bulls generally. So Paul IV., next predecessor but one to Pius V., in his bull, entitled, *Against Heretics and Schismatics, and their Favourers*, expresses his power thus: "The pope of Rome here on earth is the vicar of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, hath obtained the plenitude of power over nations and kingdoms, and is judge of all men, and is to be judged of no man in the world."†

6. Let us now present the *nature* and *extent* of the papal power.

In connection with the quotations already given, we will lay before the reader the outlines of what Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence, says on this subject.‡ He says, "The power of jurisdiction seems to import the power of declaring by way of statute, or of deciding questions," c. iii.

"In things of natural or divine right, the power of the pope does not extend in deciding them; but if there is any doubt concerning such things, the power of deciding belongs to the pope. Hence it is unlawful to hold, or to think, contrary to the pope; and the power of declaring concerning doubtful questions belongs to him alone. The pope using a general council, and requiring the aid of the universal church, cannot err," c. iii, sec. 1.

"The pope hath the plenitude of power, as it regards all cases and all persons in the militant church," id., sec. 3.

"All ecclesiastical power is subject to the papal power in three things. 1. As to correction of abuses. 2. As to the institution and conferring of inferior power. 3. As to the assisting subsidy, (*subsidi-um adminiculativum*,) that is, what is requisite to aid it, if it stands in need of aid," sec. 5.

"*First*. To him it belongs to ordain those things which pertain to the public good, and remove those things which prevent this end, as vices, abuses, which alienate men from God. So that to the pope, as first and principal president, it belongs to correct vices of this kind, and remove what concerns all inferior powers as far as in him lies, so that the whole Christian community may tend to the proper end. And this, according to Jeremiah i, 10, *Behold, I have placed thee over the nations and kingdoms, to root up and destroy, to scatter and disperse*, that is, as it regards vices, *to build up and plant*, that is, as it regards virtues. No ecclesiastical prelate is above kingdoms, except the pope. And in proof of this, Pope Zacharias deposed Lewis from the kingdom of France, because he was useless, as the canon law says, 15. quæst. 6. *Alius*. And Innocent deposed the emperor Frederick," sec. 5.

"*Secondly*. All power inferior to the pope is subject to him as it regards its institution, conferring, and removal. Whenever, in any coun-

* *Regnans in excelsis*, Petro, et Petri successori, &c.—Pii V., *Bulla Contra Eliz.*

† *Romanus Pontifex*, qui Dei et Domini Jesu Christi vices gerit in terris, et super gentes et regna plenitudinem potestatis obtinet, omnesque judicat, a nemine in seculo judicandus.—In *Bulla* 19, *Paul IV.*, *Bullario Rom.* See T. L., p. 158.

‡ S. Antonini *Sum. Theol.*, pars iii, tit. 22, c. iii, iv, v, pp. 1187-1235.

cil statutes are enacted, the whole authority of giving vigour to them is in the pope alone. If the power of collation does not exist in the pope, independently of the Christian community, the pope does not possess the plenitude of power, which is false. Wherefore, as the institution of inferior powers is not made immediately by Christ, nor by the universal church, as was proved, it follows, that it was made by the pope, as the vicar-general of Christ. So the canon law, (dist. 80, can. 1,) says, It pertains to the pope to institute and confer all ecclesiastical powers inferior to the pope." Id. *ibid.*, sec. 5.

"*Thirdly.* All inferior powers, even secular, ought, and are bound, to aid the pope in that which contributes to the good government of the church. And they are subject to him as far as this is concerned. The republic is bound to preserve that power on which the good of the republic depends ; but the good of the Christian republic depends especially on the power of him, whose it is, to regulate the whole church, and appoint the ranks and orders in it. And as the good of the church depends on the subserviency of one part to another, for instance, of curates to the bishop, of bishops to the archbishops, and thus up to the pope : but, especially, the good of the church depends on the subordination of the whole people to the pope, because every power ought to be subservient to the pope. And if any secular persons would purpose any thing against this power of the pope, secular princes themselves ought to pacify their subjects, and subdue those who are rebels to the pope." Id. *ibid.*, sec. 5, pp. 1192, 1193.

"The five following propositions are errors, or rather, heresies :

"1. The power of prelates inferior to the pope, whether of bishops or pastors, is immediately from God, as well as the power of the pope.

"2. In the government of the church militant, the common people cannot be reconciled to God by penitence, except by the curates and parochial priests.

"3. Although the pope and bishops are principal in respect to parishioners, they are not however their immediate curates, or they have not the immediate care of them.

"4. Neither the pope, nor a bishop, can hear the confessions of parishioners ; but they are bound to confess their sins to their parish priests.

"5. Though it be granted, that those who confessed to the pope or bishops, are not required to confess the same sins to their parish priests ; yet the pope, or a bishop, cannot grant the general authority of hearing confessions to others, such as fathers confessors, or the like ; but those who confess to them, are bound to confess the same sins to their parish priests. These five propositions are not only to be judged errors, but *heresies* ; which is proved by the canon law, (dist. 22, omnes,) where it is said, *Whoever deprives any churches of their due, is unjust. But he who deprives the Roman Church of its due, is to be esteemed a heretic.*" Id. *ibid.*, sec. 6.

"In regard to the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, which is in the church, it is to be observed that the power is threefold and varied. The first is immediate, viz., from God. The second is derivative, viz., from God, through the pope ; and this is the power of all inferior prelates. The third is given for ministering or subserviency ; and this is the

power of the emperor and of terrestrial princes." Id., c. iii, sec. 7, p. 1194.

"The temporal power of emperors, kings, and princes is given for ministering by God, through the mediation of the pope and the other prelates of the church, in whom resides the spiritual power." Id. *ibid.*, p. 1195.

"The power of the pope is greater than all created power beside the power of Christ, in some manner extending itself to celestial, terrestrial, and infernal things; so that what is said in the eighth psalm, concerning Christ, may be said of the pope: *Thou hast put all things under his feet, sheep and all oxen, and beasts of the field. The fowls of heaven, and fishes of the sea.* And very aptly, because the pope is the vicar of Christ. He calls terrestrial things *sheep*; he calls celestial things *birds*; he calls infernal things *fishes of the sea*," c. v.

"In regard to the power of the pope over those in hell, who are designated by the *fishes of the sea*, because as the fishes continually are agitated by the waves of the sea, so those in purgatory are continually exercised by the afflictions of punishment; but God hath subjected to the pope also the fishes of the sea, that is, those who are in purgatory, to relieve them by indulgences." Id., c. v, sec. 6, p. 1214.

"The power of the pope is exercised over those on the earth, viz., pagans, who are designated by *the beasts of the field*; over Jews and heretics, who are denoted by *oxen*; over Christians, who are denoted by *sheep*. God hath subjected all these under the feet of the pope, that is, under his jurisdiction, as is declared in the psalm, *thou hast put all things under his feet, sheep and oxen.*

"Pagans are subject to the pope, who presides in the world in the place of Christ. But Christ hath full power over every creature. The pope is the vicar of Christ, and no one can lawfully withdraw himself from his obedience, as no one can withdraw himself lawfully from obedience to God. And as Christ has received from the Father the government and sceptre of the church of Israel, so he hath granted to Peter and his successors the most plenary power. And although pagans cannot be bound or loosed by excommunication, or absolution in confession, yet by the power of the keys they can be bound by the church, and when judged, they may be condemned; and thus, if they would awake from their state and return to the faith, they might be absolved by the power of the keys. In like manner, although they cannot be said to be of the church by the merit of faith and good works, yet they can be said to belong to the church by judiciary power and occasional utility; but the pope cannot take away the dominion and jurisdiction from the pagans, which they justly possess." Id. *ibid.*

"The gifts of nature are not to be taken from infidels, nor even from demons. The power, therefore, of government, as it is a gift of nature bestowed on every human creature, cannot be taken away from infidels by the pope, or any Christian kings. But it is not inconsistent with this, that the church persecutes Saracens, because they resist ecclesiastical laws, and occupy the lands of Christians.

"The pope can punish pagans, and barbarous nations, when they act contrary to the law of nations in manifest things, because every one can be punished for the transgression of that law which he receives

and professes. And though pagans cannot be punished with the spiritual punishment of excommunication and the like, yet they can be punished by the church with pecuniary punishment, and by princes with corporeal punishment also." Id. *ibid.*, sec. 8, p. 1218.

"The power of the pope is exercised over the *Jews*, designated by *oxen*, because their necks are still subject to the yoke of the Mosaic law, and God hath also subjected these oxen *under the feet* of the pope. The church can punish indirectly the Jews with spiritual punishment, by excommunicating Christian princes, to whom the Jews are subject, if they neglect to punish them with temporal punishment, when they do any thing against Christians. But neither the pope, nor any other, should compel the Jews to receive faith, when it belongs to God alone to infuse faith. Nevertheless, if the conversion of some should be desired, they may be compelled by terrors and stripes, not indeed to receive faith, but that they should present no obstacle to faith by an obstinate will, for in the conversion of infidels, the judgment of God ought to be imitated. But as to the Jews, who are forced to faith, that is, to receive baptism, if they are compelled by an absolute coercion, since they do not discern the nature of this sacrament, they are not bound to receive Christianity. But if they are forced by a conditional coercion, they are to be compelled to retain what they promised, because a forced conditional will is voluntary." Id. *ibid.*, sec. 9, pp. 1218, 1219.

"The power of the pope is exercised over *heretics* and *schismatics*, denoted also by *oxen*, because they resist the truth with the horn of pride. God hath subjected these also *under the feet of the pope*, to be punished in a fourfold way, viz., by *excommunication, deposition, the deprivation of temporal goods, and military persecution*. But then they are only to be taken for heretics when they refuse to reform their pestiferous doctrines, and are ready pertinaciously to defend them." Dist. 24, quæst. 1, *Hæretici*, id. sec. 10, p. 1220.

"*Schismatics* are designated by *oxen*, on account of their pride. The pope hath subjected these also, exercising power over them. For as there is a twofold power in the church, viz., a power of order, and a power of jurisdiction; the pope deprives schismatics of the power of jurisdiction, divesting them of all jurisdiction over those subject to them. Of the power of order or consecration he deprives them as to its execution, that is, so that they cannot perform the acts of their respective orders. Yet this power cannot be taken away by man; because the *character* which is impressed in ordination, which is the very power itself, is indelible. Hence, when a priest or bishop consecrates the host, or confers orders, he administers truly, and confers true orders, provided he observes the forms of the church; but he does it to his destruction, and the destruction of those who knowingly receive the sacrament from him. But they are all called schismatics who resist the pope, not, however, in every degree of resistance, but when they resist him by spontaneous intention, by manifest rebellion, and by the refusal to submit to his judicial sentence, in not acknowledging him as head of the church. But if, for the accomplishment of some temporal convenience, or for the avoidance of danger, any one should resist the precepts of the pope, and would not obey him, such a one, though he sins grievously, cannot however be called a schismatic: for schism

implies a division from the unity of the faith and love of the church. Therefore those are to be esteemed schismatics who refuse to submit to the pope as the head of the church, and who refuse to communicate with the members of the church subject to him." Id. *ibid.*, c. v, sec. 11, p. 1221.

"To the question, Are all tyrants resisting the pope schismatics? it is answered, There are three kinds of schismatics to be distinguished. 1. Some are schismatics by intention, and not by operation. 2. Others are schismatics by operation, and not by intention, for of themselves they do not intend to divide from the unity of the church. 3. Some are called schismatics by intention and operation, and the church corrects and subdues these and persecutes them, until they return by repentance, or break out openly in their wickedness. Hence, both divine and human laws ordain, that those divided from the unity of the church, and wicked disturbers of its peace, may be subdued by the secular power. Dist. 23, quæst. 5, *Non vos et can. seq.* The pope and the other prelates of the church, it is true, should not themselves engage actually in putting to death any man by immediate execution, so as to lay violent hands on them. But through the medium of the secular power, the pope and other prelates of the church can, and ought to exercise justice and obtain help over tyrants and those who disturb the peace of the church, as appears from the canon law." 23. quæst. 3, *per totum et quæst. 6. can. Vides. et Dist. 63. Adrianus.* Id. *ibid.*, sec. 12, pp. 1222, 1223.

"Of the power of the pope over *Christians*, and especially over *emperors*. These are designated by *sheep*, concerning whom our Saviour says, *My sheep hear my voice*, John x. And these are subjected *under the feet of the pope*, especially according to that text, *Thou hast put all things under his feet, sheep, &c.* Hence, when he gave the papacy to Peter he said, *Feed my sheep*. Where, in the first place, it may be proper to speak of the power of the pope, both in regard to the *emperor* and the *empire*.

"The pope can *choose* or *elect* the emperor. The emperor is the minister of the pope, in this that he is the minister of God, whose place the pope fills: for God hath deputed the emperor as the minister of the pope; since the pope hath power to regulate all in the church to secure peace, and can direct and destine them to accomplish a spiritual end; for just and reasonable cause, he can also of himself choose an emperor, viz., on account of the negligence or discord of electors, or for the peace and benefit of Christian people, or for the goodness and fitness of the person elected, or to restrain the boldness and power of heretics, pagans, and schismatics. For the pope ought to be the prop of truth, justice, and equity. For he can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth. It is true that the emperor receives the sword from God, in a way in which the pope does not receive it, except as the pope is the vicar of God. For the pope cannot choose an emperor as a private person, but as the successor and vicar of Christ." Id. *ibid.*, c. v, sec. 13, p. 1223.

"And as the pope can choose an emperor, so he can *appoint the electors of the emperor, and change those appointed*, for just cause, as he may also not confirm the elected emperor, and may depose him when confirmed. Gregory V., in the time of Otho, having collected the

princes of Germany, chose seven official electors of the imperial court, viz., four laymen and three archbishops. And hence, since this power is conferred on the electors by the apostolic chair, so when it is necessary for the utility and peace of Christianity it can be changed, according to *Extrav. de elect. c. Venerabilem*. But when it happens that the electors have chosen two emperors, it belongs to the pope to favour one party in this, that he would choose that one of them in preference to the other, whom he knew to be more fit for the empire and for the defence of the church, and to whom fame, his life, and justice, would award it. Or when a part of the electors, when called and waited on, are unwilling to choose or to convene to choose, then the pope chooses, as appears from the canon law, *Extrav. de elect. Venerabilem*. And the reason of this is, that if the princes called and waited for are unwilling to assemble, the apostolic seat ought not, on that account, be destitute of an advocate and defender. This is proved by example, because, when Lotharius and Conrad were elected, in the discord, the pope crowned Lotharius, and when crowned he obtained the empire." Id. *ibid*.

• "In like manner the pope can provide for a new emperor by hereditary succession, when he saw that the peace of Christian people could be better provided for by the hereditary succession of the empire than by election: for so he hath ordained this, that it might be so, when it is a matter of positive right, in which the pope hath the plenitude of power. And the reason of the thing is, that the church stands in need of the emperor as advocate and defender for the pacific state of the present life. Considering the acts and condition of men, it seems more suitable for the church, on account of the pacific state of the faithful, to regulate the imperial dominion by hereditary succession than by election, for three reasons." Id. *ibid.*, p. 1224.

"The emperor elect ought to be *confirmed* by the pope. When confirmed he ought to be anointed, consecrated, and confirmed by the pope." Id. *ibid.*, p. 1227

"Also the pope can, for sufficient cause, *excommunicate* the emperor, and *depose* him and *deprive* him of the empire, as Innocent III. did Otho, and Innocent IV. Frederick; and with the temporal sword, if he is unwilling to give up the administration of temporals, to persecute him, and to raise up war against him, and to absolve his vassals and subjects from the oath of allegiance." Id., p. 1227.

"The power of the pope over other kings and princes of Christian people is the same as that of the Jewish high priest, whom all Jews of every condition were bound to obey: so all Christians, high and low, are required to obey the pope, who holds the place of Christ. And disobedience to the pope is punished as disobedience to the high priest." Id., sec. 17, p. 1229.

"I suppose it to be said as a truth, that the pope, the vicar of Christ, hath universal jurisdiction of spiritual and temporal things in the whole world in the place of the living God. But those who say, that the pope on earth hath the sole dominion in spiritual things, but not in temporal things, are like the counsellors of the king of Syria, who say *Their gods are gods of the mountains, and therefore they overcame us but we will fight against them in the plains, and in the valleys, in which their gods have no dominion, and we will prevail against them.* This

true to the letter. Thus in modern times bad counsellors, with pestiferous flattery, seduce kings and princes of the earth, saying, *Gods of the mountains*, that is, the popes are supreme in spiritual matters, but they are not gods of the valleys, because they have no dominion in temporal matters. But *in the plains*, that is, with the power of temporal goods, *we will fight against them and prevail*. But, let us hear what the divine sentence says to them: *Because the Syrians say, their God is God of the mountains, and not God of the valleys, I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord*. And there are many examples confirming this truth." Id. *ibid.*, c. v, sec. 17, p. 1229.

The foregoing, from Antoninus, is fully supported by quotations drawn from the canon law, as will appear to any one who peruses him on this subject. Multitudes of quotations might be given from other authors corresponding to the sentiments of the archbishop, but our limits will not allow us to enlarge. This is properly the true doctrine of the Church of Rome, and confirmed by their practice; though policy leads many of them now to deny that they hold these tenets. The interpretation of Bellarmine, in substituting the indirect for the direct power, is of no avail but to delude Romanists and deceive unsuspecting Protestants.

7. We will consider, however, the principal arguments by which they attempt to prove this doctrine.

(1.) It is argued by Bellarmine, "That Saul was deprived of his kingdom by Samuel; that King Uzziah was ejected from the temple by the high priest; that Queen Athalia, by the command of Jehoiada the high priest, was killed; that certain kings under the old law were anointed by prophets. Therefore," &c.

To this we answer, that Samuel, though of the tribe of Levi, was not a priest. He did not depose Saul from his throne authoritatively; but prophetically declared that he was deprived of his kingdom by Jehovah. Uzziah, becoming leprous on account of his sin, and though living in a separate house, possessed, nevertheless, to his death his kingdom. Athalia usurped the throne, from which she was justly ejected. Some prophets, by the command of God, anointed certain kings, but this was not done by their proper and ordinary authority.

(2.) It is said, "That Christ drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and sent devils into the swine; therefore he had power over temporal affairs, and hath transmitted it to his disciples." This mode of interpretation would prove almost any thing; and those who gravely depend on such glosses are beyond the reach of all ordinary reason, and all sober interpretation.

(3.) The argument of the *two swords* is adduced to favour the temporal and spiritual power of the pope. Luke xxii, 36. Even St. Bernard contends strongly, "That two swords were given to Peter, the one temporal, and the other spiritual."* But such arguing is incapable of any answer.

(4.) It is argued, "God made two great lights," &c., Gen. i. This text is maintained stiffly by St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence,† who gravely applies the passage to support the temporal power of the pope. He also quotes to the same purpose Psa. viii, "Thou hast put

* Bernard. de Consid., lib. iv, c. 2. † Sum. Theol., pars iii, tit. 2, c. 1, p. 165.

all things under his feet," &c.,* and presses it continually to maintain his point, as may be seen in the quotations given from this true son of the Church of Rome.

(5.) Boniface VIII.† argues thus: "Christ said to Peter, *Feed my sheep*; but the emperor is one of his sheep; therefore he is committed to Peter." How far this scripture proves the power of the pope in deposing princes of their dominions, no intelligent person is at a loss to ascertain; and indeed no argument is necessary to refute the interpretation.

(6.) "The apostle saith, *The spiritual man judgeth all things*, 1 Cor. ii, 15, therefore the pope judgeth the emperor." Such an argument as this carries its own confutation along with it.

8. There are several strong arguments against the temporal power of the pope.

(1.) Christ, as founder and head of the church, disclaimed all temporal power. He told Pilate that he was indeed a king, but that his "kingdom was not of this world," that he did not come to establish a temporal kingdom, but "to bear witness unto the truth," and thus found a spiritual kingdom. John xviii, 34, 36, 37. Hence he fled when the Jews would have made him king. And being asked by one to speak to his brother to divide the inheritance with him, he answered, "Man, who made me a judge and a divider over you?" Luke xii, 13, 14. From these passages, and others of a kindred character, it is manifest that Christ, as founder and head of the church, disavowed all temporal power. The pope professes to be Christ's vicar upon earth; it is therefore absurd to suppose that the pope possessed more extensive power than Christ himself.

(2.) The doctrine of the pope's temporal power over princes and states is not more repugnant to the example of Christ than it is to the doctrine taught by the apostles. In this manner Paul taught subjection to the higher powers. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," Rom. xiii, 1. "Ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake," verse 5. In his Epistle to Titus, he says, "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates," Tit. iii, 1. Here the faithful are taught to be subject to *the higher powers, to principalities and magistrates*, and none are excepted from this obedience. And St. Peter enjoins obedience in terms no less expressive than those used by St. Paul. He says, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, or to them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God," 1 Pet. ii, 13-15. I leave to the asserters of papal supremacy to reconcile subjection to the higher powers to principalities and magistrates, as an indispensable duty of Christians, with the pope's pretending to be free from all subjection, and to *subject* all princes to himself as supreme lord, both temporal and spiritual, over them, as well as their principalities, states, and kingdoms.

(3.) The popes before Gregory VII., who died in 1085, looked on the emperors as supreme in temporals; as holding their power of God alone: and that themselves and all ecclesiastics and laymen were

* Sum. Theol., pars iii, tit. 22, c. 3, 4, 5.

† Extrav. Commun., lib. i, tit. 8.

bound to obey their ordinances. Popes Agapetus, Gelasius, Symmachus, Gregory the Great, &c., plainly teach in this manner.*

(4.) The same unreserved obedience to the higher powers, to kings and princes, though wicked or heretical, was recommended by the fathers of the church as an indispensable duty upon all Christians without distinction; and the reason they alleged was, "That all power is of God, and whoso resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." They also added the charge given to servants by St. Peter, "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."† From this they inferred that it was not lawful for Christians to withdraw their obedience to the powers ordained of God, even when they persecute the church in the place of defending it.

(5.) In those things which pertain to religion, whatsoever is *new* cannot be admitted. But this opinion is new and almost unheard of till Gregory VII., who, in the eleventh century, endeavoured to depose Henry IV. But this attempt raised the indignation of almost all, as Gregory himself confesses. "All the Latins, except a very few, praise and defend the cause of Henry, and charge me with excessive severity and impiety toward him.‡ Hence the opinion and practice of Gregory deservedly obtained the name of the *Hildebrandine*, or the *Gregorian heresy*, both by Romans and Protestants, and truly no heresy ever arose in the church, more pernicious to the peace and tranquillity of mankind.

(6.) This doctrine is the fruitful source of wars and national strife. No heresy ever arose in the church that occasioned more conspiracies, insurrections, rebellions, massacres, assassinations, &c. Respecting the attempt of Gregory VII. to dethrone Henry IV., Otto Frising says, "How many wars, how many evils of wars followed from hence! How often has miserable Rome been besieged, taken, and devastated!"§ What a flood of evils overflowed Europe from the decrees of Innocent IV. against the emperor Frederick II.; of Boniface VIII. against Philip Augustus, king of France, and of other popes against other kings! How is such an opinion, and the practice connected with it, consistent with the peaceful gospel of Christ!

(7.) The doctrine is based on a bad foundation. It is founded on false facts, false reasonings, and false interpretations of Scripture. Of these, many instances have already been given.

(8.) It is a grievous *heresy*, though taught by popes. Should a man teach that adultery, murder, incest, &c., are lawful, he would be called a heretic by Christians of every name, these crimes being expressly forbidden in the word of God. And is not he who teaches perjury, rebellion, assassination, &c., to be lawful, nay, commands them as duties, when conducive to the support of religion, to be branded with the name of heretic? The doctrine taught by Gregory was greedily embraced and frequently practised by his successors, deposing kings, ab-

* See Bowers, v. 400.

† See Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Discip., dissert. vii, p. 433, et seq.

‡ Quotquot Latini sunt, omnes causam Henrici præter admodum paucos, laudunt ac defendunt, et pernitiæ duritiæ ac impietatis erga eum me arguunt.—*Greg. VII.*, lib. vii, ep. 3.

§ Otto Frisingensis Chron., lib. vi, c. 36. Quot bella, quot bellorum discrimina inde subsecuta sunt! Quoties misera Roma abeessa, capta, vastata.

solving their subjects from allegiance, encouraging and raising rebellions. And this doctrine they still hold, and they hold it *with pertinacity*, which is their own leading character of heresy. No pope has disowned it, though many have taught it.

9. Nor will it avail to say, that the *indirect power* only over kings and kingdoms is now taught and claimed. Because this, to all intents and purposes, embraces the direct power. Nothing is easier for a pope than to select some *spiritual end* in promoting what he calls the true religion, and in resisting heresy. In short, Romanism with him is true religion, and whatever promotes it is lawful and right, and therefore contributes to a spiritual end. Hence the greatest offences against truth and right may be committed under this plea of ecclesiastical utility. Besides, every thing *contrary* to popery, and therefore Protestantism, may be lawfully rooted out of any country, as it was out of France, Spain, Italy, and other countries, by fire, fagot, sword, confiscation of goods, imprisonment, banishment, and all this for a spiritual end. Indeed, the substitution of the indirect for the direct power is no more than a Jesuitical trick, and can never deceive one thoroughly acquainted with the Roman Catholic system.

10. And this power over temporals, whether called direct or indirect, it matters not, was asserted and claimed by the Council of Trent, and the Church of Rome has officially endeavoured to enforce the observance of it wherever she could.

The kingdom of France would never receive the decisions of the Council of Trent in full, though frequently solicited to do so by the pope, the court of Rome, and the clergy of France. The reasons they gave for this may be reduced to two heads: first, *The attempt upon the jurisdiction of princes and magistrates*: secondly, *The liberties of the Gallican Church*.

The principal articles in which it is pretended that *the jurisdiction of kings and magistrates is struck at*, and that the council claimed an authority which did not belong to it, are these following, and were objected to as such by the kings and parliament of France.

The council forbids duels; and at the same time excommunicates emperors, kings, and other princes, who suffer them; and declares them deprived of the right and dominion of the city, castle, or other place in which they shall permit a duel to be fought.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxv, ch. 19 of *Reformation*.

The penalty of excommunication and deprivation of goods is also inflicted on kings.—Sess. xxiv, ch. 9.

The council gives bishops a power of punishing authors and printers of prohibited books, and of laying on them a pecuniary fine.—Sess. xxiv.

The council enjoins bishops to force ecclesiastics, by depriving them of the revenue of their benefices.—Sess. v, c. 1, 4 of *Reform*.

It gives the entire disposition of hospitals to bishops.—Sess. v, c. 15; sess. xviii, c. 8; sess. xxii, c. 8.

It takes away the jurisdiction of conservators.—Sess. xiv, c. 5.

It allows bishops a power of obliging parishioners to allow a maintenance to their priests.—Sess. xxi, c. 6.

It gives bishops, as delegates of the holy see, a power of forcing laymen to repair churches and putting the profits of benefices under sequestration.—Sess. xxi, c. 4, 8.

It allows bishops to punish imperial and royal notaries, and to suspend them from the exercise of their function.—Sess. xxii, c. 10.

It gives bishops a power to change testators' wills ; and says that the appeals from the temporal judges of bishops shall be cognizable before the archbishops.—Sess. xxii. c. 6, 7.

The council confirms the constitution of Boniface VIII., by which tonsured clergymen, though married, provided they be not *bigami*, are exempt from lay jurisdiction.—Sess. xxiii, c. 6.

The marriages of the sons of a family under their father's power, made without their father's consent, are declared valid.—Sess. xxiv, c. 1.

The council gives bishops a power of punishing, not only those who contract clandestine marriages, but also the witnesses that assisted at them.—*Ibid.*

Ordinaries are allowed to banish concubinaries, and to punish them even more severely.—*Ibid.*, c. 8 of *Matrimony*.

Ecclesiastical judges are permitted to cause their sentences against laymen to be executed, by seizing of the profits of their estates, and even by imprisonment of their persons.—Sess. xxv, c. 3 of *Reformation*.

The council gives bishops a power of converting the revenues of hospitals into other uses.—*Ibid.*, c. 8.

All those decrees by which the council challenges to itself, or to bishops, an authority and jurisdiction over the bodies or estates of men, are encroachments on the jurisdiction of magistrates or the civil power.*

XVII. *The power of the pope, as a temporal prince, in his own dominions.*

1. They say that it is not against the word of God that the pope should be both a *political* and *ecclesiastical* prince ; and that the two swords of spiritual and ecclesiastical power belong to him, and that he is the right heir of St. Peter's patrimony.†

2. To support their doctrine and practice in this matter, they adduce several examples, of which mention is made in Scripture. They assert, "Moses was both priest and king ; so was Eli, who judged Israel forty years. So were also the Maccabees. And Melchisedek, long before Moses, was both priest and king."

Melchisedek was a lively figure of Christ. Heb. vii, 2, 3. In his time the offices of the spiritual and temporal government were not distinguished. All the patriarchs exercised such functions as these.

Moses' priestly office was only temporary, and that by the supreme decision of God. For the priesthood was afterward solely confined to Aaron and his sons. While Moses acted under the patriarchal economy, he was priest and king. But when the Levitical law was established, he ceased to be priest, and he exercised only the civil authority. Joshua succeeded Moses as prince, and Aaron and his sons as priests. Thus the offices, by God's appointment, became distinct.

Eli judged Israel when anarchy reigned. Micah set up an idol in his house, because there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes. Judg. xvii. The tribe of Dan offered violence to Micah and robbed him. Judg. xviii, 1. The Levite's wife was shamefully abused by the Gibeonites, for there was no king. Id. xix, 1. The men of Benjamin took wives by force. Id. xxi, 25.

* See du Pin, Ecc. Hist., tom. iii, p. 650. † Dist. 9., Constan. Bellar., lib. ii, c. 9.

Thus the manners of the people became dissolute, because there was no distinct government. It cannot be proved by the example of Eli that the civil government was annexed to the priesthood by the Lord's appointment; but it is rather to be ascribed to the corruption of the times; for having no regular civil head, they were led to apply to the high priest, to whom the judgment of many matters was referred by the law of God. Deut. xvii, 8; Lev. xiii, 2. But the priesthood and the civil magistrate were distinct from the time of Aaron's consecration to the end of the Jewish polity.

As it regards the example of the Maccabees, they did contrary to the law in taking on themselves the discharge of both offices. For the priesthood was annexed to the posterity of Aaron for ever. Num. iii, 10. And the sceptre was not to depart from Judah till Christ came. Gen. xlix, 10. When Uzziah invaded the priest's office, he was punished from heaven for the sacrilege. And it becomes profanity in priests to enter on the discharge of civil offices. The pious kings of Israel and Judah never performed sacerdotal acts. And pious and faithful clergymen, whether bishops or popes, never were temporal princes.

The sentiment of Gelasius I., elected in 492, is worthy of consideration in this place: "Before the coming of Christ," says he, "some, in carnal and earthly acts, were figuratively both kings and priests. Such a one was Melchisedek. The devil also imitated this in his members, so that the pagan emperors would also be called chief priests. But after that Christ had come, the true king and priest, the emperor was no more called by the priest's name, neither did the priest challenge the kingly state. So Christ hath distinguished both offices by their proper acts and dignities, that Christian emperors, in eternal things, should need the help of priests, and they in temporal things should use the benefit of imperial decrees."*

3. It is stated, however, "that Constantine the Great gave the pope the government of the city of Rome, and other parts of Italy; and that therefore it is right for him to enjoy this grant."†

To this we reply, that the pretended act, by which the sovereignty of Rome and the provinces of the western empire were said to be conferred on the bishop of Rome, has so many marks of forgery, that it is impossible it should be the production of Constantine. We shall here subjoin some of the reasons which prove that it is an imposture.

(1.) Among the twelve copies of that instrument, said to be extant, great differences exist.

(2.) The style of it is barbarous, and very different from that of the genuine edicts of Constantine. It is full of new modes of speech, the expressions are affected, and the terms such as were never used till after the time of Constantine.

(3.) The date of this act is false. It states that the donation was made in the spring of the year 324, four days after he had been baptized by Pope Silvester. It bears the names of the consuls Constantine for the fourth time, and Gallicanus. Now Constantine in his fourth consulship had not Gallicanus, but Licinius for his colleague — And this consulship answers to the year 315, at which time Constantine —

* Ante adventum Christi, quidam figuraliter adhuc in carnalibus actibus constituti, &c.—*Tom. Anathematis.*

† Bellar. de Pontif., lib. v, c. 9.

line was not baptized, even in the opinion of those who believe he was baptized at Rome by Pope Silvester; and yet mention is made of his baptism in this edict of donation. Byzantium is there called Constantinople, though it had not that name till about ten years after the date of this edict. All the ancient writers agree that Constantine was not baptized at Rome, but at Nicomedia, when he lay at the point of death.

(4.) None of the ancients mentions this pretended liberality of Constantine to the church; but who can believe that Eusebius, and all the other ancient historians, who have minutely described the benefits of this emperor to the Christians, and especially to the bishops, should pass over a gift so considerable.

(5.) Who can believe that such a grant would be unknown to popes and others till the eleventh century, had it existed?

(6.) There are numbers of falsities and absurdities in this edict, which demonstrate that it was composed by an ignorant impostor. In it the pope is permitted to wear a crown of gold, like that of kings and emperors, whereas in those times kings and emperors did not wear a crown at all, but a diadem. The fabulous account of Constantine's baptism by Silvester, and the miraculous cure of his leprosy, is reported there as certain. Constantinople was made a patriarchal see, which was not the case till afterward.

(7.) Finally, while Constantine lived, and a long time after his death, the city of Rome and the empire of the West were subject to the emperors. The popes themselves acknowledged them as their sovereigns, without pretending that the city of Rome or Italy, or any part of the western empire, belonged to them. All the temporal power they have obtained since is owing to King Pepin and the emperor Charlemagne.*

4. On the nature, extent, and origin of the pope's temporal power, there is much diversity among Romanists. We have seen that some ascribe this to the grant of Constantine: others, as Du Pin and many French, maintain that the act of Constantine's grant is a base forgery. The canonists and others believe that Constantine's grant is not so much to be called a *grant*, as a *restitution* of what was tyrannically taken from him; because the pope has both the temporal and civil power immediately from Christ.

Gregory VII. maintained that he was rightful sovereign of the whole universe, as well in civil as in spiritual matters.†

5. St. Paul saith, "Who is sufficient for these things?" 2 Cor. ii, 16, that is, for the work of the ministry. Now if the amplest mind is insufficient for this great work, when the whole time and attention are employed in discharging it, how much more insufficient is he who employs much of his time in discharging the duties of a kingdom?

Again: "No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life," 2 Tim. ii, 4. This text proves that the discharge of military affairs, and, consequently, of any other engrossing business, as traffic, state affairs, &c., are inconsistent with the discharge of the pastor's duty.

* See Bowers, vol. i, 147. Those who desire a more detailed account of this matter may consult Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., tom. i, pp. 163, 164, where much important matter will be found.

† Du Pin, ii, 264.

6. The civil magistrate has the power of life and death. The pope also, as a political prince, must pronounce and execute sentences in which the life and property and liberty of his people are concerned. But this is inconsistent with the pastor's character. The high priest was forbidden to touch blood; but the offenders were brought to the gates of the city before the magistrates. Deut. xvii, 5. Criminals, in the most corrupt times, were not brought before the priests; but before the magistrates. The priests did not challenge any such power. They said, "It is not lawful for us to put any to death," John xviii, 31. But the power was in the civil magistrate, as Pilate said to Christ, "Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and power to loose thee," John xix, 10.

It will be of no avail to say, "That the pope and clergy put none to death; they do only deliver culprits over to the civil power to be put to death by the civil magistrate." But this does not mend the matter. The pope, in his own dominions being the civil power, the case does not apply; and therefore all the sin of mingling his hands in blood must justly fall upon him. And out of the papal dominions, when the pope or clergy deliver culprits whom they condemn to the civil magistrate, it is even worse than if they executed them themselves. For in this case, civil officers are only their vassals and executioners; and the clergy incur the additional guilt of hypocrisy and glaring falsity in thus delivering them over.

7. Besides, if the pope may be a temporal prince, he may make war; for all such do engage in warlike affairs. And this has been the common practice of popes and popish prelates. All know how many furious wars were carried on against the Saracens, by the popes, in their crusades; and history abounds in instances in which popes interfered and engaged directly in wars.

BOOK IV.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCTRINES, USAGES, ETC., OF THE CHURCH
OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

CELIBACY.

I. THE DOCTRINE STATED. 1. Council of Trent cited : 2. Roman Catechism cited.—
II. OF CHASTITY IN GENERAL. 1. It is opposed to vague, illicit, and forbidden lusts. Scripture proofs of this. Necessity of the distinction. Romanists, in praising chastity, disparage matrimony : 2. The Council of Trent teaches that marriage is against chastity : 3. The Scriptures teach that chastity exists in connection with matrimony.—**III. OF VIRGINITY AS CONNECTED WITH CELIBACY.** 1. In what cases, in what sense, and for what reasons, marriage is sometimes equalled, and sometimes preferred to virginity or celibacy : 2. The preference to celibacy must be on Scriptural grounds : (1.) For the *present distress*, or *necessity* ; (2.) For greater tranquillity ; (3.) The unmarried had more leisure to serve the public : 3. Celibacy in itself is not good : 4. It is confined to those who have the gift of continency.—**IV. OF THE VOW OF VIRGINITY OR CELIBACY.** 1. It is to be received only by some : 2. The Roman vow not supported by the Old Testament Scripture : 3. Nor by the New : 4. Objections against it : (1.) It is imposed on improper persons ; (2.) It is impossible in practice ; (3.) Is opposed to Christian liberty ; (4.) Leads to ease ; (5.) And to immorality : 5. Matt. xx, 34–36, considered : 6. And Matt. xix, 11, 12, noticed : 7. 1 Cor. vii, answered : 8. Rev. xiv, 4, 5, examined.—
V. CLERICAL CELIBACY. THEIR ARGUMENTS FOR IT CONSIDERED. 1. It is uncertain whether it is enjoined by Scripture or by the church. Bailly cited : 2. They say the church ordains it : 3. They say it is wisely, justly, and piously instituted : 4. The clergy must be chaste, Tit. i, 8 : 5. The *purity* necessary for the clergy requires celibacy : 6. Luke xviii, 29, considered : 7. A single life is preferred to a married one, 1 Cor. vii, 33 : 8. The *cares* of a married life are incompatible with the ministry. Bailly cited. Bishop Hay cited. Ten reasons against this argument.—**VI. ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.** 1. It is not supported by the divine law : 2. But is *contrary* to it : 3. It is at variance with the institution of marriage, Gen. ii, 18, 21, 24 : 4. And with Heb. xiii, 4 : 5. Patriarchs, priests, and prophets were married : 6. Christ sanctioned marriage : 7. The apostles were mostly married : 8. The clerical rules of Paul embraced marriage as belonging to the duly qualified pastor : 9. Celibacy originated in heathenism : 10. And is a mark of heresy and apostacy, 1 Tim. iv, 1–3 : 11. It breaks up the ties that bind men to their country, and renders them subservient to the pope. Sarpi and Hume cited.

I. Statement of the doctrine of celibacy.

1. We will first state the doctrine of the Church of Rome on celibacy, as edited by her great Council of Trent, and contained in the ninth and tenth canons of the twenty-fourth session, concerning marriage.

“ *Canon 9.* Whoever shall affirm that persons in holy orders, or regulars, who have made a solemn profession of chastity, may contract marriage, and that the contract is valid notwithstanding any ecclesiastical law or vow ; and that to maintain the contrary is nothing less than to condemn marriage ; and that all persons may marry, who feel that though they should make a vow of chastity they have not the gift thereof, let him be accursed. For God does not deny his gifts to those who

ask aright, neither does he suffer us to be tempted above that we are able."

"*Canon 10.* Whoever shall affirm that the conjugal state is to be preferred to a life of virginity or celibacy, and that it is not better and more conducive to happiness to remain in virginity, or celibacy, than to be married, let him be accursed."*

2. The Roman Catechism expresses itself as follows: "The words, increase and multiply, which were uttered by Almighty God, do not impose on every individual an obligation to marry; they declare the object of the institution of marriage; and now that the human race is widely diffused, not only is there no law rendering marriage obligatory, but, on the contrary, virginity is highly exalted and strongly recommended in Scripture, as superior to marriage, as a state of greater perfection and holiness."†

II. *A few words on chastity in general may not be out of place, before we enter on the formal discussion of Roman celibacy.*

1. Chastity is properly opposed to vague, illicit, and forbidden lusts.

Chastity, modesty, purity, and sanctimony, are necessary virtues of true Christians. For God hates impurity of every kind, that may be opposed to chastity. And those who are polluted with the defilements of an immodest life, are not in the favour of God. This view is supported by the following portions of Scripture:—"Who [the Gentiles] being past feeling, have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness. But ye have not so learned Christ." Eph. iv, 19, 20. "But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks. For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them." Eph. v, 3-7. "For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication: that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour; not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God. That no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter; because that the Lord is the avenger of all such, as we have also forewarned you, and testified. For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness." 1 Thess. iv, 3-7.

It is therefore necessary that the doctrine concerning a pure chastity should be inculcated, so that this virtue should be fully recommended

* Canon 9. Si quis dixerit, clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel regulares, castitatem solemniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege ecclesiasticâ, vel voto; et oppositum nil aliud esse, quam damnare matrimonium, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium, qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiam si eam voverint, habere donum; anathema sit: cum Deus id recte petentibus non deneget, nec patiatur nos supra id quod possumus, tentari.

Canon 10. Si quis dixerit, statum conjugalem anteponendum esse statui virginitatis, vel cœlibatus, et non esse melius ac beatius manere in virginitate aut cœlibati, quam jungi matrimonio; anathema sit.—*Concil Trid.*, sess. xxiv. *Doctrina de Sacramenti matrimonio.*

† Roman Catechism, p. 304.

and enforced, that all the pious might possess it in its full degree. But the false persuasion is to be banished from the minds of men, viz., that the chastity well pleasing to God exists in an unmarried state only, as though the married relation was inconsistent with true chastity. When, therefore, we speak of chastity according to the word of God, we do not refer to an unmarried state in general, but we intend the chastity which applies to a single or a married life. For the chastity well pleasing to God, concerning which the Scriptures speak, consists in the following: 1. That all lusts, pollutions, and commixtures, out of a married state, prohibited by God, are to be shunned. 2. That chastity in the marriage state is pleasing to God, on account of the appointment, blessing, and sanctification of God. 3. In those who have the gift of continency, chastity is the purity of a single life, in which they abstain, not only from prohibited, but also from lawful desires.

When Romanists utter their encomiums on chastity they direct their discourse solely or principally against matrimony; but they say scarcely a word against indulging in forbidden lusts. The common people, hearing those speak thus who indulge in almost every forbidden pleasure, yet so as to give it the name of chastity, because they do not enter into lawful marriage, entertain a hatred against marriage, and are led to think that the indulgence of unlawful desires is not very sinful. The fathers of Trent ought to have distinguished true chastity from vague, illicit, and forbidden lusts; when the capital danger was, not from lawful wedlock, but from forbidden desires. For God, who is a pure mind, ordains that those who cannot contain ought to marry. But the malign spirit, the enemy of chastity, who is also called *ακαθαρτος*, *impure* or *unclean*, as a roaring lion goeth about to excite to unholy acts; while on the other hand the Holy Spirit pronounces against all forbidden desires.

2. The Council of Trent maintains that chastity can be distinguished from matrimony, as though true chastity cannot exist in a married state. In the ninth canon, quoted above, there are these words, "If any one shall say that regulars, having solemnly professed chastity, can contract marriage, and that all persons may marry who feel, that though they should make a vow of chastity, they have not the gift thereof, let him be accursed." They teach, therefore, that chastity would be violated, polluted, and contaminated by marriage, and to marry would be a sin against chastity.

3. But the Holy Scriptures teach that the purest chastity exists in connection with the married state.

The Scriptures teach, that in connection with matrimony, *purity*, *chastity*, *continency*, *sanctimony*, exist in their greatest perfection. This will be manifest from the following passages of holy writ. Our Lord recognises marriage as an ordinance of God, and therefore holy, just, and good. Matt. xix, 2-12. The unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband, and the contrary. 1 Cor. vii, 14. St. Paul calls marriage a great mystery. Eph. v, 32. He says, respecting the married, that God had not called them to uncleanness, but to holiness. 1 Thess. iv, 7. He represents also the married woman's duty to be "to continue in faith, charity, holiness with sobriety," 1 Tim. ii, 15. The same apostle makes it the duty of the aged women, "to teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their chil-

dren, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands," Titus ii, 4, 5. Marriage is honourable in all. Heb. xiii, 4. And Peter ascribes chastity to the married state. 1 Peter iii, 2.

III. *Some remarks may also be given respecting virginity, as connected with celibacy.*

1. And here it might be inquired, in what cases, in what sense, and for what causes, marriage is sometimes equalled, and sometimes preferred to virginity or celibacy. The Council of Trent, in their tenth canon, overlook the Scriptural view of the subject, for in the place of preferring virginity to marriage on Scriptural grounds, they anathematize those who place marriage before virginity or celibacy. When they speak of the final cause of celibacy, they maintain that it is to be received in order to satisfy for sins, and that it is meritorious in procuring eternal life. Now the Scriptural view of celibacy or virginity is entirely different from this.

2. The preference of celibacy to marriage must be on Scriptural grounds. St. Paul affirms that he who does not give his virgin in marriage does well, but he who does not, does better, 1 Cor. vii, 38; and that a widow is happier if she remain a widow, than if she marries. But he gives the explanation and the reasons of this preference.

(1.) The apostle says, "I suppose this is good for the present distress," 1 Cor. vii, 26. The word *avavkē*, *distress*, signifies also *necessity, tribulation, calamity*. The church was then *persecuted*, and those who had families to care for would be liable to greater *distress* than those who had none. On this account, it was better for the *present* to have no families.

(2.) The unmarried among the Corinthians at that time had greater tranquillity than the married. The married shall have *trouble in the flesh*, verse 28.

(3.) The unmarried had more time to devote to the service of God than the married, verses 32–34. The apostle speaks certainly concerning unequal marriages with heathens; in consequence of which Christians were burdened with innumerable cares. The passages will not apply with equal force to Christian marriages.

3. Celibacy absolutely in itself is not good, but it is good or bad according to the use made of it. If it be chosen by pious intention, by proper persons, and accompanied with holy obedience, it is praiseworthy. But if it be selected out of a persuasion that it is meritorious, the most lustful life may be led by such celibates. The excellence of a celibate state does not consist in simple abstinence from marriage, but in observing the covenant of God. Isa. lvi, 4. And the widow who does not refer celibacy to its proper end is dead while she lives. 1 Tim. v, 6.

4. Celibacy is confined to those who have the *gift* of continency. Our Lord declares that this is not applicable except to those to whom the gift is given. Matt. xix, 11. And the apostle says, "Every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that," 1 Cor. vii, 7. St. Paul also teaches that widows who are under a certain age ought to marry. 1 Tim. v, 9. The Romanists, by their celibacy, go contrary to Scripture, in exacting vows from those who are not endowed with the gift of continency.

IV. *Of the vow of virginity or celibacy.*

1. The vow of celibacy is to be received only by those who have the gift of continency. And unless the gift is possessed, it is wrong and sinful to enter into such vows. We collect several useful rules from St. Paul on this subject.

The first rule or caution is, that no one, decoyed with the praises of a single life, and not having ascertained whether he possessed the gift of continency or not, should vow to live a celibate. And the rule which St. Paul gives is, either the necessity which any one may be in, or the power which they possess over their own will. He calls it *necessity*, when any one is unable to bridle his lusts so that he is compelled to burn and commit adultery, or to marry. Thus he who hath this gift of God, and hath power over his own will, may lawfully vow a single life.

Nor do those sin, who, though they have power over their own will, may see fit to marry. So St. Paul evidently teaches.

He also teaches that those who thus vow should be of *mature* age. 1 Tim. v.

He furthermore cautions all concerned, that they are in danger of falling into a *snare*, if they enter into such vows thoughtlessly or for wrong ends.

How manifestly does the ninth canon of Trent contradict St. Paul! The council pronounces anathema on those who contract marriage when they learn that they have not the gift of continency. Whereas, the apostle decides that it is their duty to marry.

2. The vows mentioned in the Old Testament give no countenance to the vow of celibacy. These vows referred to things commanded or authorized by the will of God. But the popish vow of celibacy possesses no such character. No place in the Old Testament can be adduced which enjoins the vow of perpetual celibacy.

3. In the New Testament the vow of virginity is not enjoined. It is only *permitted*. To command it, is to teach for doctrines the commandments of men. Celibacy in proper persons is not disproved; it hath its foundation in the words of Christ. Matt. xxix, 12; 1 Cor. vii, 7. He permits eunuchs, but does not command men to be such. But he adds that few can receive it, so that he imposes the necessity of it on no man. Paul recommends the tranquillity of virginity, and says, "that it is good for virgins and widows, if they remain so on account of the present distress." But he does not enjoin it, for he would consider that *to be laying a snare*, to entangle Christians. 1 Cor. vii, 35. He teaches that "it is better to marry than to burn," verse 9. And "to avoid fornication every one should have his own wife," verse 2. He wills that "the younger widows marry," 1 Tim. v, 14. He enjoins that the bishops to be chosen should be "the husbands of one wife," 1 Tim. v, 2. And he asserts, that to prohibit marriage is the doctrine of devils. 1 Tim. iv, 3. From all this it is manifest that the popish vow of celibacy is not enjoined in the New Testament.

4. To the vows of virginity or celibacy among the Romanists, we present the following objections:—

(1.) They exact vows from young persons, who are not capable of judging discreetly on this subject. Leo I. required the age of forty in monks before their consecration. Several councils ordained the same. Pius I. made the twenty-fifth year the lowest. The third Council of

Carthage, canon fourth, confirmed this. But those of a more recent date have allowed of vows of virginity as early as fourteen years of age for males, and twelve for females. The Council of Trent, session twenty-fifth, canon fifteen, makes sixteen the age before which the vow should not be taken.* Bellarmine forms two propositions concerning the proper age.

The first is, "That to receive the vows of continence, obedience, and poverty, that age is required in which the use of free will exists, but where this is, such vows may be received in any age."

The other proposition is, "That that age is necessary for public profession which the laws of the church prescribe, and these vary with the occasions of times and places."†

If we are guided by the *practice* which has generally obtained in the Roman Church, the following monastic rule has been very generally adopted: "Who vows deliberately? Girls and boys, before they can judge, may be persuaded to vow, sometimes also they may be compelled."‡

Who is ignorant of their practice of compelling children and youth, by persuasion which in their case is compulsion, as well as by forcible constraint?

This practice of the Romanists is directly contrary to the instruction of St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy: "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old," 1 Tim. v, 9. "But the younger widows refuse," verse 11. "I will therefore that the younger women marry," verse 14. Here the age of sixty is that which the apostle requires for those who are to devote themselves to celibacy. And their qualifications are, that they should be "well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work," 1 Tim. v, 10. The younger widows are to be refused, because, as a general thing, they will wax wanton against Christ; they are therefore instructed to marry. The evils to be shunned by refusing them a place among the widows or deaconesses of the church are enumerated in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth verses: "For when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith. And withal they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idlers but tattlers also, and busy bodies, speaking things which they ought not." And the manner in which the younger women are to be most advantageously employed is stated in the fourteenth verse of the same chapter: "I will therefore that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully."

(2.) The papal vow of continency deviates from the divine word,

* Professionem non debere fieri ante annum 16.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. 25, can. 15.

† Quod ad vota suscipienda continentiae, obedientiae et paupertatis requiratur quidem ea aetas, in qua sit usus liberi arbitrii, sed ubi is adfuerit, in quacunque aetate licere talia vota nuncupare.

Quod ad professionem publicam expetenda sit ea aetas quam leges ecclesiae praescribunt, quae pro temporum et locorum diversitate extiterunt variae.—*Bellar. de Mon.*, c. 25.

‡ Quotiesquisque consulto vovit? Puellas et adolescentes priusquam judicare possent, percoadentur ad revendum, interdum etiam coguntur.

because it is impossible to those not possessing the gift of continency. This gift is *special*, and not general. Our Lord expressly says, "All cannot receive that saying, but those to whom it is given," Matt. xix, 11. St. Paul teaches the same, as we have already seen.

It is, however, said that God gives this gift to those that ask it. To this we reply, that this applies only to those common graces necessary for all men. But the special gift of continency is proper only for a few; and these few only are the proper persons to receive it. This is clear to all who have examined the Scripture declaration on this head.*

(3.) Their vow is opposed to *Christian liberty*. The apostle denies that he had any precept from the Lord concerning virgins endowed with the gift of continence. 1 Cor. vii, 25. He also declares, that he would not *lay a snare* for any one, verse 35. But the papal vows are snares to men's consciences; because they take away the power of entering into the married state; whereas God himself, by his chosen apostle, would not impose any necessity on any one; but he instituted marriage as a remedy to be resorted to by all. The apostle in general pronounces, "If they cannot contain, let them marry," 1 Cor. vii, 9. But under the papacy they vow celibacy with the intention that they must never marry, whatever may be the result; whether they can contain or not, whether they have dominion over their passions, or are hurried on to their unlawful gratification. Paul preaches this rule, "If they cannot contain, let them marry." But they teach that marriage would be a violation of a lawful vow. Paul says, "It is better to marry than to burn." They say the contrary. Paul says, "If a virgin marry, she sinneth not." They say it is a grievous sin, and those who commit it are held accursed. Paul says, "Not that we would lay a snare for you." But though this snare has entangled their clergy, nuns, and monks in the grossest sins of the flesh, and has deeply tainted their whole church, and has characterized it with the perpetration of the grossest crimes, they nevertheless adhere to the sin of an almost general prostitution.

(4.) By their vows they are generally placed in that state of life, in which they enjoy *ease, abundance, and fulness of bread*. The other fruits, connected with these, are known to all who will examine them.

(5.) Their celibacy has produced corrupt manners, both among the clergy and people. This will be fully shown in a future head.

There are several passages of Scripture, which are brought to support celibacy, that may demand some attention.

5. The following passage is cited in favour of virginity or celibacy: "The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage; but they which are worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage: neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection," Luke xx, 34-36. The plain meaning of this passage is, that marriage is the condition of our present mode of existence; but it is not the condition of the future life. According to the Roman Catholic interpretation of this passage we might argue, "Animal life is sustained by aliment; not so

* See Gerhard de Conjug., pp. 622-648, who establishes this point with great clearness against the objections of Bellarmine and others.

the angelic life ; therefore to abstain from food, as far as possible, is in the same degree to make one's self an angel." But our Lord's intention was to confute the Sadducee, whose doctrine strikes at the root of religion ; and also to reprobate the gross conceptions of the future life then current among the Jews. And yet this is the passage which is more made use of than any other in recommending the practice of religious celibacy. Precisely by a similar interpretation were the sanguinary measures of the papacy excused and recommended, by such passages as the following : " Compel them to come in : " " I am not come to send peace upon earth, but a sword : " " It is better that one member perish," (that one heretic, or a thousand be burned,) " than that the whole body" (the church) " be lost : " " Here are two swords," the spiritual and temporal : " And God made two great lights," the greater light the pope, the lesser light the emperor. This practice, the pattern of which was set by Satan himself, has been the constant characteristic of those who have appeared to be led by his will.

6. This text is also cited in favour of celibacy : " But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb : and there are some eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men : and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Matt. xix, 11, 12.

The Jewish notion of marriage considered it as a positive and universal duty, required, like some other national prejudices, to be modified, to make room for a more comprehensive religious system. Our Lord surely did not intend to condemn personal cleanliness when he said, " To eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man." What he meant was to bring in a spiritual and genuine notion of purity, in the place of the rabbinical superstition of the Jews. Nor does he, in the present case, intend to disparage matrimony, which here and elsewhere he honours with a solemn sanction ; nor to speak of celibacy as a loftier or holier state.

Our Lord seems to have intended to take the occasion suggested by the query of the disciples, " At that rate it is not good to marry," for introducing a higher motive of conduct, belonging to the " kingdom of heaven," and which, in opposition to the Jewish opinion, might lead certain individuals to separate themselves even from the lawful engagements of ordinary life, in order to promote his kingdom in an evil world, unencumbered by any earthly ties. The motives of the gospel might lead a man to lay down his life for Christ, to surrender property and every social endearment, and, as a *circumstance* attending this devotedness, abstinence from marriage might be an acceptable sacrifice. This sovereign rule may make a man a martyr, or may induce him to lead a single life, or may impel him to traverse the globe.

In our Lord's rule we may observe, *First*, the well-defined restriction, " All are not able to receive it, *if* any man is able to receive it, *if* to any this ability has been given, let *such* receive it," plainly pointing to a peculiarity of original temperament, which whosoever possessed might act upon it without peril or presumption. This restriction was contemned by the ancient and Romish churches, so that thousands, from infancy, or before the age of puberty, were, by the fanaticism of

their parents, devoted to celibacy, and hence were exposed to the pursuit of a criminal life at a future time.

Secondly. Our Lord points out a motive, which, after the restriction had been duly regarded, might justify this unusual course of life; for the sake "of the kingdom of heaven." But the ascetics, instead of seeking to promote the kingdom of heaven, or pure religion, by remaining in the midst of the mass as its salt and light, to preserve and guide; either shut themselves up in religious houses, or secluded themselves from all society. Thus they acted on the spirit of selfishness, in opposition to the precepts and spirit of the gospel. Christ went about doing good, consorting with publicans and sinners; but the ascetics, minding their own things, left the church and the world to take their own course.

Thirdly. Our Lord here gives no countenance to the principle that marriage is a pollution, and celibacy a holy state, and a condition of proximity to God. If any such notion were embraced in our Lord's declaration, here was the place to declare it.

In each of these respects, the celibacy of the Nicene Church, and the continuation of it in the Latin Church, was a flagrant contempt of our Lord's rule of celibacy. *First*, as it wholly overlooked the *restriction* with which he had guarded it: *secondly*, in putting contempt upon the *motive* which might justify the celibacy of the few to whom it would be proper; and *thirdly*, by introducing and putting prominent a motive or doctrine, not merely foreign to Christianity, but subversive of it.

7. The seventh chapter of first Corinthians, as we have already seen, is particularly insisted on as authorizing celibacy.

In the latter part of the sixth chapter, the apostle asks, "What, know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost?" or as in the third chapter, "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God?—if any man defile the temple of God." This truth is employed as a dissuasive from *sinful* indulgences, such as those specified in the context; and Christians living unblameable under the conjugal relation, fulfilled the intention of the injunction, in abstaining from the works of the flesh, as enumerated Gal. v, 19, and in cherishing the fruits of the Spirit. Neither in the seventh chapter of first Corinthians, nor in any place *else* in the New Testament, is there any trace of the doctrine, that celibacy is a merit, or that it is a holier condition, or that marriage is, in any sense whatever, a spiritual degradation, or a pollution. Among those who devote themselves to itinerant labours, or perilous missions, a family of children may be an incumbrance, while a pious and intelligent wife may be a help-mate. In our Lord's view, it was a favour when public calamity fell on a community during the summer rather than winter; and, even then, those were accounted comparatively happy who were not "with child," or who did not "give suck." The apostle, therefore, in like manner refers to the temporary and special reason which might recommend celibacy. "I suppose this is good for the present distress," for a man, if unmarried, "not to seek a wife."

And if we ask, as at verse 38, what is meant by "doing better," we have an answer in the immunities of a single life, in relation either to seasons of persecution, or to extraordinary labours, or to any circumstances in which a Christian might think himself at liberty, personal temperament being considered, to use the privilege of "waiting upon

the Lord without distraction." "I would that ye should be without carefulness."

8. The following passage is also cited in favour of celibacy: "These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile: (*ψευδος*, *lie not*, *δολος*, *guile*;) for they are without fault before the throne of God." Rev. xiv, 4, 5.

Christians, without any regard to their being single or married, are called by the apostle James, (i, 18,) *a first-fruit* unto God; and in this place of the apocalypse also, they are called the *faithful*, as distinguished from the *false*. They are also said to be *αμωμοι*, *unblameable*, and not *αφθοροι*, *uncorrupt*, which was the ecclesiastical name applied to the *παρθενοι*, *virgins*. The scarlet clad woman, shameless, cruel, and arrogant, and the inveterate enemy of the saints, is an adulteress in the ecclesiastical and symbolic sense of the word, and it is not the *profligacy* so much as the idolatry that is mainly intended by the prophetic style. The correlative term, virgins, the *true and faithful, the followers of the Lamb*, are those who possessed purity of faith and innocence of manners.

Or if by the term *virgins* is meant the virgins of the church, or the celibates, then this interpretation excludes from the privileged chair several of the apostles, and many of the holiest men and women of every age.

Besides, the morals of the professed celibates, whether priests, nuns, or monks, do not correspond to the virgins named here, among whom reigned, in all ages of their existence, either shameless vices, or a pitiable and loathsome pravity of heart, or entire uselessness. The monastic orders were also guilty of supporting a system of vain pretensions, or profitable frauds, or, in a word, LIES, either in the sense of delusions, or of wilful falsifications. Take, for instance, the choicest instances of Nicene monkery, as of St. Anthony, or St. Hilarion, or St. Martin of Tours, or some of those of modern date, and you will find marvellous extravagance, delusion, and LYING, in the place of holy simplicity, modesty, and TRUTH.

The celibacy of the Church of Rome divides itself into two divisions, viz., the celibacy of the clergy, and the celibacy of monks and nuns. As we have considered the subject generally in the foregoing pages, we will next treat of the celibacy of the clergy, and then make some observations on monks and nuns.

V. *The arguments of the Romanists in behalf of clerical celibacy.*

1. It is a point debated among them whether the celibacy of the clergy is enjoined by Scripture, or only by church authority.

We will quote the following statement of this question from Bailly, by translating what he says on this point.

"You inquire whether clergymen in sacred orders are bound to observe perpetual continency, by the divine or apostolical law?"

"Answer, with many theologians, against certain others, that the celibacy annexed to sacred orders was neither instituted nor commanded by Christ, or his apostles by the command of Christ. For nothing is found in Scripture or tradition, by which it can be proved that perpetual

continency was imposed on ministers by Christ, or by the apostles by the command of Christ. Otherwise, the church would not permit for many ages, and now permits to the Greek priests, the use of their wives which they had before their ordination, as is manifest from what we have said before : but the church cannot dispense with the law imposed by Christ, or by the apostles by the command of Christ."

"It may therefore be said that the law of perpetual continency imposed upon sacred ministers was introduced by the church, or by the apostles as governors and leaders of the churches, who proposed it, not as a divine and immutable, but as an ecclesiastical law, as the best mode of governing the church, as a most suitable discipline for ministers of the altar."

"For these reasons it is manifest, that the law of celibacy is at the same time ecclesiastical and apostolical, in that sense in which we have now explained the thing. Hence Saint Epiphanius, in his forty-eighth heresy, number seven, says that this law was *honestly and religiously instituted by the apostles*. Nor are the fathers to be understood otherwise."*

According to the foregoing, celibacy was not enjoined by Christ or his apostles, and hence it is not of divine right. Still, it is considered to be in some sense apostolical, and this will suffice. Here is a specimen of Jesuitical Roman Catholic theology, and will answer the purpose of the theological disputant. When the Protestant is to be answered, celibacy is only a matter of *discipline*, for the benefit of the church. To the Romanist it is of *apostolical* and *ecclesiastical authority*, and such authority, in his view, is nothing less than divine, and therefore a part of the word of God, though not of the written word. This will prepare the way for the next step of authority by which celibacy is enforced.

2. They argue that "clergymen are bound to observe this law by the canons of the church, which hath enjoined it and confirmed it an infinite number of times, and hath renewed it under divers punishments, viz., suspension, excommunication, and imprisonment itself."† We allow that the Church of Rome hath enjoined celibacy to her clergy, and enforced the observance of it by suspension, excommunication, and imprisonment; but she has done this, not only without authority from the Bible, but also against its express sanctions. Her enactments in this matter are therefore null and void. In such case the church has no authority, and the exercise of it is vexatious and antichristian.

3. But Bailly asserts, "That the church hath wisely, piously, and justly instituted this law."‡ That cannot be done wisely in this case which infinite wisdom does not institute; nor piously, which his goodness and holiness reject; nor justly, which an infinitely just God condemns. Of this description is the celibacy of the clergy, as will be more fully shown in this chapter.

4. It is objected against the marriage of the clergy, from where Paul says, "A bishop must be sober or chaste," Tit. i, 8. To this we

* Quæres, utrum clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti lege divinâ vel apostolicâ teneantur ad perpetuam continentiam? &c.—*Theol. Dogm. et Mor. Ludovico Bailly. De Ordine*, tom. v, p. 437. Lugd. 1815.

† Id., de Ordine, tom. v, p. 427.

‡ Legem istam justè piè et sapienter fuisse sacris ministris impositam.—*Id. ibid.*

reply : 1. If bishops, by divine precept, are bound to abstain from their wives, then celibacy is, by divine right, annexed to the ministry. 2. The apostle in this place admits that a bishop may be the husband of one wife and have children ; how then can he properly be said to require celibacy in the clergy ? 3. The word *σωφρων*, means *prudent, sober*, rather than chaste, and refers particularly to mental endowments. The apostle, at any rate, here recommends the quality existing in married men, and as it was exercised by them. Consequently the Romanists are at variance with him ; for they insist on a quality which cannot exist in the married state, and therefore their ecclesiastical law is contradictory to the precept given by St. Paul.

5. They argue that the *purity* required in the ministry is inconsistent with the married state. Bailly says, " It is the duty of the ministers of the church to handle holy things, for instance, to consecrate or administer the body of Christ. But these sublime and most holy duties seem to require supreme and angelical purity, and hence a single life."* Bishop Hay says, " Seeing, therefore, that the office of the priesthood requires the most angelical purity, and the most sublime sanctity, in those who are admitted to it, therefore the church has judged proper to oblige all who enter into that office, to embrace the more perfect state of chastity."†

To the foregoing we answer : 1. They assume it as a thing admitted, that marriage and chastity are things opposed to each other ; than which nothing can be more contrary to the truth and to fact. It was instituted in paradise to man while in a state of innocence, and hence it was a holy institute, and St. Paul calls it honourable in all. Heb. xiii, 3. 2. If the Roman doctrine be true, it would not apply to priests only, but to all Christians without distinction : for there is nothing required, in regard to holiness, of persons who hold offices in the church, which is not required of every Christian. It was not to the priests, but to the whole congregation of Israel, that God said, " Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy." And the apostle Peter takes up these same words, and addresses them as a divine command, not to clergymen only, but to the whole body of Christians who were scattered through the provinces of Lesser Asia. 1 Pet. i, 16. And another apostle tells us that " without holiness no man shall see the Lord," Heb. xii, 14. The thing is certainly true of every priest ; but equally true in regard to every other person. And if such holiness be inconsistent with the married state, then it is unlawful for any Christian to marry, and the human race must become extinct as soon as Christianity becomes universal. 3. Both the bishop and the theologian, as well as the Church of Rome whose doctrines they teach, speak profanely concerning the eucharist and religious duties. Their argument goes to say, that to consecrate the body of Christ, and perform the duties of ministers, alone require sanctity, and that a small portion of sanctity will be enough for those who receive the sacrament. No ; St. Paul ascribes peculiar profanity to those who received *unworthily* this sacrament ; whereas at Rome, the profaneness

* *Sacrorum ecclesiæ ministrorum est sacra contrectare, Christi corpus conficere vel administrare. Hæc autem sublimia ac sanctissima munera summam et angelicam puritatem ac proinde vitam cœlibem exigere videntur.*—*Bailly, Theol. de Ordine, tom. v, p. 428.*

† *Sincere Christian.*

would seem to belong solely to mere administering. This strikes at the foundation of good morals. 4. There is a great inconsistency between the doctrine of the Church of Rome in this matter, and that which she teaches officially concerning the validity and even sinfulness of those who minister in holy things, while in a state of mortal sin. When speaking of celibacy, her ministers must possess angelic purity. But when she comes to speak of the efficacy and validity of the ministrations of wicked clergymen, she pronounces them to be valid and efficacious. Both in the Roman Catechism and by the Council of Trent, it is taught that the ministrations of wicked priests are both valid and efficacious, though the priests themselves may be stained with every sin.

6. Bishop Hay argues thus: "This is also manifest from the special reward promised by our Saviour, and bestowed in heaven upon those who lead a chaste life: our Saviour says, 'Amen, I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or wife, for the kingdom of heaven's sake, who shall not receive much more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.'" Luke xviii, 29. Let it be kept in mind that this passage is adduced to support the doctrine, that it is more pleasing to God for a man to live single than to be married. But, according to this exposition, it is more pleasing to God to be without a house than to have one; and to be without parents than to have them. Christ's words in the passage refer to circumstances in which the service of God may render it necessary for a man to forsake his nearest and dearest relatives, and even to lay down his life. But then this has no reference to the celibacy of the clergy.

7. They argue as follows: "Single life by the apostle is preferred before the married estate, and therefore the most fit for ministers. 'He that is married careth for the things that are of the world.'" 1 Cor. vii, 33. Answer: 1. Single life is preferred to married in all men, and not only in ministers; and therefore as laymen are not bound to single life, though it be in itself more convenient, so neither ought ministers to be bound to celibacy. 2. Though a thing in itself be best, yet it may not be universally best for all men. Riches are better than poverty, because they are God's blessing, and may be employed for useful purposes; yet it is not best for every man to be rich. So single life is best for those that have the gift of chastity, and can, with a quiet conscience, live single; otherwise matrimony is much better. St. Paul, who wishes every one to live as he did, afterward declares, "It is better to marry than to burn." So that, in the apostle's judgment, to marry is best for those who have not the gift of continence.

8. They furthermore maintain, that the *cares* of a married life are incompatible with the duties enjoined on the ministers of Christ. This seems to be one of their strongest arguments. We will state it in the words of their own divines.

Bailly expresses the argument thus: "That law is justly, piously, and wisely instituted, which being made, sacred ministers can, most easily and accurately, perform the duties annexed to their order; but, in consequence of the law of celibacy, sacred ministers can the more easily and accurately fulfil the duties annexed to their order. For the principal duties of the sacred ministers are to sacrifice, to pray, to teach, to administer the sacraments, to take care of the poor, and

other duties of the same kind. But who does not see that these duties are much more easily performed by men devoted to perpetual continence, than by the married ?”*

Bishop Hay expresses the same argument as follows : “ The duties of their state, as pastors of the flock of Jesus Christ, make the married state in a manner incompatible with their vocation ; for they are chosen by Jesus Christ, and *separated* from the rest of mankind for the service ‘ of the gospel of God,’ Rom. i, 1. That they ‘ may go and bring forth fruit,’ in the conversion of souls to God, and ‘ that their fruit may remain,’ John xv, 16. ‘ They are dedicated by their vocation to this holy service of God and his gospel, and are obliged to give their whole attention to the good of their people’s souls ; to instruct them, to administer the sacraments to them, to comfort them in their distress, to assist them in their sickness, and especially when death approaches ; and for this purpose to answer their calls at all times, by night, or by day, even though at the risk of their own life, when the good of their people’s souls requires it. Now, it is evidently incompatible with the cares of a wife and family to discharge all these duties properly ; and therefore St. Paul says, ‘ No man, being a soldier of God, entangleth himself with worldly business, that he may please him to whom he hath engaged himself,’ 2 Tim. ii, 4. Now, the church well knowing that no kind of business so much entangleth a man and withdraweth him from the duties of the pastoral charge, as the cares of a wife and family, therefore she expressly requires her pastors to abstain from a state so inconsistent with that charge.”†

We present the following observations in reply to the argument of Bailly and Bishop Hay :—

(1.) In the Greek text, τῷ θεῷ, which the Douay version renders *of God*, is not added, but it is said in general οὐδεὶς στρατευόμενος, *no one who warreth*.

(2.) ‘ Therefore the apostle speaks concerning a *soldier*, properly so called, and not of a clerical spiritual soldier.

(3.) By πραγμάτων βίον, *the affairs of this life*, the apostle does not mean the moderate use of the things which pertain to the support of life, but *business, merchandise, traffic*, and such things as do not consist with a soldier’s life, so that the sense is, that each person should *mind his own proper business*, and should studiously abstain from what would be impediments to his vocation ; as a soldier who enlists must abandon all other *business or traffic*, and devote himself to military affairs.

(4.) If by the *affairs of life*, marriage is understood, then the consequence will be that all soldiers ought to be unmarried, and no one can be a soldier who is not a celibate.

(5.) If the saying of the apostle is interpreted as meaning a spiritual soldier, the consequence will be, that no spiritual soldier can fight under the banner of Christ unless he be a celibate ; and therefore the

* Illa lex justè, piè ac sapienter instituta est, quâ positâ, multò facilius, multoque accuratius ministri sacri possunt implere officia suis ordinibus annexa ; atque, positâ cœlibatus lege, ministri sacri multo facilius, multoque accuratius implere possunt officia suis ordinibus annexa. Nam præcipua ministrorum sacrorum officia sunt sacrificare, orare, docere, sacramenta ministrare, curam pauperum gerere, et alia id genus. Quis autem non videt hæc officia multò facilius competere viris perpetuæ continentię devotius quam conjugatis.—*Bailly, de Ordine*, tom. v, p. 428.

† Sincere Christian, vol. ii, p. 144.

married can never be true Christians. But if this spiritual warfare has no place in the married state, why does Paul accommodate his spiritual panoply to married persons? Eph. vi, 11—and why does he command the married to return to their conjugal duties, lest Satan should tempt them? 1 Cor. vii, 5.

(6.) The apostle enjoins that a bishop should *rule well his own house*; how then could he expect he should pay no attention to the concerns of this life? He concedes that the virtues necessary for the ministry should have place in him *who is the husband of one wife, and hath his children in subjection*.

(7.) If marriage pertains to secular business or the affairs of this life, as inconsistent with the life of a devoted Christian, then the apostles, prophets, and patriarchs, who were mostly married men, were also *seculars* in regard to religion.

(8.) And why do the popish prelates employ themselves in the affairs of this life, when they exercise political jurisdiction, and exhibit a more than Persian splendour, having dogs for hunting, and live in pleasure?

(9.) To the assertion that marriage is an impediment to the discharge of ministerial duties, we oppose the *institution* of marriage, in which the wife is said to be a *help meet for man*. Gen. ii, 18. Nor can it be said that in family matters she is an aid to man, but in spiritual she is an obstacle and an impediment; for Rebecca was no impediment to Isaac, nor Elizabeth to Zachariah. Nazianzen commends his own mother by name, who was *not only an assistant but a guide to his father's piety*, who was also a bishop. Paul asserts that a wife *governs the house*, 1 Tim. v, 14; and Solomon asserts that a prudent woman *builds the house*. Prov. xiv, 1. So that a pious wife may be a help to a minister, by whom he may be exonerated from many domestic and secular affairs.

There is not one thing mentioned in the duties of a faithful minister, which may not receive help from the aids of a pious and intelligent wife. He who is single must have some worldly care. His victuals must be prepared, his clothes washed and mended, his room attended to. But he who has a wife can devolve all these, and the care of his children too, and many other things, on her; not that she can always do all with her own hands; but she will either do them or take care that they are done.

Nothing better exemplifies the advantage of female aid than the extent of services which the wives of Protestant missionaries, and assistant female missionaries, have rendered to the cause of missions. By this means the domestic excellence of Christianity makes favourable impressions on the heathen mind. And hence, in a good degree, the striking contrast between Protestant and Roman Catholic converts from the heathen. The Roman converts are still heathen as before, with little, if any improvement, either in morals or intelligence. And such has been the character of their converts from the earliest times to the present day. We may well therefore retort this argument on Romanism, as we do in the following instances:—

(10.) We retort it from the testified condition of the Roman clergy in the present times. We will cite the testimony of a distinguished Roman Catholic clergyman, of Spain, who became a convert to Pro-

testantism, and renounced popery. We mean the Rev. Blanco White, who writes under the date of April 30th, 1835.

Mr. White says, "The cares of a married life, it is said, interfere with the duties of the clergy. Do not the cares of a vicious life, the anxieties of stolen love, the contrivances of adulterous intercourse, the pains, the jealousies, the remorse, attached to a conduct in perfect contradiction with a public and solemn profession of superior virtue: do not these cares, these bitter feelings, interfere with the duties of the priesthood? I have seen the most promising men of my university obtain country vicarages, with characters unimpeached, and hearts overflowing with usefulness. A virtuous wife would have confirmed and strengthened their purposes; but they were to live a life of angels in celibacy. They were, however, men, and their duties connected them with beings of no higher description. Young women knelt before them, in all the intimacy and openness of confession. A solitary house made them go abroad in search of social converse. Love, long resisted, seized them, at length, like madness. Two, I knew, who died insane: hundreds might be found, who avoid that fate by a life of settled systematic vice."*

Even in the golden age of monasticism, the holy monks, as they have been called, were not without their cares. Cyprian, in the third century, inveighed against the nuns on account of their shameless licentiousness; and this was not an incidental or local abuse; for it had spread itself on all sides, and had become, notwithstanding all remonstrances, the common usage of the cœnobite ascetics, and even of some of the anchorites. Not only did the *aged* monks avail themselves of the offices, and enjoy the society of young women in their cloisters; but *young* monks also did the same, in defiance of the unavoidable scandal of their conduct.† Young nuns also entertained their paramours under various pretexts.‡ "What a sight is it," says Chrysostom, "to enter the cell of a solitary monk and to see the apartment hung about with female gear, shoes, girdles, reticules, caps, bonnets, spindles, combs, and the like, too many to mention: but what a jest is it to visit the abode of a rich monk, and to look about you; for you find the solitary *μενός* surrounded with a bevy of lasses, one might say, just like the leader of a company of singing and dancing girls; what can be more disgraceful! and, in fact, the monk is all day long vexed and busied with petty affairs proper to a woman Not merely is he occupied with worldly matters, contrary to the apostolic precept, but even with feminine cares, and these ladies, being very luxurious in their habits, as well as imperious in their tempers, the good man was liable to be sent on fifty errands—to the silversmith's, to inquire if my lady's mirror was finished, if her vase was ready, if her scent-cruet had been returned: and from the silversmith's to the perfumer's, and thence to the linen-draper's, and thence to the upholsterer's: and at each place he has twenty particulars to remember. Then, added to all these cares, the jars and scoldings that are apt to resound in a house full of pampered women! Paul says, Be ye not the servants of *men*; shall we not then cease to be the slaves of

* Practical and Internal Evidences against Catholicism, p. 143.

† Chrysostom, tom. i, p. 279. Paris edition, 1837.

‡ Idem., pp. 310, 312, et seq.

women, and this to the common injury of all! Christ, who would have us behave ourselves as his valiant soldiers, assuredly has not, for this purpose, clad us in the spiritual armour, that we should take upon ourselves the office of waiting, like menials, upon worthless girls *κοκοὺν τριοβολιμαίων*: or, that we should busy ourselves with their spinnings and sewings, or spend the live-long day by their side, while at work, imbuing our minds with effeminate trifles.”*

The foregoing we have taken, as translated by Isaac Taylor, in his recent work on *Ancient Christianity*, p. 400.

From this description of the *cares* of ancient and modern professed celibates, and these citations could be multiplied to hundreds, we discover that the boast of immunity from cares, as the peculiar advantage of celibacy, is only in name, and has no existence in reality.

In brief, the celibacy of the Church of Rome has no foundation in Holy Scripture, accomplishes none of the good which its votaries ascribe to it; but it is injurious to the morals of the clergy and laity. To establish this, we will adduce the following:—

VI. *Arguments against the celibacy of the Roman clergy.*

1. The celibacy of the clergy is *not supported* by the divine law. Most Romanists allow this. Therefore as such a requisition is unauthorized by the written word of God, it is a high assumption to enforce it on all the clergy. Nor does it answer any purpose in this case to say, that the intention of it is to promote greater sanctity, and to produce greater utility; for he who made man knows what is best for him. He has sent down his Holy Spirit to sanctify man; and the *fruits* of the Spirit, as love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, will produce more good, and *such* good as will benefit all and honour God. But an artificial and forced sanctity or utility, of human invention, will ultimately do more harm than good, and in the place of purifying man, it will only tend to corrupt and debase him. This is proved by *facts*, as they exist connected with, and are a part of, Roman clerical celibacy.

2. Clerical celibacy is *contrary to the divine law*, as certainly as it is without its sanction. It is at variance with the very existence of the human race. It is contrary to the original institution of marriage, which was founded on these truths, that *it was not good for man to be alone*, that a *help meet* was necessary for him, and that the blessing of God was associated with it, because God blessed the union. It is contrary to the example of the most pious men from Adam to Christ. Our blessed Lord chose married men to be his ministers. He sanctioned marriage by his presence and approbation. The apostles themselves describe a bishop or pastor of a flock as a married man, not only in pointing out his personal duties arising from this head; but also describing the corresponding character which his wife and children should sustain, as well as pointing out as the model of his ecclesiastical government, the good order which a good father of a family exercises in his own house among his wife and children. In short, that the prohibition of marriage to the clergy is a part of heathenism, and is a heresy in the church of God, as well as a mark of anti-christian pravity.

* Chrysostom, tom. i, pp. 295–297, abridged.

3. Marriage, at which celibacy is at variance, is *of divine institution*. Its institution is briefly described in the second chapter of Genesis. "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him—and the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, 'This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.'" Gen. ii, 18, 21–24. Such is the original institution of marriage, in which we see several particulars worthy of notice.

(1.) God pronounces the state of celibacy to be a *bad state*, or which is the same, *not a good one*; for it is said, *it is not good for man to be alone*. Such is the decision of the Almighty. The judgment of councils, fathers, doctors, synods, or popes, is of no authority in this matter, as they have no right to annul the divine law.

(2.) God made the woman to be a *help meet* for the man; and this shows in general that every son of Adam should be united to a daughter of Eve to the end of the world. It also proves that the marriage state is a help in discharging ministerial duties, in the place of a hinderance.

There are other striking particulars that could be collected from the original institution of marriage; but these two alone prove that the divine institution is in direct contradiction to the celibacy of the Church of Rome.

4. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, attests as in prophetic warning against the heresies that were about to arise in the church. He asserts that marriage was the best state for all. He says, "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge," Heb. xiii, 4. 'This may have been said in reference to the opinions of the *Essenes*, or *Therapeutæ*, who despised marriage. It is not worth contending whether these words be rendered by way of assertion, as in our version, or by way of precept, thus, *Let honourable marriage and the bed undefiled obtain among all*. The plain meaning is, that marriage is honourable in all persons, old and young, and in all things. The passage shows the absurdity of the popish tenet, that marriage in the clergy is both dishonourable and sinful; which is in opposition to the apostle, who says marriage is honourable in ALL. It is in opposition to the institution of God, which evidently designed that every male and female should be united in this holy estate. The tenet is contrary to nature, which has produced everywhere men and women in about equal proportions. The marriage state is the best for all; and the exceptions to it are so few that they cannot be employed fairly to interfere with the general rule.

The gift of continency is *peculiar*, and does not belong to all in common. This is proved from our Lord's words in reference to this subject: "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given," Matt. xix, 11. To the same import is the declaration of St. Paul, when treating formally on celibacy: "Every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that," 1 Cor.

vii, 7. Hence we infer, from these two passages, that celibacy should not be imposed on all clergymen, nor indeed upon any, as the decision of this matter is left to the individual himself.

Those *not endowed with the gift* of continency are allowed to marry. "Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.—If they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn." 1 Cor. vii, 2, 9. Now there are many clergymen not endowed with the gift of continence; and to them it is enjoined to marry; and of consequence marriage is not to be denied to the clergy.

Marriage is left to the *voluntary choice* of all. Those who have not the special gift, are left to exercise their own choice as to the propriety of marriage. And each is to *judge* for himself in this matter. St. Paul asserts this in favour of himself and Barnabas. "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?" 1 Cor. ix, 5, 6.

5. The patriarchs, priests, and prophets of the Old Testament were married men. In this state they lived and were pleasing to God. Adam, Seth, Enos, Enoch, who walked with God, Noah a just and perfect man, Shem, Abraham the father of those who believe, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Aaron, and the priests and prophets, were married men. They have, however, to get rid of part of the difficulty in the case, taken great liberties with Chrysostom, who asserts, that the patriarchs and prophets had wives. In his twenty-first homily on Genesis, he treats of the character of Enoch and Noah, as married men. The Belgian Index* decides, that the words, *all the prophets had wives*, should be expunged. The Spanish Index† does the same.

6. Christ sanctioned marriage by his presence and approbation. At a marriage he performed his first miracle. John ii, 1. Among the Jews the moral dignity of woman, and the religious equality of the sexes, had been far better understood than among any other people of antiquity. Their rational and purifying domestic habits allowed to woman her due place in society. Our Lord, in his personal behaviour, recognised this state of domestic regulation. He allowed himself to be attended and ministered to by women, Luke viii, 1–3; Matt. xxvii, 55; and thus sanctioned, as good and safe, that intercourse of the sexes, in domestic and common life, which then prevailed. The first disciples and the apostles‡ sanctioned it, and it has been the glory of Christianity to have wrought the regeneration of the social economy in this way, by refining and sanctioning the home intercourse of the sexes. Our Lord was, in some instances, attended on his journey by women, and his wants and personal comfort were secured by their assiduous services and contributions. But no injunctions of the ascetic institutes are more frequent or serious, than those which prohibit all intercourse between the sexes. To be in the society of women, to converse with them, were great offences.

7. The apostles were, for the most part, married men. And what was right for them, must also be right for other ministers.

That they were mostly married, we have the plainest proofs from Scripture. Paul speaks of the other apostles, besides himself and Bar-

* P. 27.

† P. 169.

‡ Acts i, 14; Phil. iv, 3.

nabas, as married men. 1 Cor. ix, 5. Our Lord speaks of Peter's wife's mother, Matt. viii, 14 ; Mark i, 30 ; which shows that Peter was married. Philip, the evangelist, is said to have had four daughters. Acts ii, 9. Indeed, Paul asserts that *other apostles*, James and Jude *brethren of our Lord*, and *Cephas* or Peter, were married men. And he excepts from the number of the unmarried, only himself and Barnabas. So that the just inference is, omitting Judas, that the first choice of apostles were all married men.

Observe here : 1. That our Lord himself chose married, and not single men. This proves that the married state was one consistent with the purity and usefulness of ministers. 2. This they possessed as a matter of *right*, for the word *ἐξουσίαν* (1 Cor. ix, 4, 5) means *right* rather than power, or power in the sense of right. And this right, or authority, was not merely derived from their office, but from Him who gave them that office ; from the constitution of nature ; and from universal propriety or the fitness of things. 3. Their wives were persons of the *same faith* ; for less cannot be employed in the word *sister*, or still more in conformity with the original, a *wife who is a Christian sister* in faith.

The marriage of the apostles is a decisive proof against the papistical celibacy of the clergy. In regard to their endeavours to evade the force of the declaration of St. Paul, in the ninth chapter of first Corinthians, by saying that the apostles had holy women, who attended them and ministered to them in their peregrinations, there is no proof of it. Nor could they have suffered either young or old women, or other men's wives, to have accompanied them without great scandal.

Bishop Hay however says, "In the apostles' time, when the church began, there was a necessity for taking married people into the priesthood, because, for want of labourers, there was no choice."* Were there not twelve unmarried young men among the disciples of Christ, from whom he could choose apostles ? It is dishonouring to him to say there was any necessity imposed on him, in ordering the affairs of his kingdom ; that for want of materials for doing what was right, he would do what was wrong ; yet this is the amount of Bishop Hay's argument. Christ had all power in heaven and in earth intrusted to him, and could not be at any loss in selecting the most suitable persons for the sacred ministry. But he did employ married men in the holy and honourable work of the ministry ; and if it was lawful then, it is still lawful : for there has been no later authority that could lawfully set aside his appointment.

8. The apostle Paul, in giving the ecclesiastical constitution established by the apostles, embraces marriage and its connected domestic relations, as qualifications of the pastors of the church. The apostolic rule would nearly justify the maxim, *No husband, no bishop*. If celibacy itself had been as clearly enjoined as the marriage of bishops and deacons, there would probably have never been any controversy about it.

Timothy and Titus are authoritatively addressed on subjects especially *clerical*, and they are formally taught what are the true qualifications of pastors. We select particularly that which concerns the marriage, and the domestic qualifications growing out of this state, or

* *Sincere Christian*, vol. ii, p. 114.

connected with it. In Paul's First Epistle to Timothy, he says, "This is a true saying, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife: given to hospitality: one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" 1 Tim. iii, 1, 2, 4, 5.

Of the deacons and their wives the apostle speaks in the same strain to Timothy: "Even so must their wives be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their houses well." 1 Tim. iii, 11, 12.

To Titus, the apostle thus writes, when speaking of the elders or bishops that were to be ordained in every city: "If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not accused of riot or unruly. For a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God." Titus i, 6, 7.

On the foregoing passages we remark,—

(1.) That ministers of Christ *may*, or rather *ought* to be married men. That they may be married men is obvious from the above texts. For in two several epistles, expressly written in reference to ministerial qualifications, the bishop or deacon most fit for his calling is represented as a married man, living with his wife, and discharging all the duties of a well-ordered family.

But the terms made use of in these passages mean more than a bare *permission* to marry, or a bare *tolerance* in office to those who are married. The words used denote *duty* or *necessity*. The impersonal verb *dei*, *oportet*, *par est*, *necesse est*, *it is becoming*, *it is right*, *it is necessary*. The expression of the apostle (1 Tim. iii, 2) is *dei ουν τον επισκοπον μιας γυναικος ανδρα ειναι*, for a *bishop must, or ought to be the husband of one wife*. And, in the Epistle to Titus, (ch. i, verse 7,) the expression is similar, and means a bishop *must, or ought to be* blameless. The married state is here presented as that which is *most becoming, proper*, or indeed *necessary* for a man who presides over the flock of Christ. And it is considered as needful a qualification as temperance, blamelessness, aptitude to teach, and the like. And though a minister may be a good one who is not married; yet he is not *so good*, in general, as those who have pious and intelligent wives and walk worthy their vocation. We do not hear the apostle say, "Although bishops and deacons are not to be prohibited from marrying, yet, whenever it can be done, it is well to prefer those who have professed virginity." No such language escapes the apostle. He represents a bishop to be one who has a wife and children, and who rules his house.

(2.) The bishop, however, must have only *one wife at a time*: but *then* he *ought* to have one, in order to be a proper ensample to the flock.

(3.) The bishop or pastor of a flock should possess *good family government*, *one that ruleth his own house well, having his children in subjection with all gravity, and not accused of riot, or unruly*. He should govern his household by *rule*, every one knowing his own place, and each doing his own work at the proper time. No family can be well ruled without subjection; and no one can govern so well as a hus-

band, who is, by nature and by God's appointment, the head and ruler of his house.

(4.) Good family government was required in every primitive bishop, as a guarantee that he would be a good ruler in the church. And a want of family government disqualified a man for having charge of the flock: "For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" If a man's domestic arrangements be not good, he should not be trusted with any branch of government, whether ecclesiastical or civil.

From the foregoing it is plain that in designating the qualifications of a pastor in charge of a flock, a married man is the most fit. The abstracted and visionary Cœlebs is not the proper person. He may do to trim the lamps, open the church doors, sweep the church, or discharge some low ecclesiastical duty; but he is not the person to furnish an *example* to the flock of one of the most important relations of human life, *a well-regulated family*.

9. Celibacy owes its origin to heathenism, and was brought into the Christian church from the superstition of the Gentiles.

From the Gentiles it was received also among the Essenes, a sect of the Jews, as appears from Josephus, who describes the Essenes, and affirms that they observed celibacy.*

From the Essenes it was received by the Montanists, the Marcionites, the Manichees, and other heretics; and at length the Christian church itself adopted this system, derived to them from Gentile superstition and heretical pravity.

10. The celibacy of the clergy is heretical, and is a mark of an apostate church.

This is proved from the following passage of Holy Scripture: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of those who believe and know the truth," 1 Tim. iv, 1-3.

On the foregoing passage, we quote the interpretation of Bishop Newton, in his Dissertation on the Prophecies, which, by its soundness and just critical acumen, recommends itself to all:—

"I. The first thing to be considered is, the apostacy here predicted. 'Some shall depart, or rather *apostatize*, from the faith.' An *apostacy from the faith* may be either total or partial; either when we renounce the whole, or when we deny some principal and essential article of it. It is not every error, or every heresy, that is apostacy from the faith. It is a revolt in a principal and essential article, when we worship God by any image or representation, or when we worship other beings besides God, and pray unto other mediators besides *the one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*. This is the very essence of Christian worship, to worship the one true God, through the one true Christ; and to worship any other god, or any other mediator, is apostacy and rebellion against God and against Christ. Such is the nature of *apostacy from the faith*; and it is implied that this apostacy shall be general, and affect great numbers. For, though it be said only *some*

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, b. ii, chap. viii.

shall apostatize, yet by *some*, here, *many* are understood. The original word frequently signifies a *multitude*, and there are abundant instances in Scripture where it is used in that sense, as the reader may perceive from John vi, 64–66; Rom. xi, 17; 1 Cor. x, 5, 6. This apostacy may be general and extensive, and include *many*, but not *all*.

“II. It is more particularly shown wherein the apostacy should consist, in the following words: *Giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils*; or rather: ‘Giving heed to *erroneous* spirits and doctrines concerning *demons*.’ *Spirits* seem to be much the same in sense as *doctrines*; the latter word may be considered as explanatory of the former; and error sometimes signifying *idolatry*, *erroneous doctrines* may comprehend *idolatrous* as well as *false doctrines*. But it is still farther added, for explanation, that these doctrines should be *doctrines of devils* or *of demons*, where the genitive case is not to be taken actively, as if demons were the authors of these doctrines, but passively, as if demons were the subject of these doctrines. In Jer. x, 8; Acts xiii, 12; Heb. vi, 2, the genitive case is used in this manner; and, by the same construction, *doctrines of demons* are doctrines *about* or *concerning* demons. This is, therefore, a prophecy that the idolatrous theology of demons, professed by the Gentiles, should be revived among Christians. Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the gods and mortal men; and were regarded as mediators and agents between the gods and men. Of these demons there were accounted two kinds: one kind were the souls of men deified or canonized after death; the other kind were such as had never been the souls of men, nor ever dwelt in mortal bodies. These latter demons may be paralleled with angels, as the former may with canonized saints; and as we Christians believe there are good and evil angels, so did the Gentiles that there were good and evil demons. It appears then as if the doctrine of demons, which prevailed so long in the heathen world, was to be revived and established in the Christian church. And is not the worship of saints and angels now, in all respects, the same that the worship of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is essentially the same. The heathens looked upon their demons as mediators and intercessors between God and men; and are not the saints and angels regarded in the same light by many professed Christians? The promoters of this worship were sensible that it was the same, and that the one succeeded the other; and as the worship is the same, so likewise it is performed with the same ceremonies. Nay, the very same temples, the very same images, the very same altars, which once were consecrated to Jupiter and the other demons, are now reconsecrated to the Virgin Mary and other saints. The very same titles and inscriptions are ascribed to both; the very same prodigies and miracles are related of these as of those. In short, the whole almost of paganism is converted and applied to popery; the one is manifestly formed upon the same plan and principles as the other.

“III. Such an *apostacy* as this—of reviving the *doctrines of demons*, and worshipping the dead—was not likely to take place immediately; it should prevail and prosper *in the latter days*. The phrase of the *latter times* or *days*, or the *last times* or *days*, signifies any time yet to come; but denotes more particularly the times of Christianity. The

times of Christianity may properly be called the *latter times* or *days*, or the *last times* or *days*, because it is the last of all God's revelations to mankind. Heb. i, 1, 2; 1 Peter i, 20.

"IV. Another remarkable peculiarity of this prophecy is, the solemn and emphatic manner in which it is delivered: *The Spirit speaketh expressly*. By the *Spirit* is meant the Holy Spirit of God, which inspired the prophets and apostles. The *Spirit speaking expressly*, may signify his speaking precisely and certainly, not obscuredly and involvedly, as he is wont to speak in the prophets; or it may be said, *The Spirit speaketh expressly*, when he speaks in express words in some place or other of divine writ; and the Spirit hath spoken the same thing in express words before in the prophecy of Daniel. Daniel has foretold, in express words, the worship of new demons or demi-gods. Dan. xi, 38. The *mauzzim* of Daniel are the same as the *demons* of St. Paul; gods protectors, or saints protectors, defenders and guardians of mankind. This, therefore, is a prophecy, not merely dictated by private suggestion and inspiration, but taken out of the written word. It is a prophecy not only of St. Paul's, but of Daniel's too; or rather of Daniel, confirmed and approved by St. Paul.

"V. The apostle proceeds, verse 2, to describe by what means and by what persons this apostacy should be propagated and established in the world: *Speaking lies in hypocrisy, &c.*; or rather, *through* the hypocrisy of *liars*, having their conscience, &c.; for the preposition rendered *in*, frequently signifies *through* or *by*. *Liars* too, or *speaking lies*, cannot possibly be joined with the original word rendered *some*, and that rendered *giving heed*, because they are in the nominative case, and this is in the genitive. Neither can it well be joined in the construction with the word rendered *devils*, or *demons*; for how can *demons*, or *devils*, be said *to speak lies in hypocrisy*, and *to have their conscience seared, &c.*? It is plain, then, that the great apostacy of the latter times was to prevail, *through the hypocrisy of liars, &c.* And has not the great idolatry of Christians, and the worship of the dead particularly, been diffused and advanced in the world by such instruments and agents? by fabulous books, forged under the names of the apostles and saints; by fabulous legends of their lives; by fabulous miracles, ascribed to their relics; by fabulous dreams and revelations; and even by fabulous saints, who never existed but in imagination?

"VI. Verse 3. *Forbidding to marry, &c.* This is a farther character of the promoters of this apostacy. The same hypocritical liars who should promote the worship of demons should also prohibit lawful marriage. The monks were the first who brought a *single life* into repute; they were the first also who revived and promoted the worship of demons. One of the primary and most essential laws and constitutions of all monks was the profession of a single life, and it is equally clear that the monks had the principal share in promoting the worship of the dead. The monks then were the principal promoters of the worship of the dead in former times. And who are the great patrons and advocates of the same worship now? Are not their legitimate successors and descendants, the monks, and priests, and bishops of the Church of Rome? And do not they also profess and recommend a single life, as well as the worship of saints and angels? Thus have the worship of demons, and the prohibition of marriage, constantly

gone hand in hand together; and as they who maintain one maintain the other, so it is no less remarkable that they who disclaim the one, disclaim the other.

“ VII. The last mark and character of these men is: *Commanding to abstain from meats, &c.* The same lying hypocrites who should promote the worship of demons, should not only prohibit lawful marriage, but likewise impose unnecessary abstinence from meats; and these too, as indeed it is fit they should, usually go together as constituent parts of the same hypocrisy. It is as much the law of monks to abstain from meats, as from marriage. Some never eat any flesh; others only certain kinds, on certain days. Frequent fasts are the rule and boast of their orders. So lived the monks of the ancient church; so live, with less strictness perhaps, but with greater ostentation, the monks and friars of the Church of Rome; and these have been the principal propagators and defenders of the worship of the dead, both in former and in latter times. The worship of the dead is indeed so monstrously absurd as well as impious, that there was hardly any probability of its ever prevailing in the world but by hypocrisy and lies. But that these particular sorts of hypocrisy—celibacy, under pretence of chastity; and abstinence, under pretence of devotion—should be employed for this purpose, the Spirit of God alone could foresee and foretell. There is no necessary connection between the worship of the dead, *and forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats*; and yet it is certain that the great advocates for this worship have, by their pretended purity and mortification, procured the greater reverence to their persons, and the readier reception to their doctrines. But this idle, popish, monkish abstinence is as unworthy of a *Christian* as it is unnatural to a *man*; it is preventing the purpose of nature, *and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by believers, and them who know the truth.*”

The word *Κωλυω*, to *forbid. hinder, restrain, deny permission*, applies to any prohibition, whether authoritative, effectual, or intentional. To prohibit by edicts, and under penalties, is a special sense of the word. The ancient church of the fourth century forbade absolutely to marry within the pale of the ascetic community; and generally, as to the clergy, by the force of opinion and usage. What the Encratites did in the second century, the church generally did in the fourth. And while the most flagrant violations, both in regard to continence and fasting everywhere prevailed, the Church of Rome laid down the law of celibacy as irreversible, admitting no exceptions, to the utmost reach of her jurisdiction. The papacy took to itself all the marks of an apostate church, by exerting all its authority for maintaining the ascetic principle and practice, as well in relation to the secular as the regular clergy. In the monkery of Romanism, as well as in the Nicene age, we find, beyond all doubt, Paul's marks of the coming apostacy. Nor is there any other system or body, within or around the pale of the church, to which these designations belong.

The reformers, German, Swiss, and English, paid a modest and religious regard to antiquity; yet they unanimously and decisively rejected the ancient ascetism, and they separated the churches they founded from this apostacy, ancient and strongly recommended as it was.

In support of the Roman Catholic gloss on 1 Timothy iv, 1-3, the Rhemish Testament has the following note:—

“Verse 3. *Forbidding to marry.* He speaketh, saith Chrysostom, of the Manichees, Encratites, and Marcionites.* Ambrose, upon this place, addeth to these the Patricians also.†

“And generally all antiquity affirm the same of both of them, and also of the heretics called Apostolici, Ebionitæ, and the like. Their heresy about marriage was, that to marry, or to use the act of matrimony, is of Satan, as Irenæus witnesseth;‡ and that the distinction of male and female, and the creation of man and woman for generation, came of an ill God. They taught their hearers, saith Augustine, that if they did use women, they should in anywise provide that they might not conceive or have children. Clement Alexandrinus§ writeth, that such admit no marriage nor procreation of children, lest they should bring into the world creatures to suffer misery and mortality. And this is the damnable opinion concerning marriage, noted here by the apostle.

“For the second point, consisting in the prohibition of meats, or use of certain creatures made to be eaten, the said heretics, or divers of them, for they were not all of one sect touching these points, taught, that men might not eat certain sorts of meats, especially of beasts and living creatures, for that they were not made, say they, of the good God, but of the evil. And wine they called the gall of the prince of darkness, and not to be drunk at all; and the vine whereof it came, to be of the devil’s creation. And divers other creatures they condemned as things by nature and creation polluted and abominable.||

“So these were the heretics, and their heresies, which Paul here prophesieth of, that forbid marriage and meats as you have heard, for which they and their followers were condemned in divers councils. Is it not now an intolerable impudence of the Protestants, who for a small similitude of words in the ears of the simple, apply this text to the feasts of the church, and the chastity of priests and religious?”

To the foregoing we reply, that the notes of the Rhemists here bear evident proofs of concession, which fix the charge of apostacy on the Church of Rome. They concede that the apostle speaks of heretics who forbade marriage, and the use of certain kinds of food. Now the Romanists do the very same thing, and therefore the charge of heresy against them is fully sustained. For those old heretics that ascribed the institution of matrimony to Satan, and the creation and procreation of mankind to the devil, spoke not falsehood in hypocrisy, but in open blasphemy, and therefore might be easily discerned and avoided. But the Romanists, under the pretence of holiness, religion, chastity, purity, fasting, prayer, forbid marriage and meats to some men at all times, and to all men at other times; therefore they are those of whom the apostle speaks. For after the apostle declares wherein the true religion consists, he immediately gives the marks of the corrupt and apostate church, which makes the principal part of religion to consist in avoid-

* Hom. 12, in 1 Tim.

† Irenæus, lib. i, cap. xxx; Epiphanius, hæc. 45, 26, 61, 50; Hierome I., cont. Jovin., cap. i, ep. l, cap. i, et iii; Augustine, hæc. 25, 40.

‡ Lib. i, cap. xxii.

§ Lib. iii, Strom. in Principio.

|| August. hæc. Manich., 46, et hæc. 25; Tatian, et toto libro de mor., Manich., tom. 1.

ing marriage and meats. For they only are specially called *religious* by them who obey the prohibition of marriage and meats, though they live no more continently than the old heretics, called *Origeniani turpes*, *filthy Origenists*, who, as Epiphanius testified of them, “rejected marriage, and yet lust ceased not among them, and defiled their body and mind with wantonness. For some of them are in the habit of monks that live solitarily, and some of the women are in the habit of women that live solitarily, but they are corrupt, performing their lust in their bodies. They study not for chastity, but for feigned chastity, and that which hath the name only of chastity. They desire to be in honour for the exercise of chastity supposed to be in them.”* Such were the monks and nuns for the most part in England, in the visitation of their houses before their suppression. Even the Manichees permitted marriage to their laymen, or hearers, but on no account to the clergy, whom they called their elect or chosen ones.† There is, therefore, no way for Romans to transfer this matter to the old heretics, who, with as good reason, might charge it to each other, the Manichees to the Tacianists, and the Tacianists to the Manichees. The marks are so evident, that no persons who forbid marriage or meats, whether Roman or other, can escape, and those who forbid them in hypocrisy, under colour of more perfection and holiness, are more especially described by the apostle. It is therefore inconsistent in Romanists to say, that the words of the apostle, only in a *similitude of words*, refer to the celibacy of the Church of Rome.

11. Celibacy renders the clergy unfeeling and unsocial, breaks up the ties that bind men to their country, and renders them subservient to the pope.

Almighty God, at man’s creation, chose for him the *social life*. “It was not good for man to be alone,” or, in other words, it was bad or dangerous for him to be alone, as this would render the human race unsocial, because they would be without feeling or sympathy for each other. The ordinary means for cultivating the social feelings are the society and intercourse of families, the care and education of children, the performance of domestic duties, the participation with family afflictions, and an interest in the well-being of the state as a citizen and member of society. These are among the appointed means, by which we are led to “weep with those that weep, and rejoice with those that rejoice;” and hence, by these means, we are led to the proper performance of social duties. A pious minister expresses himself in the following words: “It ought to be considered that the very character which would best fit them for living in a single state, would abstract them too much from the feelings and wants of their people. I am fully sensible that I should have been hardened against the distresses of my hearers, if I had not been reduced from my natural stoicism by domestic sufferings.”‡ Chrysostom§ says, “Marriage doth not only not hinder the practice of divine philosophy, if we will be sober, but also administers to us great assistance in it, by calming the turbulence of our nature, and not permitting us to be tossed in tempest, but preparing a haven wherein to ride securely.”

The celibacy of the clergy is one of those devices of the Church of

* Epiph. Hæres, 64.

† Aug. de Hær. ad quod vult Deum, hæc. 46.

‡ Cecil’s Remains, p. 121.

§ Homil. in Genes. xxi.

Rome, designed for its aggrandizement, by which the ministers of religion are rendered strangers to the pure domestic affections, and they are therefore drawn to concentrate all their zeal on the particular interests of the papal see. That such were the opinions and policy of the Tridentine fathers, we have the testimony of Sarpi, the expositor and historian of the council. He says, "It is plain that married priests will turn their affections and love to their wives and children, and, by consequence, to their house and country; so that the strict dependance of the clergy on the apostolic see should cease. Thus the granting of marriage to priests would destroy the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and leave the pope bishop of Rome only."

Hume, in his history, when speaking of the tenth century, insists on this view of the subject; and few were better prepared to decide on this point, notwithstanding his infidelity. He says, "The Roman pontiff, who was making every day great advances toward an absolute sovereignty over the ecclesiastics, perceived that the celibacy of the clergy alone could break off entirely their connection with the civil power, and, depriving them of every other object of ambition, engage them to promote, with unceasing industry, the grandeur of their order. He was sensible, that so long as the monks were indulged in marriage, and permitted to rear families, they never could be subjected to strict discipline, or reduced to that slavery under their superiors, which was requisite to procure to the mandates issued from Rome a ready and zealous obedience. Celibacy, therefore, began to be extolled, as the indispensable duty of priests; and the pope undertook to make all the clergy throughout the western world renounce at once the privilege of marriage."

The pope knows full well the advantages to be derived from his celibate ranks, not only among the ordinary clergy, but also among the various grades of regulars, or religious orders. They can, in consequence, be transferred from one country to another; can be employed as spies and politicians to great advantage. Most of the priests and bishops in this country are foreigners, who have no close affinity with our republic, and will therefore be fit tools for the pope in controlling the politics of the United States.

CHAPTER II.

CELIBACY CONTINUED.

I. THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY PRODUCED LICENTIOUSNESS OF MORALS FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME. 1. Celibacy was corrupt among the heathens: 2. And among the early heretics: 3. And early orthodox Christians, and down to the Reformation: (1.) Cyprian cited, ep. lxii, ad Pompon.; (2.) Chrysostom; (3.) Paphnutius; (4.) Udalric; (5.) Bernard; (6.) In the eleventh century; (7.) Third Council of Lateran in 1179; (8.) Innocent III. about 1227; (9.) Nicholas de Clemangis about 1400; (10.) Address of Oxford University to the Council of Constance, in 1414; (11.) Scotland at the Reformation; (12.) England in 1548.—**II. ITS CORRUPTION SINCE THE REFORMATION.** 1. In Protestant countries secrecy and great caution are observed: 2. Blanco White's testimony, in 1835, concerning Spain: 3. Testimony of a French Catholic priest concerning France in 1836: 4. Other Catholic countries are corrupt: 5. In Protestant countries the same corruptions prevail to a good degree. Nine reasons for this: 6. Consciousness of guilt leads them to accuse Protestants of crimes similar to their own: 7. Many Romanists bear witness to the licentiousness of clerical celibacy.—**III. SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY.** 1. Of married clergymen living with their wives after ordination: 2. Whether clergymen may marry after ordination: 3. Can married persons, by mutual consent, become celibates, priests, monks, or nuns?—**IV. ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CLERICAL CELIBACY.** 1. It originated in the merit ascribed to virginity and celibacy: 2. Misinterpretation of 1 Tim. iii, 2: 3. Views of the early Christians on bigamy. Origen, Tertullian, and others, cited: 4. Sentiments of others: 5. It was interpreted by some as forbidding polygamy: 6. Celibacy was not imposed for the three first centuries. Examples of married clergy living with their wives: 7. Romanists cannot reply to these examples: 8. Decisions of the early councils on this subject: 9. Synoptical survey of this subject.

IN the foregoing chapter we stated the doctrine of the Church of Rome on celibacy. Some observations were also made respecting chastity, virginity as connected with celibacy, and the vow of celibacy. The clerical celibacy was also taken up, and the arguments in its favour answered, and those against it adduced, with the exception of its gross immorality. In the present chapter we propose to consider its licentiousness, answer some inquiries concerning it, and trace out its origin, progress, and establishment.

I. The celibacy of the clergy produced the greatest licentiousness of manners from its commencement to the present time.

Indeed, the testimony on this head cannot be given, except limitedly and under cover; for we are forbidden to speak of such abominations as are associated with the transactions of unmarried clergy. Still, we shall state a few things, showing that in all times restrained celibacy broke over all the bounds of decorum and of morals.

1. Among the pagan nations, the celibacy of their priests and priestesses degenerated into the most shocking profligacy of manners. The most ample proofs of this could be given, both from the early fathers, as well as from the writings of heathens themselves.

2. From the heathens the praises of virginity were received into the church; but those who adopted it were among the first heretics of the times. Epiphanius informs us that when Nicolaus affected celibacy, and could not, or would not govern himself in that state, he precipitated himself into the indulgence of promiscuous intercourse, and induced others to follow his example. St. Paul describes the revolting

fruits of professed celibacy among the younger widows, (1 Tim. v, 11-14,) and instructs them to marry.*

The descriptions which Irenæus, Epiphanius, and others give of the shameless actions of those first professors of celibacy among the heretics, are such as to forbid them to be read or written.

3. The early orthodox Christians complain of similar licentious conduct among the celibates of their churches.

(1.) Cyprian,† in his reply to Pomponius, describes how basely the Christian celibates of his day acted. From this letter it appears that perpetual celibacy was vowed by many females; and that the greatest disorders ensued. Males and females slept together in the same bed. They did this *customarily*, and yet they professed to have no criminal connection. Cyprian describes the particulars so minutely, that there is no room for doubt; and yet we cannot put his remarks in an English dress, as they would shock all pious and chaste ears. The questions and answers of the Roman confessional alone would be a specimen of Cyprian's style. Let any one who has a Latin Cyprian at hand, turn to the epistle and read for himself, and then judge. Cyprian flourished in the third century. But this shameful practice commenced anterior to this century. Slight allusions are found to it in the Shepherd of Hermas, and in Tertullian. But the first distinct mention of it is in Cyprian, who inveighs severely against it in some of his epistles, and even recommends, contrary to Roman Catholic doctrine, that it is better to marry than to continue in such scandalous practices.‡ These concubines were by the Greeks called *συμμοιχαίτριες*, and by the Latins *mulieres subintroductæ*, and were professed virgin sisters in the church, under a vow of perpetual chastity. With these some of the single clergy lived, dwelling and even sleeping together, but with a mutual agreement not to have conjugal intercourse. Such a marriage they considered as a marriage of souls, without the marriage of bodies. Many of the bishops strongly opposed this wicked practice; but it was a long time before it was wholly abolished.

(2.) Chrysostom, who flourished about the end of the third century, and died in 308, reluctantly admits of conduct in the professed virgins of his day, as gross as that described by Cyprian. From him we learn that, while a few were virtuous and sincere, and at the same time fanatical and extravagant, there prevailed among the many the worst kinds of immorality. They either were shamefully vicious, or they possessed a depraved heart. Chrysostom says, "Alas, my soul! well may I exclaim, and repeat the lamentable cry with the prophet! Alas, my soul! Our virginity has fallen into contempt: the veil is rent by impudent hands, that parted it off from matrimony: the holy of holies is trodden under foot, and its grave and tremendous sanctities have become profane and thrown open to all; and that which once was had in reverence, as far more excellent than matrimony, is now sunk so low, as that one should rather call the married blessed, than those who profess it. Nor is it the enemy that has effected all this, but the virgins them-

* See Chemnicii Examen, tom. iii, and the authorities cited by him, p. 10, &c., and 112, &c.

† Cypr. ad Pomponium, ep. lxii, tom. ii, pp. 181-185.

‡ Id. Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt; melius est ut nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant.

selves.”* Such is the confession of the warmest admirer of the ascetic life ; and such had it become in his time.

(3.) At the Council of Nice in 325, when a decree was about to be introduced, enjoining celibacy on the clergy, Paphnutius, an unmarried bishop, testified against it on the ground that such a prohibition would produce great immorality, and was contrary to Scripture. This is proved from the testimony of Sozomen and Socrates.†

(4.) Udalric, bishop of Augusta, who wrote a letter to Pope Nicholas I., in which he says concerning Pope Gregory the Great, who reigned in 606, “That Gregory the Great, by his decree, deprived priests of their wives ; when, shortly after, he commanded that some fish should be caught from the fish ponds, the fishers, instead of fish, found the heads of six thousand infants that had been drowned in the ponds. When Gregory ascertained that the infants thus killed were born from the concealed fornications and adulteries of the priests, he forthwith recalled his decree, and purged the sin with worthy fruits of repentance, extolling the apostolic command, It is better to marry than to burn, and adding from himself, It is better to marry than to be the occasion of death.”‡

(5.) Bernard, who died in 963, utters the following complaint in his sermon to the clergy on conversion : “If, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, we could look behind the partition, that we might see the horrible thing in the house of the Lord, perhaps the foulest abominations would appear on the inside of the partition. Nay, besides fornications, adulteries, and incests, there are not wanting among some the most shameful ignominious conduct. Would that the apostles never had written such things, that it would not be necessary for us to speak of them, so that no credence would be given to those who mention what sometimes occupies the human mind—what abominable lust ! alas ! the enemy of man has defiled the body of the church with the execrable ashes of the Sodomites ; and indeed the most filthy and abominable crimes have defiled some of its very ministers also. Many, not indeed all, but many, it is certain, cannot be concealed on account of their multitude, nor do they lament, by reason of their impudence, and many are seen to have employed this licentiousness for an occasion to the flesh, abstaining from the nuptial remedy, and hence using this liberty of theirs for perpetrating every crime. Would that those who cannot contain would fear to give their course the name of celibacy. It is better to marry than to burn, and to be saved in the humble grade of the common people, than to live worse, and to be judged severely in the sublime rank of the clergy. Take away from the church honourable marriage and the bed undefiled, and do you not fill it with concu-

* Chrysostom, tom. i, p. 309. Paris, 1837, &c.

† Soz., lib. i, c. 23 ; Socr., lib. i, c. 11.

‡ Gregorium Magnum suo quodam decreto sacerdotibus aliquando uxores ademisse, cum vero paulo post jussisset ex piscina sua pisces aliquot capi, piscatores pro piscibus sex millia capitum infantum suffocatorum reperisse, quam cædem infantium cum intellexerit Gregorius ex occultis fornicationibus vel adulteriis sacerdotum natam esse, continuo revocavit decretum et peccatum suum dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus purgavit, laudans apostolicum illud, Melius est nubere quam uri, et de suo addens, Melius est nubere, quam mortis occasionem præbere.—*Epistola Uldarici, in orthodoxagraphis*, p. 481. See Gerhard, *de Minist. Eccles.*, p. 389 *supra*.

bines, incestuous persons, onanists, male concubines, and with every kind of unclean persons ?”*

(6.) In the eleventh century, the secular or parochial clergy kept women generally in their houses, upon more or less terms of familiarity, by a connivance of their ecclesiastical superiors, which almost amounted to a positive toleration. The sons of priests were capable of inheriting, by the laws both of France and Castile.

(7.) The third Lateran Council, held in 1179, speaks of the detestable custom of keeping concubines, long used by the English clergy.†

(8.) Innocent III., who died in 1227, declares, “That certain Latin priests had concubines in their houses, and some were not afraid to betroth or marry them.”‡

(9.) Nicholas de Clemangis, about 1400, says, “In many dioceses the rectors of parishes, for a certain stipulated sum to the prelates, generally and publicly have concubines.”§

(10.) The University of Oxford, at the king’s command, drew up forty-six articles stating abuses that needed reformation, to be laid before the Council of Constance, which sat in 1414. The thirty-eighth article represents, “That the carnal and debauched lives of the clergy in our days, and their public fornications which are never punished, except perhaps with a small fine in private, set an evil example before others; it would, therefore, be a holy thing, and contribute to the reformation of the church, if priests of every rank and order, who were public fornicators, were obliged to abstain from saying mass for a limited time.”||

(11.) The following picture of the Roman clergy in Scotland is given by M’Crie, in his Life of John Knox: “Inferior benefices were put up to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops.”¶ “Again, the lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and

* Si juxta Exechielis prophetiam parietem fodiamus ut in domo Dei videamus horrendum, pessima forte apparebit inter parietes abominatio. Siquidem post fornicationes, adulteria, post incestus, ne ipsæ quidem apud aliquos ignominie passiones et turpitudinis opera desunt. Utinam nec apostolum hæc scribere, nec nos dicere oportere, ut nec dicentibus crederetur, quod humanum aliquando occupaverit animum, tam abominanda cupido, heu execrabili Sodomorum cinere inimicus hominum ecclesie corpus aspersit, et ipsorum etiam ministrorum ejus nonnullos, sane foedissima et spurcissima respersit, &c. Multi, non quidem omnes, sed tamen multi, certum est, nec lateri possunt præ multitudine, nec præ impudentia quærunt, multi utique libertatem in occasionem carnis dedisse videntur, abstinenter remedio nuptiali, et in omne deinceps flagitium effluentes. Utinam qui continere non volent, cœlibatui nomina dare vererentur. Esse sine dubio melius nubere, quam uri et salvari in humili gradu fidelis populi, quam in cleri sublimitate, et deterius vivere et districtius judicare. Tolle de ecclesia honorabile conjugium, et thorum immaculatum, nonne repleas eam concubinariis, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus et omni denique genere immundorum?—Bernhardus, in sermone ad clerum de conversione, c. 29. See Chemnitz, tom. iii, p. 160.

† Cum in Angliâ pravâ et detestabili consuetudine et longo tempore fuerit obtentum ut clerici in domibus suis fornicarias habent.—*Labbe Concil. T. x*, p. 1633.

‡ Quidam sacerdotes Latini in domibus suis habent concubinas, et nonnulli aliquas sibi non metuunt desponsare.—*Opera Inn. III.*, p. 558. See also pp. 300 and 407.

§ Plerisque in diocesibus, rectores parochiarum exerto et conducto cum his prelati pretio, passim et publice concubinas tenent. Cited in Lewis’s Life of Peacock, p. 90; and in Hallam, p. 279. New-York, 1839, Harper & Brothers.

|| Dr. Henry’s Hist. of Britain, cent. xv. See M’Gavin’s Prot., vol. ii, p. 84.

¶ M’Crie’s Life of Knox, first edition, p. 15.

corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage to decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastical order from contracting lawful wedlock, the bishops set the example of the most shameless profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots, provided their natural sons with benefices, and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry; many of whom were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their families by such base alliances, for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought.* To make out the above statement of M'Crie, there is no need of going to the testimony of the reformers, or to satirical poems published at the time. The truth is registered in the acts of parliament, in the decrees of their own councils, in the records of legitimation, and in the confessions of their own writers.†

(12.) In an act of parliament passed in England, on February 19th, 1548, it was stated, "That great filthiness of living, with other inconveniences, had followed on the laws that compelled chastity, and prohibited marriage; so that it was better they should be suffered to marry than to be so restrained."‡

II. *In modern times, the immoral results are as certain and ruinous as formerly; except that more secrecy is observed, especially in non Roman Catholic countries.*

1. In the midst of a Protestant community, the sins of the celibates are more secret than formerly; but it may be doubted whether they are less heinous or fewer in number. We have ample proofs of the profligacy of the celibate life; a few of which only we will place before our readers, and these few will necessarily be curtailed; for it is a shame to speak out fully or openly on these topics, or even to quote the written testimony of those who have taken part in them, or were eye or ear witnesses of the abominations which they narrate.

2. We select the testimony of Blanco White concerning Spain, who wrote in 1835. He was a Spanish priest of great celebrity, and of unquestionable veracity. Speaking of the character of the Spanish clergy, in reference to their celibacy, he testifies as follows, in the most solemn and sincere tone:—

"That my feelings are painfully vehement when I dwell upon this subject; that neither the freedom I have enjoyed so many years, nor the last repose of the victims, the remembrance of whom still wrings tears from my eyes, can allay the bitter pangs of my youth; are proofs that my views arise from a real, painful, and protracted experience.—Devoted to the ecclesiastical profession since the age of fifteen, when I received the minor orders, I lived in constant friendship with the most distinguished youths who, in my town, were preparing for the priesthood. Men of the first eminence in the church were the old friends of my family—my parents' and my own spiritual directors. Thus I grew up, thus I continued in manhood, till, at the age of five-and-thirty, religion, and religion alone, tore me away from kindred and country. The intimacy of friendship, the undisguised converse of sa-

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, first edition, p. 16.

† Wilkin. Council, tom. iv, pp. 46–60; Keith's Hist., pref. 11; Lord Hail's Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, pp. 249, 250.

‡ Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii, p. 116. London, 1825.

cramental confession, opened to me the hearts of many, whose exterior conduct might have deceived a common observer. The coarse frankness of associate dissoluteness left no secrets among the spiritual slaves, who, unable to separate the laws of God from those of their tyrannical church, trampled both under foot in riotous despair. Such are the sources of the knowledge I possess : God, sorrow, and remorse, are my witnesses.

“ A more blameless, ingenuous, religious set of youths than that in the enjoyments of whose friendship I passed the best years of my life, the world cannot boast of. Eight of us, all nearly of the same age, lived in the closest bond of affection, from sixteen till one-and-twenty; and four, at least, continued in the same intimacy till that of about thirty-five. Of this knot of friends, not one was tainted by the breath of gross vice till the church had doomed them to a life of celibacy, and turned the best affections of their heart into crime. It is the very refinement of church cruelty to say they were free when they deprived themselves of their natural rights. Less, indeed, would be the unfeelingness of a parent who, watching a moment of generous excitement, would deprive a son of his birthright, and doom him, by a voluntary act, to pine away through life in want and misery. A virtuous youth of one-and-twenty, who is made to believe Christian perfection inseparable from a life of celibacy, will easily overlook the dangers which beset that state of life. Those who made, and those who still support the unnatural law, which turns the mistaken piety of youth into a source of future vice, ought to have learned mercy from their own experience; but a priest who has waded (as most do) through the miry slough of a life of incessant temptation, falling and rising, stumbling, struggling, and falling again, without at once casting off Catholicism with Christianity, contracts, generally, habits of mind not unlike those of the guards of oriental beauty. Their hearts have been seared with envy.

“ I cannot think on the wanderings of the friends of my youth without heart-rending pain. One, now no more, whose talents raised him to one of the highest dignities of the Church of Spain, was, for many years, a model of Christian purity. When, by the powerful influence of his mind, and the warmth of his devotion, this man had drawn many into the clerical, and the religious life, (my youngest sister among the latter,) he sunk at once into the grossest and most daring profligacy. I heard him boast that the night before the solemn procession of *Corpus Christi*, where he appeared nearly at the head of his chapter, one of two children had been born which his two concubines brought to light within a few days of each other. The intrigues of ambition soon shared his mind with the pursuit of pleasure; and the fall of a potentate, whom he took the trouble to instruct in the policy of Machiavel, involved him in danger and distress for a time. He had risen again into court influence, when death cut him off in the flower of life. I had loved him when both our minds were pure: I loved him when Catholicism had driven us both from the path of virtue: I still love, and will love his memory, and hope that God’s mercy has pardoned his life of sin without imputing it to the abettors of the barbarous laws which occasioned his spiritual ruin.

“ Such, more or less, has been the fate of my early friends, whose

minds and hearts were much above the common standard of the Spanish clergy. What, then, need I say of the vulgar crowd of priests, who, coming, as the Spanish phrase has it, from *coarse swaddling clothes*, and raised by ordination to a rank of life for which they have not been prepared, mingle vice and superstition, grossness of feeling, and pride of office, in their character. I have known the best among them; I have heard their confessions; I have heard the confessions of young persons of both sexes, who fell under the influence of their suggestions and example; and I do declare that nothing can be more dangerous to youthful virtue than their company. How many souls would be saved from crime, but for the vain display of pretended superior virtue, which Rome demands of her clergy?"*

3. The following picture of Roman clerical corruption is drawn by the hand of a French Catholic priest in 1836, edited by Samuel F. B. Morse, A. M., of New-York, and published by John S. Taylor, New-York, in 1837. The work is entitled, *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest*. Mr. Morse, whose veracity cannot be questioned, was intimately acquainted with the priest and edited his work. He was compelled to conceal his name to avoid the persecution which was authorized by the fourth Council of Lateran and Innocent III., in their decree against heretics. This decree is cited in the sixth page of the preface in a note. We quote that part of the fourteenth chapter, from the one hundred and twenty-sixth to the one hundred and forty-second page.

"Catholic or Protestant writers," says the priest, "who have spoken of the corruption of the church of the Roman clergy, who have described its matchless wickedness, have not shown its cause. They saw only the effect, without tracing it up to its source. I will try to supply their silence. I have read a certain number of those books, against a body to which I belonged, a body which I know as well as it is possible for one to know it; and I can say that its whole degradation is *unknown*. Careful of saying nothing which can shock the reader, I will reveal only what is necessary to unveil those 'anointed of the Lord,' but nothing to offend the eyes. I shall surprise Protestants, doubtless, by saying, that in France the immense majority of *young men in our seminaries* are not *corrupted*, and many of them are virtuous. It is nevertheless true. They are ignorant, superstitious, fanatical, given up to their superstitious practices, to theology, &c.; but, I declare it, not at all *vicious*. That may be conceded, although, in appearance, in contradiction to their indecent studies; for they are taught that it is necessary to learn all these in order to be able to fulfil their duty; and to hear confession in all its extent, it is necessary to know all human perversity. I do not give a *judgment on these reasons*; be that as it may, our superiors *endeavour to inspire us*, in those recitations, with a great dislike of such crimes; and I can affirm that it is very painful to the natural sense of decency in any man, to be obliged, as we are, to be familiar with such books.

"This is the true picture upon this matter of the seminaries. That I know; and I am indifferent whether it agrees or not with pictures drawn by others.

"The story of the corruption of the clergy begins only when they are

* *Practical and Internal Evidences*, pp. 138-143.

out of the seminary. Those young men are sent into a parish in the quality of curates, or vicars; in the beginning they fulfil their duties with great care, and for some time remain faithful to their vows. Many told this to me *after their fall*; and I have seen it myself, except in a few exceptions. But by and by they open astonished eyes. Restored to freedom, after ten or twelve years of thralldom in a college or seminary, they become quite different men; gradually they forget their vow. ‘O!’ said a young priest to me, with tears in his eyes, after having four or five years discharged the duties of his station, ‘God only knows what I have suffered during this time; and if I have fallen, it was not without fighting; had I been allowed to choose a wife, as it is the law of God, who destines man to marriage, whatever our rules teach to the contrary, I should have remained virtuous; I should have been the happiest man in the world; I should be a good, a holy priest; while now I am—O! I am ashamed of myself.’

“This is really the sad history of all their falls; for, let us be just, what can become of a young priest of twenty-five years of age, confined in the lonely wilderness of a country parish, in a village where he has only the society of his sacristan and of his servant, because all his parishioners being but coarse peasants, especially in the south and in the west, where scarcely any know how to read, are unable to afford any comfort to his solitude? His duty occupies him but little, save on the Sunday; and during the whole week, after his short mass and some confession of women, he is reduced to ask himself, ‘What shall I do?’ Study has few, if any, charms for him, because he is forbidden to read or study precisely those matters which entertain the intellect. He is allowed only to peruse theology, always Dens, Gomex, Rodu-guex, the Life of Saints by Godescar. If he should obtain some other books, the bishop, in his episcopal visit, would chide him severely, and call him a worldly priest. Our great poet, Racine, so pure, so chaste, is scarcely tolerated; and many bishops do not allow him in the libraries of their priests. The young man, before his profession, had imagined and anticipated a pleasant existence in the ecclesiastic state, and he finds but privations, ennui, disgust; his passions are also raised; the demon of bad thoughts takes possession of him. Moreover, his ministry puts him in so many circumstances with ignorant young country-women, in whose most sacred thoughts he is obliged to enter, that his virtue receives many shocks. And can it be otherwise, when a man has those intimate and continual relations required of the Catholic priests with women? No; it would be unreasonable to expect from human nature more than it is able to do, to put it on too difficult a trial. Such is, however, the situation of every Catholic priest.

“I do not say all this to veil or excuse the crimes, the natural result of this institution; but I think I am bound to give the matter of fact as it is. Sometimes the resistance is firm, the struggle long; but at length this martyr of fanaticism, this victim of his system, and of his superiors, abandons his vow through despair, shuts his eyes and throws himself into the slough of passion. This is the end of almost all priests. In the beginning their conscience reproaches them bitterly; they try again to be faithful; they flutter, fall, reform again, go on, fall again, and at length, to finish this horrible struggle, remain in vice. Let us add to this sad catastrophe the temptations against their faith and doc-

trines, which end with many in complete atheism, into which they fall by the excess of degradation, temptations to atheism in those who reason, from the impossibility of reconciling their faith with reason.

“The resolution being taken of enjoying life, as they say, after having been so long deprived of it, the only question is to enjoy it safely and *secretly*, viz., without dishonour. Dishonour is for a French priest, as for all his countrymen, more intolerable than death, and a priest *whose excesses are known*, loses his reputation; therefore he will neglect nothing to hide carefully both them and his victims. Inconceivable mystery of the human species! This obligation of keeping a profound secret is the best reason which he puts forward to seduce them; for other Frenchmen, by their vanity, boast of their ‘bonnes fortunes,’ but the priest cannot make that boast, because he would be laughed at and scorned. His hypocrisy and care of his fame prevail over his national vanity. By this way, through their dark ministry, they have an immense power upon the minds of women, for they attack only those whose disposition they have long studied in confession. The reader can have some just idea of this power from this single fact, of which I know the *personage*, because it became public. A priest, in a parish not far from mine, laid his snares for a young married woman, who had the reputation of piety, because she attended mass every morning. He, through his diabolical arguments, won her and triumphed over all her scruples. She went to him almost every morning in the vestry before the bell rung to call the people to the mass. He then confessed and absolved her, and she received the Lord’s supper at his mass. The good people said, admiring her daily communion: ‘How pious is this young wife; she partakes of the sacrament every day; she is doubtless a saint!’

“There are no means which their cunning does not invent to meet with their victims. If the husband is jealous and suspicious, his wife, upon the advice of the curate, will feign to be sick; and as it is the duty of a priest to visit often (every day if possible) his sick parishioners, he will remain alone with her to speak about spiritual matters in appearance, or to confess her.

“If a priest, in spite of his proverbial cunning, is discovered, and if he is denounced to the bishop by public opinion, he will be removed, to silence the scandal, and sent to another distant village, where he will be unknown; and where, by and by, he will begin again the same mode of life. Sometimes he will be interdicted, according to the will of his lordship, who, in those cases, judges at random, and more by his caprice than by justice. The priest is blamed by his superiors, not precisely for having been weak and guilty, but much more for not having ‘better kept appearances,’ as said the mother of Talleyrand, formerly bishop of Autun. He, in his youth, said once to his mother, who engaged him in the church because he had little hope of advancing elsewhere, being lame; ‘Mother, I do not feel myself at all born to celibacy.’ ‘My son, keep APPEARANCES, like others. *Regarderos les apparences.*’ He did not keep even appearances. This kind of ‘bon mot’ is the motto of the clergy; and it ought to be inscribed on its banner, as was the device of Constantine—‘In hoc signo vinces; By this sign thou shalt conquer’—for it is with this it gains so many victories. A priest who is faithful to it is never guilty, although he cares

neither for God, nor virtue, nor his fellow-creatures. Hence the horrible crimes so common among the clergy, to whom nothing is sacred, to avoid dishonour.

"Our ecclesiastical rules, composed by superiors as cunning as men can be, and who know well the disposition of priests, perhaps by their own, try to avoid *scandal*, the true plague of their religion. Our rules forbid us keeping a maid-servant who is not of a certain age. This age varies according to the whim of the bishop of each diocese, because he is the supreme master and director of every thing. On this plan the rule would be useful if executed; but owing to priestly artifice, there is no real law, and it does not prevent priests from keeping young and beautiful servants, with whom they live as with a wife; for, as they say,

‘ Il est avec le ceil des accomodements.’

If, however, her youth violates too strongly the episcopal rule, the priest will apply directly to the bishop, and will say that his servant is, *perhaps*, a little young; but on account of her faithfulness and other good qualities, it would be difficult for him to find another one who suits so well. ‘But how old is she?’ says his lordship, flattered, by this mark of submission. ‘My lord, between thirty and forty,’ answers the priest, making her older by ten or fifteen years; and the bishop, who has not the proof of the contrary, and who requires not the record of her birth, replies, ‘It is a little young; but, however, on account of her good qualities, I give you a dispensation of age; take care of scandal, and remember that a woman drove Adam out of paradise.’ And the priest boasts of having a *dispensation of age*, and thus avoids being accused to the bishop by *his spies*.

"Consequently this half ecclesiastical couple will be careful of *scandal*. To avoid the suspicion of living too friendly with each other, the better to keep up appearances, they will feign ill will toward each other. Sometimes the vicar, when he has some of his parishioners at home, will pretend to be very angry with his servant, threatening to dismiss her; and his good, short-sighted peasants, will try to calm his counterfeited anger, to soften him, and to pray him to keep her. Good people!

"The ‘age’ law does not apply to curates, who have at home their mothers, sisters, cousins, or nieces; and few, for this reason, are without one of those persons; consequently they are at liberty to hire young servants. Moreover, a priest is always stationed as far as possible from the place of his birth. He is quite unknown, as well as his family, in his parish; and many times he takes with him a young girl, who is his relation only by Adam, and whom he presents under the name of his cousin or niece. Nobody inquires the relation of the curate and his pretended cousin. If, however, there happen some evident proof of their too intimate understanding, he sends her under some Jesuitical pretext to some distant city for some time, or he tries the use of medical remedies. A physician said to a priest, an acquaintance of mine, ‘Sir, I have already twice prescribed for your servant-maid; but beware, I will not do it a third time.’ Would this fact, that I *warrant*, be a confirmation of the disclosures of Montreal?

"A priest who is satisfied with the good services of his maid, makes his will in her favour, to the great disappointment of his own relatives.

who watch the inheritance of their rich member with eager and impatient eyes. But alas! there are no pleasures without pain, no roses without thorns, no spring without winter. The demon of trouble invades those secret illicit unions as well as others. Those internal quarrels end always to the disadvantage of the poor curate, whose reputation is at the mercy of his companion. She has not been at his school without profit, and she draws from him pretty fees, the price of masses or indulgences, by threatening to publish their intimacy, and bringing upon him an interdiction. The unhappy man yields to the force of circumstances, and stripping himself of his purse to pay for keeping his secret, he consoles himself that he has still a good income in his holy water and the credulity of his parish.

“But if a good understanding presides over their union, and silences the little quarrels occasionally arising, they grow old together. The maid takes care of the income and of the interior of the house; and the poor priest has not always the power of preventing her encroachments even in spiritual matters. The ‘Vicar of Wakefield’ (whose history caused me to shed bitter tears at seeing what I might have been) had his department, and his wife hers; and they were never mixed together. But the servant-maid of the Catholic curate is less circumspect, creeps into spiritual matters, and gives decisions almost as much revered as those of the priest himself. He is, indeed, the true oracle of the parish, the true son of the light; but his satellite is, on her part, the feminine oracle; a star, the light of which, although reflected from his own, is not without merit. When his mate and representative gives, by usurpation, some decision about masses, or saints, or prayers, his jealousy murmurs a little; but, knowing that it is a duty to yield in a family to a great many contrarieties for the sake of peace, he never contradicts her opinion by a contrary one in public.

“Other priests commit much greater and much more horrible crimes, and renew the monstrosities of the cities of the plain, as they are spoken of in the Bible. On one occasion, I confessed some young lads of my catechism, from eleven to fifteen years old. Each of them confessed secret and abominable crimes (with a man.) I inquired, trembling, who this monster was, being almost sure that there could be none but a priest capable of such abominations. They answered, each after the other, with the simplicity of their age, ‘Father, it is our vicar.’ I begged them to give me leave to make use of their confession; for theology teaches that this leave of the penitent is necessary to do so. I wished to stop so monstrous a disorder, at first secretly if possible, and, if unsuccessful, afterward to try another way. I remembered this passage of the Bible: ‘Corripe illum inter te et ipsum; Correct him between thee and him alone.’ I went to him, and with words as moderate as I could use, I remonstrated with him on the horror of such conduct. ‘Go to the d—l with your remonstrances,’ said he, ‘who gave you this right?’ ‘Who,’ replied I, ‘my character of minister of the gospel; and if you continue the same course I shall expose you; for I have this leave from the lads, and you are then lost. I require your word that you will cease for the future.’ Hereupon he called me a spy, denunciator of the bishop. ‘The best proof to the contrary,’ said I, ‘is that you are neither interdicted nor denounced to the bishop, or to the procurer of the king. I only pray you, between

ourselves, for your own sake, for that of your conscience, for the salvation of those boys, to reform your life.' After a minute of reflection, he answered, 'It is right; you are a good fellow; I will do my best to correct myself. Do not reveal this.'

"Few years, if any, pass without some affairs of this or of the other kind being made public at the tribunals; and the priests are condemned to the galleys, from which they escape only by the help of their friends in concealing them.

"Other priests entertain the most vicious habits. In the beginning of my priesthood, at the time when I dreamed only of holiness and purity, I was called to the death-bed of an old priest, above seventy years of age. All the features of death were stamped on his face: he begged me to come near his bed, and said to me, 'M., I want to confess before I die. It is a long time since I received this sacrament—I require your ministry.' 'But, sir,' answered I, quite frightened at the task of disentangling an intricate conscience, 'I am very young, and little experienced; my fellow-priests would better suit you.' As I spoke I saw suddenly a gleam in his dying eyes. 'You are young,' said he, 'it is precisely for that reason I called you. Were you older I would refuse you, for then you would not be better than others. God forbid that I should die confessed by them. Be seated, sir, and let us begin.' I had nothing to answer, and so I listened to him. Among other human wickednesses, he avowed a horrible crime, at which I could not restrain a mark of horror. 'Do not shudder,' said he, 'you are young, and in the course of your life, if you confess your fellow-priests, you will find worse things than these.' But his reflection did not diminish my horror; I remained petrified, scarcely knowing what he said. He was obliged to recall to me the formula of absolution, that I might give it to him. The crime, the circumstances, his old age, his distorted features, his death, made an impression upon me which I have never been able to erase from my memory. I knew particularly another middle-aged priest, who, also on his death-bed, being waited on by a servant, tried to *corrupt him*!

"I said, in the beginning of this chapter, that no crime could deter a priest from its commission if it is necessary to efface the traces of others. A Paris journal gave, some weeks ago, a striking proof of this truth. A priest of the diocese of Digon, (department of the Cotedor,) Dela Collonge by name, after a long life of debauchery with a young seamstress whom he had seduced, smothered her one night, cut her body into pieces, and hid them in holes in his house. This is not a history of old times, but of the year 1836. It did not occur among cannibals or anthropophagi; but in France, in the beautiful province of Bourgogne. And the monster who perpetrated this murder, in consideration of the interference of the bishop (the creature of the new king) and of the high clergy, who took a great interest in him, has escaped the pain of death, even that of exposure and pillory, that his cassock, and the body to which he belonged, be not dishonoured. He has been condemned only to the galleys.

"Some twenty years ago, the whole of France resounded with the before unheard of crime of Contresotto, a monster priest with a human visage; and of that of Mingrot, who, being unable to seduce a woman, first killed her, and violating her dead body, cut it to pieces and dispersed

the fragments. Her brothers, while this priest fled to Piedmont through protection, published this almost incredible history under this title, 'To the Brothers of the Female Victim.' There is not a doubt about the truth of these facts. They are public, and well known in France, as well as a great many other cases less monstrous. The publication in the newspapers of such clerical crimes is one of the most powerful reasons why the clergy, thus unveiled, curse the *freedom of the press*, which keeps an open eye upon their conduct. The newspaper, the '*Constitutionnel*,' and the '*Courier*,' deserve the thanks of the friends of morals and humanity for their courage and zeal in discovering and publishing these horrors, without fearing the power or the vengeance of the Roman clergy. But say the priests to their ignorant flocks in answering those accusations, 'Such priests are bad, we acknowledge, but all others are good.' And Catholic France believes so. Blind people! Open your eyes and see those hypocrites; if they do not commit all those crimes, they are yet almost all vicious, and deserve better your scorn and horror than your veneration.

"I ought to begin with my holy superiors, my lords bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and pope, who are in general as much more advanced, in the way of corruption, beyond simple priests, as they are in the way of honours and dignities. I beg their lordships' and holiness's pardon for having so long postponed to do them justice, and I make haste to repair my fault. Unluckily, however, I know them but very little, for my relations with the lords of the Roman Church have been rare and 'en passant.' Thank God my native land is no more sullied by the holy see, its cardinals, and their school of licentiousness. They have left at Avignon, where they resided during the great schism, traces enough of their passage, as I myself have ascertained in my frequent intercourse with this land. I can say nothing about the pope but what every body knows; I will make only this reflection, which has struck me, viz., that he causes himself to be almost worshipped; and that he receives more honours in a day than Christ in the three years of his mission.

"Among French bishops, I know but three; mine own, of whom I will not speak for *pertinent reasons*, M. de Cheverus, archbishop of Bordeaux, and M. de Guelin, of Paris. As for M. de Cheverus, I should be reproached by my conscience if I said other than good of him. He is one of those men who atone for the crimes of many Catholics. His virtues recall those of Fenelon and of Lamotte, who were truly good and pious men, not *because*, but *although* they were Catholics. His administration of his immense diocese, his charity, his talents, have won to him all hearts; and every time I went into his diocese I heard everywhere public blessings upon him. He has been created cardinal lately.* He is one of those men whom Roman purple honours not, but who honours Roman purple.

"I could give, perhaps, some vague accounts of other bishops; but I have made it a rule to speak only of what I myself know, and have seen with my own eyes. Therefore I will speak only of the archbishop of Paris. This man, who cut so deplorable a figure in the secret council called the Camarilla, which has destroyed the throne of Charles X. by dint of its follies, has all the duplicity and hypocrisy of a secret

* He is more lately deceased.—Ed.

counsellor. Under the veil of piety and virtue, he conceals marvelously well his deep corruption. So far does he go in his Jesuitical art, that many a Parisian, who may read this book, will perhaps think me a slanderer; but it is nevertheless true that I have by accident been personally acquainted with one of his mistresses. It is also true that his highness has many others in the convent of *the Carmelites* in the street '*Saint Jacques*,' his seraglio. It is no less true that the pimples upon his face, ascribed by his admirers to penance and mortification, are derived from quite a different source. When, four years ago, the mob of Paris, in one of those awful insurrections so frequent there, passed over his palace and pillaged it, many *gowns*, which were not the least like a priest's *cassock*, were found in his cabinet. His confidants published that they were those of his sisters; who, by the way, never went to this palace. *Credat Judæus apella non ego*. He is the only bishop of whom I can, or *wish*, to give an accurate account. Would it not be right to say with Sinon, in Virgilius, '*Ab uno disce omnes!*' "•

4. It were easy to give undoubted testimony respecting the corruption of Roman priests, growing out of their celibacy, in all Catholic countries, as the thing is notorious. In South America it is customary for priests to have their mistresses, and it ceases to be marvellous. In Cuba the same custom prevails. So it is in every Roman Catholic country under heaven.

5. In Protestant countries the case is different, at least in appearances. The comparison between the married, chaste clergy of Protestants, in general, so far affects the Catholic clergy, that they durst not, without betraying their cause, indulge openly in profligacy to the extent to which they do when removed from Protestant eyes. But their *secret sins* are neither few nor small, as is known by sufficient developments, and the nature of the case. Secrecy is their great fort. Their own people, who become privy to their sins, would not expose them in the eyes of Protestants. And if they would, they durst not, as this would procure for them the hatred and revenge of the clergy. The priests themselves are careful to seek concealment for their own vices, and they will not expose their clerical brethren. And the *secrecy* of confession aids them in preserving secrecy, when otherwise they would be detected and exposed. The following particulars, if duly considered, will lead us to conclude that the chastity of Roman priests is no very sacred thing:—

(1.) They are *men*, and only men, and therefore they are as liable as other men to fall into such sins.

(2.) They are also, in general, *unconverted men*, and therefore they are not influenced by the power of God's grace, and a new heart, so as to have victory over the lusts of the flesh.

(3.) They are accustomed generally to luxuriant living, and indulge freely in the use of wine and stimulating drinks.

(4.) They are in direct association with females of every grade, over whom they exercise almost unlimited control. At confession they search out all hearts, and know all human weaknesses.

(5.) In the families of bishops and priests more or less females form a part, and are such as they select.

* Confessions of a French Catholic Priest. New-York, 1837, pp. 126-142.

(6.) They have also access to the various sodalities of nuns, sisters of charity, &c., &c., with whom they are on terms of the most intimate familiarity.

(7.) Hence also they have peculiar means of *privacy*, by their confession, by the conveniences of their houses, adapted to their circumstances, by the secrecy which their church members are bound to observe, by their opportunities of concealing, or removing, or confining their accomplices, &c.

(8.) Besides, much transpires to prove some things, and, in spite of the general caution manifested, even many things. It is easy to divine that the secrets would present strange developments.

(9.) It is a *fact*, that clerical celibacy, in its first origin among heathens, was followed by licentiousness; among the early Christian heretics it was licentious; among orthodox ancient Christians it became corrupt; during the middle ages it was polluted; at, and before the Reformation, it was the source of immorality. In all Catholic countries it is now the fountain of crime, and pollutes the whole church. Can we, therefore, suppose that celibate priests and bishops in Protestant countries are one whit better than their brethren in all former ages were, and now in other countries are? And the more so when we consider their opportunities of privacy, which they studiously avail themselves of, and by which they protect themselves from public gaze?

6. The conscious guilt of Roman priests and controversialists may be laid down as the reason why they continue so pertinaciously to accuse the reformers of unchastity. They know how vulnerable the character of their own clergy is on this point; and, in order to divert the attention of their opponents, and put them on the defensive, they become the assailants and accusers. In almost all their writings it is asserted as an undoubted matter of fact, that Luther both taught and practised this vice; though it is a fact, that among the thousands of enemies which he had during his life, there were none that could produce the smallest evidence of any thing worse than that he married a *religious* woman; that is, a woman, who, like himself, was under the popish vow of chastity. Similar accusations were brought against other reformers, with an equal disregard to truth.

7. In all ages, from the apostolic times, many learned and pious Romanists opposed the prohibition of marriage, until it was established by force. And since its establishment, even in dark times, there have been many excellent men, who, from the manifest sense of Scripture, and the horrible scandals of celibacy, became opposed to the law which enjoins it, were in favour of annulling it, and that the liberty of legitimate marriage should be restored to the clergy.

In 1160 the Waldenses opposed the celibacy of the clergy. Thomas Aquinas wrote in 1270 against it. In 1320 Durandus and Marsilius spoke against it; and about the same time the poets Dante and Petrarch exposed the enormities of celibacy. Balæus informs us, that about the year 1340 great contests arose concerning the marriage of the clergy. Wickliffe also opposed celibacy. Sigismund, at the Council of Basil, in 1430, recommended the marriage of the clergy, because more evil than good resulted from celibacy. And Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pius II., at the same council deplored clerical celibacy. A multitude of

witnesses could easily be collected from among the sons of Rome on this point, had we space to insert their testimony.*

As there is an increasing esteem for morality and pure Christianity in Germany, the necessity of altering the ecclesiastical law, which forbids the marriage of priests, is more and more felt; and the more Romish priests and their friends, the aristocrats of our age, continue in this important matter to abuse the ignorance of the large body of Roman Catholics, in order to uphold the celibacy, for inspiring the people with a superstitious veneration, and for carrying out their selfish plans, the more we see that the loud voice of sound reason and of history finds listening ears. Every thing is combined to restore to the priests their inalienable rights as men. The representatives of the people in the kingdom of Wurtemberg have several times, from 1828 to 1836, moved in their legislative assembly, to allow the Catholic clergy the privilege to marry. In like manner a petition signed by the most respectable Catholics in the grand dukedom of Baden, which prayed for the repeal of the unnatural ecclesiastical law, was read (1831) in the house of representatives in that state. This petition was signed, besides many thousand laymen, by two hundred and eighty Roman Catholic clergymen, among whom there were many superintendents, presidents of colleges, eighty-six pastors, twenty-one vicars, three of an age above seventy, six from sixty to seventy years old, fifteen from fifty to sixty years, &c. This petition received the most favourable and promising attention. Since that time associations have been formed in every part of Germany, whose object is to abolish celibacy in a lawful way. At the head of these associations are found Roman Catholic clergymen, backed not only by influential and liberal laymen of the higher order, but by the public opinion in the lower classes. The members of these associations obligate themselves, not only to express openly their convictions and experience respecting the evil effects of celibacy, but to sign their names to their publications, and to use every effort to obtain the privilege of marrying by a civil and ecclesiastical law. To this end they will publish periodicals, and hold meetings, in order to enlighten and encourage each other, and to prepare the Roman Catholic people at large. As soon as the associations feel assured that they are supported by public opinion, they will petition again the civil and ecclesiastical magistrates. These associations are under the superintendence of four celebrated professors. Two months after the first invitation a great number of highly respected ecclesiastics and civilians became members of the association. Among the clergymen we see the names of men of every age and of every station in the church. But it is remarkable that many priests who are on the brink of the grave, and are therefore entirely impartial, have taken a zealous part in this Christian enterprise. Even members of Roman Catholic consistories, and of the theological faculty of Tubingen, have joined the association. The public press has almost unanimously spoken in favour of this great movement. In the only diocess of Trier, eighty of the most eminent priests have formed (1835) an association, to bring about, in a lawful manner, a reformation in the ecclesiastical discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, especially with regard to celibacy and convents. The

* See Chemnicii, Exam. Conc. Trid., tom. iii, pp. 161-166, where many such authorities are given.

archbishop of Trier has indeed written a pastoral epistle against it, which is proclaimed from the pulpits of the ignorant and fanatical priests, but such threatenings are vain fulminations, and the march of Christian civilization can no longer be stopped in Germany.

III. *There are several questions connected with the marriage of the clergy, which may be stated and examined here.*

1. They allow that persons who have been once married may be ordained bishops and priests; provided they do not live with their wives; but they who have been twice married, or have married widows, cannot be ordained. To this we reply, (1.) That it is an express violation of the law of God for man and wife to separate, except on account of the adultery of one party the other is freed from the marriage contract. In this matter Romanists directly violate the law of God, by separating those whom God hath joined together.

(2.) In this they follow the heresy of Montanus, into which Tertullian fell.

(3.) Peter, and the other apostles, lived with their wives, and Paul says that he might do the same. 1 Cor. ix, 5.

(4.) St. Paul gives direct instructions respecting the house and family of the minister, his children, the behaviour of his wife, &c. 1 Tim. iii, 5, 11. Hence wives of ministers were not separated from their husbands' company in the days of the apostles.

(5.) Paul saith, if the wife will not consent, the husband cannot leave her; and though there be consent, yet they must be asunder only for a time. Hence a final consent to separation cannot be allowed without directly contradicting the apostle. 1 Cor. vii, 5.

2. It may also be inquired, *whether it is lawful for ministers to marry after they have entered into holy orders?*

They cannot deny, that according to the decision of Paul, married persons were called to the ministry of the church, ordained, and lived with their wives afterward. After failing wholly to pervert this truth, they dispute, and maintain, that it was never allowed that those ordained ministers should afterward marry. The question is, *Would this be sinful?* We maintain that Scripture enjoins no such thing.

We find in the Old Testament, where external purity was strictly enjoined to the priests, they were not only permitted, but commanded to marry, provided they did not marry prostitutes, nor repudiated persons. And this was the case, not only with the inferior priests, but also with the high priest, after he was anointed and consecrated. And in the very place where these injunctions are given, the priests are exhorted thus, "Be ye holy, for I am holy."

Paul establishes it as a maxim of Scriptural authority, *that ministers who are married before orders, or who marry after orders, do it without sin.* He who can have a wife without sin, can also contract marriage without sin. And because a bishop, presbyter, or deacon can have a wife without sin, (1 Tim. iii; Titus i,) for the same reason he can contract marriage after orders without sin. And Paul expressly says, that he had no precept of the Lord by which unmarried persons were prevented from marrying. 1 Cor. viii. Nay, he pronounces it to be a doctrine of devils to prohibit marriage.

Paul asserts that he had the power of contracting marriage, as well as Peter and the other apostles. 1 Cor. ix.

Paul acknowledged no vow of celibacy as binding on himself or others, so as to prevent them, without sin, from marrying when they thought proper.

3. Another question in connection with this subject presents itself, which is the following: *Can married persons, with mutual consent, become celibate priests, monks, or nuns?* Romanists say they can; Protestants affirm that they cannot, and for their doctrine give the following reasons:—

(1.) The marriage contract is indissoluble, except for adultery. “Whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder,” is the law of God on this subject.

(2.) If the Roman doctrine be correct, then it will follow that married persons can dissolve their own marriage by their own power and will. If they can dissolve their own marriage for the sake of becoming priests, monks, or nuns, as the case may be; then they may also dissolve it for other reasons. And hence, the causes for dissolving the marriage contract would be as numerous as the passions and feelings of those concerned would dictate. The result would be, as was the case among the Jews, and pagan nations, that the marriage contract would be dissolved on frivolous occasions. Besides, every wisely regulated civil government restrains this tendency of human nature, by enacting laws against all such voluntary dissolutions of marriage.

(3.) The mutual dissolution of marriage is a direct dissolution of the leading matrimonial vow, which is, that they will continue man and wife *till death separates them*. Who ever heard of a matrimonial vow, which based the continuance of the contract on any revoking clause, such as of becoming votaries? Certainly none. Indeed, this dissolution of the vow is an element of paganism, and ought to have no place among Christians.

(4.) It is contrary to St. Paul’s rule: “Defraud not yourselves, except it be with consent for a time, that you may give yourselves to fasting and prayer, and again come together, lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency,” 1 Cor. vii, 5. The apostle declares they should separate themselves only for a *time*; and the reason for the temporary separation was, that they might for a season devote themselves to fasting and prayer. They that are long separated are liable to fall into temptation; therefore it is not proper that they should separate themselves for ever.

(5.) Man and wife are expressly *commanded* not to separate. “Let every man, wherein he is called, abide. . . . Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed.” 1 Cor. vii, 24, 27. Therefore, they that are married ought not to seek to be loosed. Indeed, the apostle had a *command* from God, that man and wife should not separate: “I command, not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband,” verse 10.

IV. *Let us now consider how celibacy commenced, and was established in the church. In order to this we must trace out the history of this subject in some degree.*

1. The unscriptural merit attached to virginity or the celibate life, so raised this state in the estimation of the people, that those who abstained from marriage, in consequence of the errors of the times, were in higher reputation than those who married. And as the bishops

were chosen from the most esteemed, the usage soon obtained of selecting unmarried men for bishops.

2. With this sentiment it was easy to interpret the apostolic injunction, that "a bishop should be the husband of one wife only," very different from the apostle's true meaning. Many interpreted the passage so as to make it forbid all second marriages of every kind. All the laws of the ancient church on bigamy were formed in reference to this rule. They were divided, however, about the sense of the apostolical canon; and this occasioned various practices among them in reference to the ordination of digamists.

3. One very common opinion among them was, that all persons were to be refused orders as digamists, who were twice married after baptism, though legally, and successively to two wives, one after another. In consequence of being imbued with the pagan and heretical doctrines of the Novatians and Montanists, they supposed that the apostle had forbidden persons twice married to be ordained bishops. They therefore repelled such from the superior orders of the church. That this was the practice of some churches in the time of Origen, appears from what he says in his comments on Luke: "That not only fornication, but marriages excluded men from the dignities of the church; for no digamist could be either bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or deaconess."*

Tertullian, when he became a Montanist, urged this argument to decry second marriages in all persons. He plead, "That a layman could not in decency desire license of the ecclesiastics to be married a second time, seeing the ecclesiastics themselves, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were but once married."† He repeats the same sentiment in many parts of his writings.‡

Many other ancient writers entertained similar opinions, as Ambrose,§ Jerome,|| Gennadius,¶ Epiphanius.** The Councils of Agde†† and Carthage iv‡‡ put the same sense on the apostle's words. Only Epiphanius distinguishes between the superior and inferior orders, making the rule in this sense obligatory on the former, but not on the latter.

4. Others extended the apostolic rule to all persons twice married, whether before or after baptism. Ambrose was of opinion, that even these should be excluded from ordination.§§ So it was decreed by Innocent, bishop of Rome,||| and the Council of Valencia, in France.¶¶ This opinion did not obtain to any great extent.

5. But the most consistent and general sentiment was, that the apos-

* Ab ecclesiasticis dignitatibus non solum fornicatio, sed et nuptiæ repellunt: neque enim episcopus, nec presbyter, nec daconus, nec vidua esse digami.—Origen, *Hon* xvii, in *Luc*.

† Qualis es id matrimonium postulans, quod eis a quibus postulas, non licet habere? Ab episcopo monogamo, a presbyteris et diaconis ejusdem sacramenti, &c.—Tertu. *de Monogam.*, c. xi.

‡ See Tertul. de Penitent., c. ix; De Exhort. Castitat., c. vii; Ad Uxor., lib. i, c. vii.

§ Ambrose de Offic., lib. i, c. i.

|| Hierom., ep. 2; ad Nepotian, ep. 11; ad Geront., ep. 83, ad Ocean.

¶ Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm., c. lxxiii.

** Expos. Fid., N. 21.

†† Conc. Agathen., c. i.

‡‡ Conc. Carth. iv, c. lxix.

§§ Ambrose, ep. 92, ad Vercellenses.

||| Innoc., ep. ii, c. vi; ep. xxii, c. ii; ep. xxiv, c. vi.

¶¶ Concil. Valentin., c. i.

the's rule was a prohibition of ordaining polygamists, or such as had married many wives at the same time; and such as had causelessly put away their wives and married others, after divorcing the former. These were then common practices, both among Jews and Gentiles, but scandalous in themselves, and such as the apostles accounted just impediments of ordination. Chrysostom expounds 1 Tim. iii, 2, against polygamy, which is having two or more wives at the same time.* Theodoret† maintains the same interpretation. And Theophylact interprets to the same effect. And indeed Jerome, though he favours a different opinion, as cited above, declares that there were many who interpreted the words as applicable to polygamy. It is certain that second marriages, when lawfully contracted, were not insuperable objections against men's ordination in the Christian church. For Tertullian, after he became Montanist, cuttingly addressed the Catholics of his time, because they ordained persons who had been twice married. He says "How many digamists preside among you, who thus insult the apostle?"‡ It appears from the letters of Pope Siricius,§ and Pope Innocent,|| that the bishops of Spain and Greece ordained such generally among the clergy; for these popes reprove them for this usage. Theodoret ordained one Irenæus bishop who was twice married; and when some objected against it, he defended it by the common practice of other churches. "Herein," says he, "I followed the example of my predecessors."¶ Alexander, bishop of Antioch, with Acacius of Berræa, ordained Diogenes, who had been twice married. And Praylius ordained Dominus of Cesarea, a digamist likewise. Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, received and approved the ordination of many such. Indeed, the practice of the church varied in this matter, in proportion as the doctrines of heathenism and of heresy prevailed against the doctrine of St. Paul, who taught that none should be bishop who had more than one wife alive, whether one of them was divorced or not. And hence Bellarmine and other Romanists misrepresent history when they say, that the ordination of persons twice lawfully married is both against the rule of the apostle and the universal practice and consent of the church.

6. No vow of celibacy, or abstinence from conjugal society, was required of the clergy, as a condition of their ordination during the three first centuries of Christianity. The contrary is very evident from innumerable examples of bishops and presbyters, who lived in a state of marriage without any prejudice to their ordination or function. It is generally agreed by ancient writers that most of the apostles were married. Some say all of them, except St. Paul and St. John. Others say St. Paul was also married, because he writes to *his yoke-fellow*, whom they interpret his wife. Phil. iv, 3.**

Passing by the case of St. Paul, it cannot be denied that all the

* Chrysost. Hom. x, in 1 Tim. iii, 2; hom. ii, in Titus i, 6.

† Com. in 1 Tim. iii, 2.

‡ Quot enim et digami præsent apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo.—*Tertul. de Monogam.*, c. xii.

§ P. Siric., ep. 1, ad Himer. Tarracen., c. viii.

|| P. Innoc., ep. 22; ad Episc. Maced., c. i.

¶ Theod., ep. 110, ad Domnum.

** See Bingham's *Antiq.*, b. iv, c. v, sec. 5, vol. 1, p. 385, London, 1834, with the authorities cited by him.

other apostles, or the greater part of them, were married. In the next ages after them, we have accounts of married bishops, presbyters, and deacons, without any reproof or mark of dishonour set on them. Out of the many instances which might be given, we will adduce some.

Valens, presbyter of Philippi, mentioned by Polycarp, was a married man.*

Chæremon, bishop of Nilus, an exceedingly old man, was married. He fled with his wife to Arabia, in time of persecution, under Maximinus the tyrant, where they both perished together, as Eusebius informs us.†

Novatus was a married presbyter of Carthage, as we learn from Cyprian's epistles.‡

Cyprian himself was also a married man, as Pagi, the annotator and corrector of Baronius, confesses.§

Cæcilius, the presbyter, through whose instrumentality Cyprian was converted to Christianity, was a married man.||

So also was Numidicus, another presbyter of Carthage, of whom Cyprian tells us the following remarkable story in his thirty-fifth epistle, or, as some number it, the fortieth: "That in the Decian persecution he saw his own wife, with many other martyrs, burned by his side; while he himself lying half-burned, and covered with stones, and left for dead, was found expiring by his daughter, who drew him out of the rubbish, and brought him to life again."¶

Eusebius assures us that Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, and Philoramus, had, each of them, a wife and children. For they were urged with that argument, by the heathen magistrate, to deny their religion, in the Dioclesian persecution. But they contemned the remonstrance which urged them to spare their wives and children, and preferred the law of Christ.**

Domnus, bishop of Antioch, was son to Demetrian, who was bishop of the same place before him.††

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus in the year 180, had seven of his progenitors bishop of that see.

Spiridion was a famous bishop in the Council of Nice, who was married, and had a daughter called Irenè.‡‡ Of him Sozomen, the historian, says, "He was a husbandman, married, and having children; but not the worse on that account in relation to divine matters."§§

Gregory Nazianzen was a notable bishop, and father of the other Gregory who succeeded him, as appears from the oration which he made in favour of his father. He says, "That a good and diligent bishop serves in the ministry nothing the worse for being married, but rather the better, and with more ability to do good." Of his mother he says, "That she was given to his father of God, and became not only his helper, but also his leader both by word and by deeds, training

* Polycarp, Ep. ad Philip., n. 11.

† Euseb. Eccl. Hist., b. vi, c. 42.

‡ Cypr., ep. 49 or 52, ad Cornel.

§ Pagi. Crit. in Baron. ad ann. p. 248, n. 4.

|| Pontius, Vit. Cypr.

¶ Numidicus, presbyter uxorem adhaerentem latere suo, concrematam simul cum cæteris, vel conservatam magis dixerim, lætus aspexit.—Cypr., epist. 35, or 40.

** Euseb., b. viii, c. ix.

†† Euseb., b. vi, c. xxx.

‡‡ Ruffin, lib. i, c. v.

§§ Εγενετο γαρ ουτος αγροικος, γαμετην και παιδας εχων· αλλ' η παρα τουτο τα θεια χειρων.—Sozomeni Hist. Eccl., lib. i, c. xi.

him to the best things; and though in other things it was best for her to be subject to him, on account of the right of marriage, yet in religion and godliness she doubted not to become his leader and teacher.”*

Gregory of Nyssa, a notable bishop, was married.†

Synesius of Ptolemais was married, and was the father of children, while he was bishop, as appears in divers of his epistles.‡

Hilary of Poitiers was a married man, and had a daughter.§

Paulinus was ordained first in 393, at Barcelona in Spain, and having lived fourteen years with his wife after this, was ordained in the year 409 bishop of Nola. We have no account of his leaving his wife.||

Germanus was a notable bishop in Africa, and was married, having a daughter named Leantia, who was afterward put to death by the Arians.¶

Fabian and Hormisdas, bishops of Rome, were married, and many other bishops of Rome were priests' and bishops' sons, as Pope Damasus testifies in his Pontifical. Nor will it avail to say, that these children were born before their fathers were presbyters or bishops; for Gratian, after rehearsing their names, says, “And many besides are found to have governed the apostolic see, being born of priests or ministers.”**

It were easy to show, by many more instances, that men of all states were admitted to be bishops and presbyters in the primitive church.

7. The most learned advocates of the Church of Rome have never found any answer to all this, except the groundless pretence, that all married persons, when they were ordained, promised to live separate from their wives, which answered to the vow of celibacy in other persons. This is all that Pagitt and Schelstrate‡‡ have to say in the case, after all that have gone before them; which is said not only without proof, but against the clearest evidence of ancient history. Such, however, is the unfounded statement of most Roman writers. The Jesuit authors of the Rhemish Testament say, that “this exposition (of theirs) only is agreeable to the practice of the whole church, the definition of ancient councils, the doctrine of the fathers without exception, and the apostles' tradition.”§§ “You may see how shamefully the state of the new heretical clergy of our time is fallen from the apostolic, and all the fathers' doctrine herein; who do not only take men once or twice married before, but, which was never heard of before in any person or part of the Catholic Church, they marry after they be bishops or priests.”

They say in their note on Titus' iii, 6, “And if the studious reader peruse all antiquity, he shall find all notable bishops and priests of

* Αλλα και αρχηγος γινεται εργω τε και λογω προς τα κρατιζα—δι' εαυτης αγωνουσα της ευδεβειας, ουκ αισχυνομενη παρεχειν εαυτην και διδασκαλον.—Greg. Nazianzen, in *Epitaph. Patris*.

† Niceph., lib. xi, c. xix.

‡ Ep. 70 and 126.

§ Du Pin, *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 191.

|| Du Pin, *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 363.

¶ Victor Uticens. *Hist.*, lib. iii.

** Quamplures etiam alii inveniuntur de sacerdotibus nati, &c.—Gratian. *Dist.* 56, c. ii.

†† Pagi Crit. in Baron., ann. 248, n. 4.

‡‡ Shelstrat. *Eccl. Afric.*, Dissert. 3, c. iv, apud Pagi, *ibid*.

§§ Rhemist Annot. on 1 Tim. iii, 2.

God's church to have been single or continent from their wives, if any were married before they came to the clergy. So was Paul, and exhorteth all men to the like. So were all the apostles after they followed Christ." Such is the groundless language of the greater part of Romanists; than which nothing can be farther from the truth.

There seems indeed in some places to be a disposition to introduce the law of celibacy, by one or two zealous spirits; but it was promptly quashed by the prudence and authority of wiser men. Thus Eusebius observes, that "Pinytus, bishop of Gnosus, in Crete, was for laying the law of celibacy upon the brethren; but Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote to him, that he should consider the weakness of men, and not impose that heavy burthen upon them."*

In this state matters continued for three centuries, without any law requiring celibacy of the clergy at the time of their ordination. The sixth and the fortieth of the apostolical canons consider the clergy as married and as living with their wives. Du Pin, in giving an abridgment of the discipline of the three first centuries, affirms, "It was lawful for priests to keep the wives they married before they were ordained, but marriage was never permitted after ordination; but both the one and the other was allowed to deacons."†

8. The decisions of the early councils on this topic will show the process by which the law of celibacy was established.

In the year 305 the Council of Elvira, in Spain, sat. This was the first council which enacted any thing against marriage. The twenty-seventh canon forbids bishops and clergymen to have in their houses strange women. But the thirty-third canon prescribes celibacy to priests and deacons. Yet the sixty-fifth canon, which pronounces the clergyman unworthy of communion who retains an adulterous wife, is an authentic evidence that the clergy of Spain married at that time, and the law of celibacy was far from being established.

The Council of Ancyra, held A. D. 314, canon 10, ordains concerning deacons: "If they declared at the time of their ordination that they would marry, they shall not be deprived of their function if they did marry; but if they were ordained without making this declaration, and afterward married, they should be obliged to quit their ministry."‡ This canon shows that abstinence from marriage was not exacted from any, but such as would willingly profess it; and that it was lawful to marry after holy orders.

The Council of Neo-Cesarea, held about the same time with the Council of Ancyra, in one canon, forbids unmarried presbyters to marry after ordination; yet such as were married before ordination, are allowed by another canon to continue without any censure, being obliged to separate from their wives in case of fornication.

"Canon 1. If a priest marry after he has been ordained, he ought to be degraded; and if he commit fornication or adultery, he ought to be punished more rigorously, and be put under penance.§

"Canon 8. He cannot be admitted into holy orders, whose wife has been convicted of adultery; and if a clergyman's wife commit adultery

* Euseb., lib. iv, c. xxiii.

† Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., vol. i, p. 590.

‡ Εἰ ἐμαρτυράντο καὶ εἶπασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δύναμενοι οὕτως μένειν; οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἐξώσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρέσει, &c.—Concil. Ancyra., can. 10.

§ Conc. Neo-Ces., can. 1.

he ought to divorce her, on pain of being deprived of his ministry if he do not."

The third canon of the Council of Nice, held A. D. 325, forbids all strange women to dwell in the same house with the ministers of the church, but not their own wives. At the council, however, a motion was introduced to pass a canon, "to oblige the clergy to abstain from all conjugal society with their wives, which they had married before their ordination." But Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop, who never had been married, opposed it, saying, "So heavy a burden was not to be laid on the clergy; that the married bed was honourable; that they should not by too great severity bring detriment on the church; for all men could not bear so severe a law; and the chastity of the wives so separated would be endangered also: that conjugal society was chastity; and it was enough that such of the clergy as were not married before ordination should continue unmarried, according to the ancient tradition of the church; but it was not proper to separate any man from his wife whom he had married while he was a layman."^{*}

The statements of Sozomen and Socrates, who narrate this affair, are amply sustained by other writers of great credit.[†] All that Bellarmine, and Valerius after him, have to say, is, that they dissent from the historians. But this is an unavailing plea. Du Pin himself reflects on them in the following terms: "Some question the truth of this story; I believe they do it rather for fear lest this story might prejudice the present discipline, than from any solid proof they have for it. But these persons should consider that this canon is a matter of discipline, and that the discipline of the church may change according to the times, and that 'tis not necessary for the defence of it, to prove that it was always *uniform in all places*."[‡]

There is no doubt but the council decreed in favour of the married clergy, as the historians relate it. Hence the practice was then different from that of the present Church of Rome. The apology of Du Pin, however, would be of weight in behalf of his church, provided their law of celibacy were not at variance with the word of God, and provided such a law ever was observed in any age, except by a very few persons.

The Council of Gangra, according to Socrates,[§] anathematized Eustathius the heretic, because he taught men to separate from such presbyters as retained their wives, whom they married while they were laymen, saying their communion and oblations were abominable. The decree is still extant among the canons of that council, and is in these words: "If any one separate from a married presbyter, as if it were unlawful to participate of the eucharist, when such a one ministers, let him be anathema."^{||}

At the time of this council, it appears that some, in consequence

* See Socrat., lib. i, c. xi; Sozom., lib. i, c. xxiii.

† See on this point Cassiodorus in Tripart., lib. ii, c. 14; Gelasius Cycizenus, in recensione Canonum Nicen. Concil., c. xxxiii, p. 170, ex Biblioth. Vatican. Also Nicephorus Hist. Eccles., lib. viii, c. xix; Suidas in vitâ Paphnutii; Gerhard., de Minist. Ecclesiast., sec. 344, p. 394.

‡ Du Pin, Ecc. Hist., vol. i, p. 600.

§ Lib. ii, c. xliii.

|| Εἰ τις διακρινοῖτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργῆσαι αὐτοῦ προσθῶρας μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἐστω.—Con. Gangr., canon 4.

of the false views they entertained concerning the superiority of celibacy to marriage, were led to despise marriage. Hence they censured in their fourteenth canon those women who forsook their husbands out of detestation of marriage. The council, in a kind of pastoral address, give some excellent advice to the Christians of their day. We select the part of it which belongs to celibacy and marriage, which is in the following words: "We ordain these things, not to exclude those who would, according to the advices of Holy Scripture, exercise themselves in the church by those practices of continence and piety, but against those who use these kinds of austerities for a pretence to satisfy their ambition, who despise those who lead an ordinary life, and who introduce innovations contrary to Scripture and the ecclesiastical laws. We admire virginity when it is accompanied with humility; we praise abstinence, which is joined with piety and prudence. We respect that retirement which is made with humility; but we also honour marriage."^{*}

The Council of Valence, held in 374, ordain in their first canon, "That those are not to be ordained for the future who have been twice married, or those who have espoused widows, whether they did it before or after their baptism."

The first Council of Carthage, held in 348, ordains in its third canon, "That those persons who profess virginity should not cohabit or have any familiarity with any persons of the other sex, under the pain of excommunication for the laity, and of deposition for the clergy." Thus, it appears, that the practice, against which Cyprian inveighs, which always accompanies restrained celibacy, was considerably prevalent when the council sat.

Monsieur Du Pin, in summing up the discipline of the fourth century, says, "The bishops, priests, and deacons were obliged to celibacy in the West; which law was not established in the East."[†]

In the year 401 the fifth Council of Carthage ordained, "That bishops, priests, and deacons should have no connection with their wives, under pain of degradation."[†]

The Council of Arles, held about 443, ordains in its second canon, "That no man may be made priest who is married, unless he renounce the use of marriage."

There is a manifest diversity of practice and of opinion respecting the marriage of clergy and their celibacy during the fifth and sixth centuries and those that follow, as will appear from the various canons enacted in reference to these topics. The Council of Anjou, in 433, canon eleventh, ordains, "That no person should be ordained a deacon or priest who hath had more than one wife." The Council of Tours, in 461, canons first and second, recommends a single life to the bishops, priests, and deacons. The third forbids them to dwell with women. The fourth forbids the clergy who might marry, to marry widows.

The Council of Trullo, held in the year 692, made a difference between bishops and presbyters. The twelfth canon "binds the bishops of Africa and Lybia to observe the law of celibacy." The thirteenth "prohibits the separation of presbyters, deacons, or sub-deacons, from their wives, or binding them to continency before they be ordained."

^{*} Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., tom. i, p. 613.

[†] Ibid., p. 629.

[†] Conc. Carth. v, canon 70.

The forty-eighth canon "ordains that the wife of him who shall be made bishop shall be put away from him, and shall withdraw into a monastery, at a distance from the bishop's residence."

Thus the thirteenth canon allows presbyters, deacons, and the inferior clergy to live with their wives after ordination, and rebukes the Church of Rome for the contrary. But the forty-eighth canon enjoins upon bishops to separate from their wives, and requires the wives to enter monasteries. This council enjoins celibacy on bishops and no others; and it is a standing law of the Greek Church to this day. In the Latin Church the alteration was made in many places by slow degrees; for in Africa even the bishops lived with their wives in the time of the Council of Trullo, as appears from the twelfth canon cited above.

It is unnecessary to carry this inquiry farther. What has been said is sufficient to show that the married clergy were permitted to officiate in the first and primitive ages; and that celibacy in these times was no condition of their ordination, as is falsely pretended by the polemical writers of the Church of Rome. A brief reference, however, to the leading points may not be unnecessary.

9. The Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, allow the marriage of priests and clergymen as well as others. In the New Testament forbidding to marry is pronounced to be a doctrine of devils. 1 Tim. iii, 4. Accordingly the apostles were almost all married men who lived with their wives. The first ministers after the apostles were married men. But during the apostles' times, and in the age succeeding them, the doctrine of pagan celibacy began to infect the church. Hence, many notable divines, as Tertullian, Jerome, and Ambrose, extravagantly recommended celibacy. Nevertheless, the greater part of the clergy were married. Still, the errors of paganism passing over to the early heretics, and from them to many leading doctors, the reputation of the celibate gained immensely in the church. At the time of the Council of Nice, as we have seen, the heretical doctrine of forbidding to marry obtained great repute; and in several councils, as we have shown, it was highly recommended or absolutely enjoined, especially on bishops. From the sixth to the eleventh century there was a continual struggle for victory between celibacy and marriage. The councils attempted to suppress marriage. In consequence of the suppression of lawful marriage, concubinage was resorted to as a substitute for marriage, and it became very general in the church, notwithstanding the constant repetition of the canons of almost every council against it, whether general or provincial. The sons of priests were capable of inheriting, by the laws of France and Castile.* Some vigorous efforts had been made by Dunstan in England, with the assistance of King Edgar, to dispossess the married canons, if not the married clergy, of their benefices; but marriage made continual progress to the middle of the eleventh century. Leo IX., who was elected A. D. 1048, began in earnest the difficult work of enforcing celibacy among the clergy.† His successors never lost sight of this object. The laity in general took part against the married clergy, who were

* *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. xi, preface. Marina, c. ccxxi, ccxxiii.

† *St. Marc.*, tom. iii, pp. 152, 164, 219, 602, &c.

reduced to infamy or want, or obliged to renounce their dearest connections.

But Gregory VII., who was elected pope in 1073, did his utmost to enforce celibacy on the clergy. In the year 1074, in a council held in Rome, he enacted that no priest should henceforth marry, and such as now had either wives or concubines, should relinquish either them or the sacred office. Many of the married clergy were pious and upright men, whom Gregory ought to have spared. But there were also, in all parts of Europe, multitudes of clergymen and monks who kept concubines under the name of wives, whom they dismissed at pleasure, substituting others, and often a plurality, in their place.

When the decree of Gregory was promulgated, horrible tumults were excited, in most countries of Europe, by those priests who either had wives or concubines. The histories of these times are full of the commotions excited by those priests who strove to retain their wives or concubines. The priests in the Italian provinces of Milan were willing to relinquish the priesthood rather than their wives. Accordingly they seceded from the Church of Rome, and branded the pope and his adherents with the name of *Paterini*, that is, *Manichæans* or *heretics*. The German clergy were excited to tumult. They said "they would rather lose their priesthood than part with their wives. Let him who despises *men*, see where he can procure *angels* for the churches." The tumults were similar in almost every country of Europe.*

But the narratives of these times present the most shocking and forbidding scenes to pious minds. Those who would pursue this subject farther, may consult the authorities cited or referred to in the margin; provided they can muster enough of fortitude and purity of mind not to be disheartened at the research, and not to be defiled by such contaminating communications.

* See the authorities cited by Mosheim, b. iii, cent. 11, part ii, c. ii, sec. 13; Murdock's Tr., vol. ii, p. 166; Hallam's Middle Ages, p. 278. N. Y., Harper and Bro., 1839; Chemnicii Exam. Conc. Trid., tom. iii, p. 112.

CHAPTER III.

CELIBACY CONCLUDED.

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1. *We come now to consider particularly the other two classes of celibates in the Church of Rome, viz., the MONKS and NUNS.*

1. Monks, in Latin called *monachi*, from the Greek word *μονος*, *alone*, were such as lived solitarily. At first there were three sorts of monks. Some were called *Eremites*, from *ερεμος*, *a desert*, because they lived in woods or deserts by themselves. Others were called *Anchorites*, that is, separate, or set apart from all men, and living by themselves. They generally lived in cells and caves of the earth. The third sort were called *Cenobites*, from *κοινος*, *common*, and *βιος*, *life*, who lived in companies or colleges by themselves, and had all things common. These properly are now called monks.

The different sects of monks are almost without number, as *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, *Benedictines*, *Jesuits*, *Friars*, *Carthusians*, &c., &c.

Females who enter into the vows of celibacy are called *nuns*. Of these also there are numerous sects.

The three vows of all are *poverty*, *obedience*, and *continence*, and the Jesuits add to these the vow of unlimited obedience to the pope.

2. In regard to the vow of *poverty*, it may be said, that however well it was observed at first by the early celibates, and by a few individuals at all times, it has existed only in name for a long time. The various convents of monks and nuns have succeeded in becoming immensely rich communities. In England they got into possession, at one time, of the greater part of the riches of the whole kingdom. Their possessions, in most kingdoms, were so great, that the monopoly became the occasion to enact laws preventing the increase of their possessions, or stripping them of their ill-gotten stores.

Even in Cincinnati, where we now write, within the last few weeks, the Jesuits have purchased real estate property to the amount of be-

tween fifty and sixty thousand dollars. When this sum was paid for the real estate, what must be the amount of their wealth which is employed in other respects! They build colleges and endow them, erect and support proselyting schools, and expend vast sums in various other ways. For such persons to vow poverty is mere farce or hypocrisy. Indeed, such poverty may well be professed by the rich, when the vow rather increases than diminishes their wealth.

It is said, however, that the vow means, that they only relinquish all personal property, and all they have is thrown into the common stock for the benefit of the whole community. Be it so. But then this is only to get rid of poverty, and to acquire the most certain riches. In this community of goods, all become rich and none are poor; and if this be consistent with a vow of poverty, then poverty ceases to be itself, and it really and truly is converted into riches.

We extract the following regulations from Ferraris concerning those who hold any private property of their own, or pretend to will or leave it to others:—

“Regulars of either sex cannot, in any thing, either by license, or by dispensation of the superior, have any private property. Nay, such a license, though it may be obtained from the generals of the orders themselves, who profess that they can concede it, cannot excuse the monks or nuns from the fault and sin imposed by the Council of Trent.”*

“A regular who is found in the article of death to have any property, ought to have it buried with him in the earth without the monastery, in a dunghill, as a sign of his perdition and eternal damnation, because he died in mortal sin.”†

“No regulars, whether superiors or inferiors, can make a will; and the reason is, that on account of the vows of obedience and poverty, they deprive themselves of all liberty and property, so that they can no more have any will to choose or refuse (*nec velle, nec nolle*) by which they could dispose of it.”‡

“Nay, it is not permitted to professed regulars to modify, by way of declaration, the will that was made by them before their profession.”§

How admirably the above regulations are adapted to seize on the property of unsuspecting individuals, and to transfer it to the rich fraternity! A dozen of the richest merchants in London, because they have their property in company for the express purpose of enriching themselves, may as well be said to be poor, as companies of monks and nuns are, who have so much property in common that every individual is placed beyond the reach of poverty. On the same principle the East India Company is poor, because their funds are in stock.

3. By the vow of obedience, monks and nuns are bound to obey their governor, and to follow his rules and injunctions. The Franciscans follow St. Francis' rule, who, instead of a girdle, employed a cord, went barefoot in winter, and practised numerous other austerities. They also affirm that such obedience is acceptable with God, and truly meritorious.

It is enough to say on this point, that such obedience has no support from Scripture. On the contrary, it is opposed to Scripture. “Ye are

* *Regulares utriusque sexus, &c.*—*Ferraris in Regulares*, art. i, No. 15.

† *Id.*, No. 16.

‡ *Id.*, No. 62.

§ *Id.*, No. 66.

bought with a price ; be not the SERVANTS OF SLAVES of men," 1 Cor. vii, 23.

Nothing is more truly *servile*, in almost all respects, than the monkish orders. They must have NO WILL OF THEIR OWN. This is a fundamental principle. Hence they are bound to submit, without any resistance, to every thing that their superiors dictate. The superiors servilely yield to the generals of their orders. And all are in the most abject submission to the will of the pope. Thus the monastic orders, of every name and sect, are, from the lowest to the highest, the slaves of the pope. The pope magisterially, and with infallible decision, sends his orders to the generals of the several orders ; these to the superiors, the abbesses and abbots, and these again to their crouching vassals. Innumerable proofs of the low degradation, and the unchristian servility of monks and nuns, could easily be given.

4. The secluded life of the monastic orders is inconsistent with the nature of true religion.

Christianity is an active religion, and adapted only to the active scenes of human life. Christians are the *salt of the world*, to preserve it from corruption, and to heal it of the maladies of sin. They are the *light of the world*, not indeed to be put under a bushel, but to be put in a candlestick, to be exhibited to all, that they may be guided by its direction. We are taught "to consider one another, to provoke one another to good works ; not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another," Heb. x. 24, 25. Here the apostle speaks against those that shun society, because they fail in the duties of charity, as in exhorting one another, and in provoking others to good works. Our Saviour did not pray that his disciples should be taken out of the world, but that they might "be kept from the evil," John xvii, 15.

5. This branch of the Roman system furnishes an apt illustration of the effects of its published opinions on human merit. The miserable ascetic who retires from the world and denies himself the lawful gratifications of life, vainly imagines that by so doing he becomes more worthy of the divine regard. All this is nothing better than spurious sanctity, and the hopes which it engenders are false and baseless. Though here and there a truly religious monk or nun may be found, the vast majority must be classed with the sentimental, the superstitious, the infidel, or the profligate.

II. *The Church of Rome exercises the greatest and most detestable tyranny toward persons of both sexes bound by religious vows.*

1. St. Paul lamented that young widows, after devoting themselves to the service of the church, and living at the expense of her members, grew disorderly and married, incurring blame from the enemies of Christianity. Against this evil he provided the most rational remedy, viz., that none should be received under the age of sixty. The Church of Rome allures boys and girls of sixteen, who know not what they do, to bind themselves with perpetual vows. The girls are confined in prisons, because their frailties could not be concealed. The males are let loose upon the people, trusting that a superstitious reverence will close their eyes on their misconduct.

2. On this cruel, antisciptural, and barbarous usage, Erasmus justly and indignantly observed, "Christian clemency has, for the most part,

abolished the servitude of the ancients, leaving but vestiges of it in a few countries. But, under the cloak of religion, a new kind of slavery has been invented, which now prevails in a multitude of monasteries. Nothing there is lawful but what is commanded: whatever may accrue to the professed becomes the property of the community: if you stir a foot you are brought back as if flying after murdering your father and mother.* Such is the just sentiment of Erasmus. But let us see how this tyranny is authoritatively established, enforced, and practised by the Church of Rome.

3. At an early period the will of a parent could bind a child for ever to the monastic life. The fourth Council of Toledo, held in the year of our Lord, 634, decrees, "A monk is made by paternal devotion, or personal profession. Whatever is bound in this manner, will hold fast. We therefore shut up, in regard to these, all access to the world, and forbid all return to a secular life."†

By the more modern discipline of the Church of Rome, this practice has been abolished; but there is little difference in allowing boys and girls of sixteen to bind themselves with perpetual vows, and devoting them irrevocably to the cloister from the cradle. The Church of Rome, in her present regulations, only adds the artfulness of seduction to the unfeelingness of cruelty. This will appear from the authoritative decision of the council in this matter.

The Council of Trent enjoins all bishops to enforce the close confinement of nuns, by every means, and even to engage the assistance of the secular arm for that purpose; entreats all princes to protect the enclosures of the convents, and threatens instant excommunication on all civil magistrates who withhold their aid when the bishops call for it.

4. After the reader shall have perused the ninth canon of the Council of Trent on marriage, he will be prepared to consider the decisions of the council in the fifth and nineteenth chapters of the twenty-fifth session. This canon is as follows:—

"Whoever shall affirm that persons in holy orders, or regulars who have made a solemn profession of chastity, may contract marriage, and that the contract is valid, notwithstanding any ecclesiastical law or vow; and that to maintain the contrary is nothing less than to condemn marriage; and that all persons may marry who feel that though they should make a vow of chastity, they have not the gift thereof, let him be accursed; for God does not deny his gifts to those who ask aright, neither does he suffer us to be tempted above that we are able."

The council in her twenty-fifth session, chapter fifth, decrees, "The holy synod, renewing the constitution of Boniface VIII., which begins *Periculoso*, commands to all bishops, under the obtestation of divine judgment, and the threat of eternal malediction, that the ordinaries in all monasteries subject to them, but in others by the authority of the apostolical seat, should enforce that the confinement of nuns, where it has been violated, should be diligently restored, where inviolate, that it should be carefully preserved: and that they would subdue the disobe-

* Erasmus Dialogue, *Virgo Misogamus*.

† Monachum aut paterna devotio, aut propria professio facit. Quicquid horum fuerit alligatum tenebit. Proinde his ad mundum revertendi intercludimus aditum, et omnem ad sæculum interdicimus regressum.—*Concil. Tolet. iv, can. 48.*

dient and those who contradict, by ecclesiastical censures and other punishments, in any decisive manner whatever, and to call in the aid of the secular arm for this purpose if necessary. And the holy synod exhorts all Christian princes to furnish aid, and enjoins it under pain of excommunication, to be incurred *ipso facto*, to all magistrates and seculars. Let no professed nun come out of her monastery, under any pretence whatever, not even for a moment.”*

Again the council says, “If any of the regulars pretend that fear or force compelled them to enter the cloister, or that the profession took place before the appointed age, or the like, and wishes to renounce the habit for any cause, or to go away with the habit without the license of the superiors, let them not be heard, except within five years of their profession; and then they shall not bring the case before any except their own superior and the ordinary. But if they put off the frock of their own accord, no allegation of such shall be heard; but being compelled to return to their convents, they must be punished as apostates, being in the mean time deprived of all the privileges of their order.”†

5. Let the reader attend to the following particulars, embraced in the foregoing decisions of the Council of Trent, respecting *the escape of nuns, their trial, their punishment, the duties of their superiors, the secular authority.*

First. No nun can leave the convent, on any pretence whatever, not even for a moment; though they were compelled by *fear, force, or while children*, to enter the convent.

Secondly. Their *trial* must be before the superior, or the bishop, if they leave within five years of their profession. But if they renounce their profession voluntarily as a profession, they are compelled to return to the convent without a hearing.

Thirdly. Their *punishment* consists: 1. Of *ecclesiastical censures*, such as penance, refusal of absolution, of sacraments, excommunication, &c., &c. 2. *Other punishments of any kind*, whether imprisonment, tortures, as the tortures of the inquisition, or death in the most hideous forms. The council enjoins such punishments as *apostates* from the Roman Church are visited with. To ascertain exactly what punishments await refugee nuns or monks, it will be necessary to see how

* Bonifacii octavi constitutionem, quæ incipit: *Periculoso*, renovans sancta synodus, universis episcopis, sub obtestatione divini judicii, et interminatione maledictionis æternæ, præcipit, ut in omnibus monasteriis sibi subjectis, ordinarii, in aliis vero, sedis apostolicæ auctoritate, clausuram sanctimonialium, ubi violata fuerit diligentur restitui, et ubi inviolata est, conservari maxime procurent: inobedientes atque contradictores per censuras ecclesiasticas, aliasque pœnas, quacumque appellatione postposita, compescentes, invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii sæcularis. Quod auxilium ut præbeatur, omnes Christianos principes hortatur sancta synodus, et sub pœna excommunicationis, ipso facto incurrenda, omnibus magistratibus sæcularibus injungit. Nemi-
ini autem sanctimonialium liceat post professionem exire a monasterio etiam ad breve tempus, quocumque prætento.—*Concil. Trident.*, sess. xxv, cap. 5.

† Quicumque regularis prætendat se per vim et metum ingressum esse religionem, aut etiam dicat ante ætatem debitam professum fuisse, aut quid simile, velitque habitum dimittere, quacumque de causa, aut etiam cum habitu discedere sine licentia superiorum, non audiat, nisi intra quinquennium tantum, a die professionis, et tunc, non alitur nisi causas quas prætenderit deduxerit coram superiore suo et ordinario. Quod si antea habitum sponte dimiserit nullatenus ad allegandum quamcumque causam admittatur: sed ad monasterium redire cogatur, et tamquam apostata puniatur; interium nullo privilegio suæ religionis juvetur.—*Ib.*, cap. 19.

apostates from Romanism are punished. We quote the following from Ferraris, who supports the various items from decrees of councils, the bulls of popes, and from standard theologians of the Church of Rome :

“The punishments of *apostacy from religion*, (monasticism,) or from a religious state, by common law, are the following: The first is excommunication, which is incurred *ipso facto*, if the apostacy is accompanied with the relinquishment of the monastic habit.”

“The second punishment is suspension, during his apostacy, from the sacred orders which the apostate has received. And if he celebrates mass during his suspension, or exercises other functions of his order, he is irregular. And although none but the pope, by common law, can absolve him from this irregularity; yet by special law, by special privilege, all monastic prelates can dispense with this in reference to their subjects.

“The third punishment is, that during his apostacy, the monastic apostate stands deprived of the privileges of his order.”

“But besides these punishments, established by common law, there are others, as the privation of an active voice, and of a passive kind, such as prison, whipping, fasting, and the like, which are differently inflicted by each monastic body, in reference to their own apostates; so that each order may consult the proper and particular constitutions of their body, in almost all of which excommunication, *ipso facto*, is incurred by apostates and fugitives, whether the apostacy, or flight, is with or without the habit. And those also, *ipso facto*, incur excommunication, who receive, retain, or hide apostates, or fugitives, or afford them either counsel or help for their flight, or apostacy, as appears from many papal constitutions.”*

Fourthly. It is made the duty of bishops and the superiors of convents to compel and subdue refugees in any manner.

Fifthly. And if excommunication, suspension, deprivation of the privileges of their order, imprisonment, whipping, fasting, and the like, and any other kind of punishment or torture which superiors see fit to inflict; if the excommunication of those who receive, retain, or hide apostates or fugitives, or of those who afford them counsel or advice.

* *Pœnæ apostasiæ a religione*, seu statu religioso de jure communi sunt sequentes. Prima est excommunicatio, quæ ipso facto incurritur, si fiat apostasia cum dimissione habitus.

Secunda pœna est suspensio ab ordinibus sacris, quos apostata suscepit durante apostasia. Et si durante suspensione celebret, vel alios ordines exercent, fit irregularis. A qua irregularitate licet de jure communi non possit dispensare nisi papa, ut clare innuunt dicti duo canones. *Cum æterni* et, *cum medicinalis*, de jure tamen particulari per privilegia possunt ab ipsa dispensare cum suis subditis omnes prælati regulares, ut patet concessiono Sixti IV.

Tertia pœna est, quod durante apostasia regularis apostata existat privatus privilegiis suæ religionis.—*Concil. Trid.*, sess. xxv, *de Regul.*, cap. 19.

Præter autem has pœnas a jure communi statutas, sunt etiam aliæ, ut privatio vocis activæ et passivæ, carceris, flagellationis, jejunii, et hujusmodi, quæ diversimode a qualibet religione in particulari pro suis apostatis sunt impositæ, et ideo circa istas potest quisque consulere proprias et particulares suæ religionis constitutiones, in quibus fere omnibus est imposita excommunicatio ipso facto incurrenda ab apostatis, et fugitivis, sive habitis retento, sive dimisso fiat apostasia aut fuga. Apostatas et fugitivos recipientes, retinentes, vel occultantes aut eis pro fuga et apostasia consilium aut auxilium præstantes, peccant mortaliter, et ipso facto excommunicationem incurrunt, ut patet ex pluribus constitutionibus pontificiis.—*Ferraris on the word Apostasia*, Nos. 49–56, with the authorities cited.

do not secure the culprit nuns ; then these ecclesiastical measures failing, the strong arm of the civil power is resorted to, and all princes and magistrates, who do not lend their assistance in delivering up these escaped nuns or monks, are excommunicated *ipso facto*.

6. The above are their own written regulations, established by the infallible decrees of the Council of Trent, and repeated and enforced by their popes, and practised by them in innumerable instances ; specimens of which we will give the reader. In the mean time, however, we will quote a few more of their regulations on the confinement, *clausura*, of nuns, that the reader may have the statement in their own words, supported by the supreme authorities of their church.

“ Confinement before the time of Boniface VIII. was only advisory, though it was much commended.”*

“ Boniface VIII., (A. D. 1294,) first by formal and absolute precept enjoined confinement on nuns.”†

“ Hence, now, all professed nuns of every description are bound to confinement.‡

“ Nuns, who rashly leave the enclosure of their monastery, besides other grievous punishments, incur, *ipso facto*, the greater excommunication reserved to the pope.§

“ The nun incurs the greater excommunication and the other punishments, who goes beyond the door of the enclosure with both her feet, or with one or both of her hands.”¶

“ The nun who ascends on the roof violates the enclosure, and incurs the aforesaid punishments.”¶¶

7. On the practical results of these unchristian regulations of the Church of Rome, we quote the Rev. Blanco White, who was preacher to the king of Spain, and who wrote in 1836 :—

“ How strictly these laws are preserved in vigour by the proud tyranny of the Church of Rome, and the blind subserviency of every government and people who acknowledge her, I will instance in two cases. The first I have on the authority of Don Andres Bello, secretary to the Columbian legation in this country: a gentleman whose great worth, talents, and learning, I have had many an opportunity to know and admire, during an acquaintance of nearly fifteen years. The second is one of the many cases which I can attest from my personal knowledge.

“ The desertion of monks, according to the information which my friend Mr. Bello has given me on this point, has been at all times frequent in the territories of Spanish America. Their general conduct, I have been assured by every one acquainted with that country, is openly and outrageously profligate. One of the unfortunate slaves of Rome, ‘ a man who (to use my friend’s own expression) having been his own instructor, lived miserable because his mind was far above all that surrounded him,’ took the determination of absconding from his cowed masters, and sought for liberty in exile. His real name was Father Christoval de Quesada, a native of Cumana, and friar of the Order of Mercy. Under the assumed designation of Don Carlos de Sucre, he travelled in different countries of Europe, and was everywhere admired

* Ferraris on the word *Moniales*, Art. iii, No. 1, and the authorities cited.

† Id., No. 2. ‡ Id., No. 3. § Id., No. 7. ¶ Id., No. 10. ¶¶ Id., No. 11.

for his accomplishments and agreeable manners. The love of his country betrayed him, at length, into the rash step of venturing back ; yet at a sufficient distance from his native town to imagine himself safe from detection. His abilities recommended him to the archbishop of Caraccas, who made him his secretary. Some years had elapsed, when a person, having desired to speak privately to the supposed Sucre, showed him that he was in possession of his secret ; but engaged to keep it, probably in consideration of some pecuniary reward. The unfortunate runaway knew too well the nature of his circumstances and danger ; and only thought of surrendering on the most favourable conditions. He disclosed his case to the archbishop, who engaged the head of the Order of Mercy to receive the unfortunate Father Christoval, without inflicting any punishment for his flight. 'It was in these circumstances (says my friend, in an interesting letter to me) that he taught me Latin, a language which he possessed in perfection. He was a man of uncommon good nature ; plain and unaffected in his manners, and rather slovenly in his dress. To classical knowledge he added that of mathematics, and a considerable taste for Spanish poetry. His sermons were excellent whenever he took the pains to write them, which was seldom the case. He voluntarily took charge of the library of the convent ; which he enriched with many excellent works, unknown till then in my town. He also devoted part of his time to the garden of the convent, which had hitherto been allowed to overrun with weeds. Part of the ground he allotted to a numerous breed of ducks, fowls, and other domestic animals ; but from this he was obliged to desist, for the friars, whose *siesta* was disturbed by the cackling, contrived to poison their brother's favourites.'

" ' Such (he concludes) is the history of Father Quesada, who gave to his return to the convent the appearance of a voluntary act, and donned his frock with the best good humour in the world ; well aware that in his circumstances any thing else would have been most imprudent. I have heard in South America a thousand other cases of runaway friars, who have been forced back to their convents ; but I am not in possession of the individual circumstances.'

" A strong mind, and a natural good temper, divested the preceding instance of the horrors which generally attend the capture of the spiritual slaves who seek liberty by flight. That which I am about to relate is of a much more melancholy cast. I have laid it already before the public, in *Doblado's Letters* from Spain ; but though that work contains no other fiction but a few changes of names, I deem it necessary to record, with all the solemnity of history, the fate of the unfortunate nun whom I there introduced to my readers.

" The eldest daughter of a family, intimately acquainted with mine, was brought up in the convent of Saint Agness at Seville, under the care of her mother's sister, the abbess of that female community. The circumstances of the whole transaction were so public at Seville, and the subsequent judicial proceedings have given them such notoriety, that I do not feel bound to conceal names. Maria Francisca Barreiro, the unfortunate subject of this account, grew up a lively and interesting girl, in the convent ; while a younger sister enjoyed the advantages of an education at home. The mother formed an early design of devoting her eldest daughter to religion, in order to give to her less attractive

favourite a better chance of getting a husband. The distant and harsh manner with which she constantly treated Maria Francisca, attached the unhappy girl to her aunt by the ties of the most ardent affection. The time, however, arrived when it was necessary that she should either leave her, and endure the consequences of her mother's aversion at home, or take the vows, and thus close the gates of the convent upon herself for ever. She preferred the latter course; and came out to pay the last visit to her friends. I met her, almost daily, at the house of one of her relations; where her words and manner soon convinced me that she was a victim of her mother's designing and unfeeling disposition. The father was an excellent man, though timid and undecided. He feared his wife, and was in awe of the monks; who, as usual, were extremely anxious to increase the number of their female prisoners. Though I was aware of the danger which a man incurs in Spain, who tries to dissuade a young woman from being a nun, humanity impelled me to speak seriously to the father, entreating him not to expose a beloved child to spend her life in hopeless regret for lost liberty. He was greatly moved by my reasons; but the impression I made was soon obliterated. The day for Maria Francisca's taking the veil was at length fixed; and though I had a most pressing invitation to be present at the ceremony, I determined not to see the wretched victim at the altar. On the preceding day I was called from my stall at the Royal Chapel to the confessional. A lady, quite covered by her black veil, was kneeling at the grate through which females speak to the confessor. As soon as I took my seat, the well-known voice of Maria Francisca made me start with surprise. Bathed in tears, and scarcely able to speak without betraying her state to the people who knelt near the confessional box, by the sobs which interrupted her words, she told me she wished only to unburden her heart to me, before she shut up herself for life. Assistance, she assured me, she would not receive; for rather than live with her mother, and endure the obloquy to which her swerving from her announced determination would expose her, she 'would risk the salvation of her soul.' All my remonstrances were in vain. I offered to obtain the protection of the archbishop, and thereby to extricate her from the difficulties in which she was involved. She declined my offer, and appeared as resolute as she was wretched. The next morning she took the veil; and professed at the end of the following year. Her good aunt died soon after, and the nuns, who had allured her into the convent by their caresses, when they perceived that she was not able to disguise her misery, and feared that the existence of a reluctant nun might by her means transpire, became her daily tormentors.

"After an absence of three years from Seville, I found that Maria Francisca had openly declared her aversion to a state, from which nothing but death could save her. She often changed her confessors, expecting comfort from their advice. At last she found a friend in one of the companions of my youth: a man whose benevolence surpasses even the bright genius with which nature has gifted him; though neither has been able to exempt him from the evils to which Spaniards seem to be fated in proportion to their worth. He became her confessor, and in that capacity spoke to her daily. But what could he do against the inflexible tyranny in whose grasp she languished!

“About this time the approach of Napoleon’s army threw the town into a general consternation, and the convents were opened to such of the nuns as wished to fly. Maria Francisca, whose parents were absent, put herself under the protection of a young prebendary of the cathedral, and by this means reached Cadiz, where I saw her, on my way to England. I shall never forget the anguish with which, after a long conversation, wherein she disclosed to me the whole extent of her wretchedness, she exclaimed, *There is no hope for me!* and fell into convulsions.

“The liberty of Spain from the French invaders was the signal for the fresh confinement of this helpless young woman to her former prison. Here she attempted to put an end to her sufferings by throwing herself into a deep well; but was taken out alive. Her mother was now dead, and her friends instituted a suit of *nullity of profession*, before the ecclesiastical court. But the laws of the Council of Trent were positive; and she was cast in the trial. Her despair, however, exhausted the little strength which her protracted sufferings had left her, and the unhappy Maria Francisca died soon after, having scarcely reached her twenty-fifth year.”*

8. The history of religious oppression in the Church of Rome is far from being well known. She will sacrifice the sincere and ardent, body and soul, to display her spiritual dominion. Nothing, however, is more difficult than to collect the evidence of individual suffering, produced by her tyranny. Enough transpires in the monasteries of both sexes to form an estimate of the misery that dwells in them. But despair and shame smother the sighs of their female inmates. Yet knowledge of human nature, a moderate share of candour, and the consideration of the iron laws which govern monasteries, point out clearly the misery which perpetual vows have produced.

III. *The vow of celibacy, among monks and nuns, has produced licentiousness from its first origin till now. Of this there are extant innumerable and undeniable proofs.*

1. In the ancient church the result of celibacy was the corruption of morals. Let the reader turn over to the testimonies of Cyprian, Chrysostom, and Bernard, already given, and he will find the grossest immorality connected with their professed virgin or angelic life. These testimonies could be lengthened to any extent. And it could be shown that the monastic institutions, from their origin to the Reformation, were constantly relapsing into incurable licentiousness; notwithstanding all the iron and cruel laws that could be invented to preserve purity. But a volume would not contain the evidence. A survey of the various canons of councils, and the restraints of some pious men, as well as the occasional outbreaks of depraved morals in the cloisters, prove incontestibly, that the private or concealed wickedness was great indeed.

2. And at the time of the reformation from popery, the enormities of monasteries were intolerable; so that, on account of the licentiousness practised in them, they became public nuisances.

In the year 1535, Henry VIII. ordered the monasteries of England to be visited by commissioners appointed for that purpose. The instructions contained eighty-six articles, referring to the points concern-

* Internal Evidences, pp. 274–280.

ing which inquiry should be made. Among the questions we find the following :

“ Whether any men conversed with the sisters alone, without the abbess’s leave ?

“ Whether any sister was forced to profess, either by her kindred or by the abbess ?”*

It is uncertain by whom the monkish institution was first introduced into Great Britain. The monks were here very numerous, and were in subjection to their bishops, according to the canons of the Council of Chalcedon. When the Danes made their descent on England, they robbed and destroyed the monasteries. But King Edgar, a most dissolute and lewd prince, founded forty-seven monasteries. In time, nearly all of these became independent of the ecclesiastical and civil states, and were subject to the pope. The following extracts from Burnet,† which he draws from the original historical documents, will give the correct state of the monasteries of England :—

“ The abbeys,” says the historian, “ being exempted from all jurisdiction, both civil and spiritual, and from all impositions ; and having generally the privilege of sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at ease, and accountable to none ; so they might do what they pleased. They found also means to enrich themselves, first, by the belief of purgatory. For they persuaded all people, that the souls departed went generally thither ; few were so holy as to go straight to heaven, and few so bad as to be cast to hell. Then people were made believe, that the saying of masses for their souls gave them great relief in torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of piety to their parents, and of necessary care for themselves and their families, to give some part of their estates toward the enriching of these houses, for having a mass said every day for the souls of their ancestors, and for their own, after their death. And this did so spread, that if some laws had not restrained their profuseness, the greater part of all the estates in England had been given to those houses. But the statutes of mortmain were not very effectual restraints ; for what king soever had refused to grant a mortmain, was sure to have an uneasy reign ever after.

“ Yet this did not satisfy the monks, but they fell upon other contrivances to get the best of all men’s jewels, plate, and furniture. For they persuaded them that the protection and intercession of saints were of mighty use to them ; so that whatsoever respect they put on the shrines and images, but chiefly on the relics of saints, they would find their account in it, and the saints would take it kindly at their hands, and intercede the more earnestly for them. And people, who saw courtiers much wrought on by presents, imagined the saints were of the same temper ; only with this difference, that courtiers love to have presents put into their own hands, but the saints were satisfied if they were given to others. And as in the courts of princes, the new favourite commonly had greatest credit, so every new saint was believed to have a greater force in his addresses ; and therefore every body was to run to their shrines, and make great presents to them. This being infused into the credulous multitude, they brought the richest things they had to the places where the bodies or relics of these saints

* Burnet’s Hist. Ref., vol. i, p. 242.

† Id., vol. i, pp. 245–249.

were laid. Some images were also believed to have a peculiar lence in them; and pilgrimages and presents to these were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the monks found the means, either by dreams and visions, or strange, miraculous stories, to feed the devotion of the people. Relics without number were everywhere discovered; and most wonderful relations of the martyrdom, and other miracles of the saints, were made and read in all places to the people; and new improvements were daily made in trade, that, through the craft of the monks and the simplicity of the people, brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was strange rivalling, not only among the several orders, but the houses of the same order. The monks, especially of Glastonbury, St. Albans, and St. Edmondsbury, vied one with another, who could tell the most extravagant stories for the honour of their house, and of the relics in it.

“The monks in these houses abounding in wealth, and living at ease and in idleness, did so degenerate, that, from the twelfth century downward, their reputation abated much; and the privileges of sanctuaries were a general grievance, and oft complained of in parliaments: for they received all that fled to them, which put a great stop to justice, and did encourage the most criminal offenders. They became lewd and dissolute, and so impudent in it, that some of their farms were let for bringing in a yearly tribute to their lusts: nor did they keep hospitality and relieve the poor; but rather encouraged vagabonds and beggars, against whom laws were made, both in Edward III., King Henry VII., and this king's reign.

“But from the twelfth century the orders of begging friars were set up, and they, by the appearance of severity and mortification, gained great esteem. At first they would have nothing, no real estates, but the ground on which their house stood. But afterward distinctions were found for satisfying their consciences in larger possessions. They were not so idle and lazy as the monks, but went about and preached, and heard confessions, and carried about indulgences, with many other petty little things, Agnus Deis, rosaries, and pebbles; which they made the world believe had great virtue in them. And they had the esteem of the people wholly engrossed to themselves. They were also more formidable to princes than the monks, because they were poor, and, by consequence, more hardy and bold. There was also a firmer union of their whole order, they having a general at Rome, and divided into many provinces, subject to their provincials. They had likewise the school learning wholly in their hands, and were great preachers; so that many things concurred to raise their esteem with the people very high; yet great complaints lay against them, for they went more abroad than the monks did, and were believed guilty of corrupting families. The scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive strictness of their orders, were a little rectified by some reformations of these orders. But that lasted not long; for they became liable to much censure, and many visitations had been made but to little purpose. This concurring with their secret practices against the king, both in the matter of his divorce and supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports; that if they were found guilty of such scandals, they might lose their credit with

the people, and occasions be ministered to the king, to justify the suppression of them.

"But now I come to consider how the visitors carried on their visitations. Many severe things are said of their proceedings; nor is it any wonder that men who had traded so long in lies, as the monks had done, should load those whom they esteemed the instruments of their ruin with many calumnies. By their letters to Cromwell, it appears, that in most houses they found monstrous disorders. That many fell down on their knees and prayed they might be discharged, since they had been forced to make vows against their wills; with these the visitors dispensed, and set them at liberty. They found great factions in the houses, and barbarous cruelties exercised by one faction against another, as either of them prevailed. In many places, when they gave them the king's injunctions, many cried out, that the severity of them was intolerable, and they desired rather to be suppressed than so reformed. They were all extremely addicted to idolatry and superstition. In some they found the instruments and other tools for multiplying and coining.

"But for the lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that state, whole houses being found almost all with child; for the dissoluteness of abbots and the other monks and friars, not only with whores, but married women; and for their unnatural lusts and other brutal practices, these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on in a work of this nature. The full report of this visitation is lost, yet I have seen an extract of a part of it, concerning one hundred and forty-four houses, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom."

"One passage, that is more remarkable, I shall only set down; because upon it followed the first resignation of any religious house that I could ever find. Doctor Leighton beset the abbot of Langdon's house, and broke open his door of a sudden, and found his whore with him: and in the abbot's coffer there was a habit for her, for she went for a young brother. Whether the shame of this discovery, or any other consideration prevailed with him, I know not; but, on the 13th of November, he and ten monks signed a resignation."*

3. Since the reformation from popery no radical change has taken place in the morality of monks and nuns; except they have been compelled to be more private in their excesses, in consequence of the vigilance and better morals of Protestants.

Let us glance at the testimony of Romanists themselves on this subject. And here we have *Scipio de Ricci*, bishop of Pistoia and Prato, a man of the sternest morality and purest mind for a witness, as well as the testimonies of innumerable others. The *Memoirs of Ricci* were composed by De Potter, a Catholic, from the autograph manuscripts furnished by a nephew of the prelate. The testimony is unexceptionable, being that of a Roman Catholic prelate, who was commissioned by a prince, subject to the papal jurisdiction, expressly to investigate the character of conventual life; and was compiled by a civilian connected with the Roman hierarchy.

We quote the following letter,† dated May, 1770, from the Convent

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i, pp. 245-249.

† See *Secrets of Female Convents*, p. 58. New-York, 1824.

of Jerome, at Castiglion Fiorentino, and signed Lucrece Leonide Bernardi, and addressed to Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany :—

“ Our convent,” she says, “ is under the direction of the Minor Observatines, and is consequently in a state of the greatest irregularity and disorder. The superior and the old nuns confine themselves entirely to their cells, and occupy themselves in various employments, without paying the least attention to what goes on between the other nuns and those persons who have the privilege of admission within the walls of the cloister. I had for a long time observed that the factor of the convent carried on intrigues with the young nuns, and that his intercourse with one of them was indecent in the extreme. In order, however, not to form too hasty and unjust a judgment of them, I concealed myself in a neighbouring apartment, and discovered that they were in the habit of committing the most indecent actions. Since that time, whenever the factor makes his appearance, I always remain, under pretence of age, being nearly fifty, below, with my work, and walk backward and forward, in order not to allow him an opportunity of being alone with the nuns. The abbess was the means of engaging that factor, which she did almost by force, against the opinion of others who thought him too young. She is very angry with me, and will certainly not fail to punish me in some way or other.

“ I cannot complain to the provincial ; for the monks will not listen to any complaints of the kind. Their answer uniformly is, when any are made, that they proceed from malignity and calumny ; while those who speak to them concerning them are declared to be foolish, scandalous, and turbulent persons, who spy the actions of others, who do not behave like true nuns, and who ought to be imprisoned, &c. The nuns are therefore obliged either to allow such enormous irregularities to go unchecked, or to run the risk of imprisonment for life under some false pretext. No one cares whether a nun remains alone with the factor. If any amusement is going forward, the factor is invited to the convent, where he shuts himself up in a room with one of them, and sometimes with two, if they are intimate with him.

“ The monks, to ensure themselves against dislike on the part of the nuns, overlook the whole ; for our confessor, who is always selected from that body, is supported by the nuns, who must supply him with every thing which he desires, during the time that he is obliged to occupy a dwelling in the neighbourhood of the convent. Finding themselves well provided with every thing which they want, these monks do not give themselves the least trouble about the abuses which prevail in the convents. There are even some of them who make love to the nuns, and render them much more impudent than the lay members who are guilty of the same practices. Some years ago a monk was found in the convent during the night, and expelled from it by the bailiffs. The affair, in consequence, became universally known.”

“ The nun is of opinion, that the case of the factor was much more blameable, inasmuch as his duties provided him with constant opportunities of sinning. She therefore supplicates the grand duke to order a nobleman, on whom the factor was dependant, to recall him to Florence, without allowing it to appear that he was at all acquainted with the irregularity of his conduct : ‘ For,’ says she, ‘ if what I now write to you were known, it would be sufficient to cause me to be poisoned by

my companions, who are totally given up to vice.' She requests the prince to speak to the provincial, and to tell him, that 'if she is punished under any pretence whatever, he will take from him the direction of the convent, and transfer it to the bishop.' **

The scandalous wickedness of some priests, under the cloak of religion, was known to Leopold, the grand duke of Tuscany, as early as 1766. Senator Rucellai then addressed to his prince a memoir relating to the intrigues of the Tuscan inquisitors, of the higher orders of the clergy, of the nunciature of Florence, and of the court of Rome; all of whom laboured in concert against every law of reformation.

A lady of the name of Maria Catharine Barni, of Santa Croce, declared on her death-bed, that she had been seduced through the medium of confession, and that she had, during twelve years, maintained a continual intercourse with priest Pachiani, who was her confessor. He had assured her, that by means of the supernatural light which he had received from Jesus and the holy virgin, he was perfectly certain that neither of them was guilty of sin in carrying on that correspondence. Two other ladies were familiar with Pachiani; one of whom had not the least scruple in regard to her connection with him, but the other had. The case of the priest first got into the hands of the inquisition; after much intrigue and manoeuvring it passed over to the archbishop, thence to the nuncio, next to the court of Rome; and Pachiani, who had been dismissed, finally returned to his parish.†

Another document, illustrative of the ecclesiastical condition of Tuscany, before the administration of Ricci, gives some curious details respecting the number and discipline of the religious orders. It is a letter from Rucellai, December, 1770, in reply to some questions which the grand duke had addressed to him.

"The support and duration," says he, "of religious orders depend partly on the success of the monks in procuring recruits, and partly on the interest which families have in supplying them with them. This could not possibly be the case, if perpetual vows were not taken at so early an age as sixteen; at an age which has no safeguard, either against seduction or violence. The monks accordingly showed themselves particularly anxious, at the Council of Trent, to retain this privilege, in order, as they said, to prevent the destruction of the monastic establishments.

"This avowal, on their part, points out the line of conduct which ought to be adopted by government: for as the vows which the individual takes upon him, deprive him of various rights which he formerly possessed, and free him, much to the prejudice of his fellow-citizens and of his country, according to the tenor of the canon law, from the performance of various duties which he was bound to discharge to society, the temporal or civil power ought to regulate every thing relating to solemn vows and professions, in the same manner that it regulates all other civil acts, and to limit and modify them agreeably to what its existence and its interests appear to require.

"It is absolutely necessary that the sovereign should have it in his power to prohibit the putting on of the religious habit without his ex-

* *Secrets of Female Convents*, pp. 58-60.

† *Id.*, pp. 60, 61.

press permission. Rome, however, has always opposed such an exercise of authority to the utmost of her power. She saw clearly that the establishment of such a regulation would, in the end, destroy, or at least greatly weaken, her religious communities, which she justly regards as so many collective bodies of her subjects; as armed legions, which she maintains abroad at the expense of the countries in which they so blindly execute her orders. These orders she veils with the mantle of religion, and has the art of getting them as well executed by those to whom she intrusts them, as if they had a personal interest in doing what not unfrequently exposes them to all the vengeance of their governments.”*

Ricci was consecrated bishop of Pistoia and Prato, June 24th, 1780. He found the convents in a state of pollution. He employed his entire influence, in connection with the government, to reform them. He was opposed by the nuns, monks, clergy, and the pope. For a century and a half previous to this the total corruption of the Dominican order had been matter of scandal throughout Tuscany. The spiritual direction which these monks had of the female convents had degenerated into the basest profligacy. A petition, dated 1642, still exists, in which the gonfalonier and other representatives of the people of Pistoia, addresses the reigning duke, praying for a reformation in the convents of the Dominicans, of Lucia, and Catharine.

We here insert the declaration of the nuns of Catharine of Pistoia, which was presented to the grand duke Leopold, in the year 1775:—

“Instead of allowing us to remain in our simplicity, and protecting our innocence, they teach us, both by word and action, all kinds of indecencies. They frequently come to the vestry, of which they have almost all the keys; and as there is a grate there, they commit a thousand indecorous acts.

“If they get an opportunity of coming into the convent, under any feigned pretext, they go and stay alone in the chambers of those who are devoted to them. They are all of the same stamp; and they are not ashamed to take advantage of the circumstances of the visitation for those purposes. They utter the worst expressions, saying that we should look upon it as a great happiness that we have the power of satisfying our appetites without being exposed to the annoyance of children. They say that when this life is ended, all is ended; and they add, that even Paul, who wrought with his own hands, should teach us; and we should not hesitate to take our pleasures.

“They allow every kind of indecency to go on in the parlour. Though often warned by us, they do not break off the dangerous intimacies that are formed; and hence it has often occurred, that men who have contrived to get the keys have come into the convent during the night, which they have spent in the most dissipated manner. They also suffer the nuns to neglect the sacraments: they never think of introducing the practice of mental prayer, and they preach nothing but the pleasures of this life. The sisters who live according to their maxims, are extolled by them and indulged in every extravagance; and the others must either go with the stream, heedless of conscience, or live in a state of perpetual warfare, as is actually the case with us now.

* *Secrets of Female Convents*, pp. 69, 70.

"This is the real truth. We the undersigned attest it, without passion, and on our conscience.

"Anna Teresa Merlini, Madre di Consiglio.

"Rosa Peraccini, Madre di Consiglio.

"Flavia Peraccini, Madre di Consiglio.

"Gaetana Poggiali.

"Candida, Gioconda Botti.

"Maria, Clotilda Bambi."*

The intercourse of the monks and nuns, according to Ricci, arrived to such a pitch of licentiousness, that topics of the most disgusting nature formed the usual subject of their conversation; while the greater part of the sisters deprived themselves of their money and every thing else to satisfy the rapacity of their lovers, performed for them the most servile offices, and even sometimes went by the name of their wives. Leopold had the *fabriciens* of the establishment examined, and found every thing he had heretofore heard, confirmed. He next had the nuns examined by the lieutenant of police.

The actual condition of the nuns of Catharine appears from the *Report* which the three churchwardens presented to Leopold, and from a letter of one of the nuns to the rector Comparini.

"The prior and the confessor take the liberty of going whenever they please into the vestry to converse with their favourites; where, according to the tenor of the bull, they should not even communicate with them *ad loquendum bonum*: they have parties of pleasure there, and eat with the nuns. One time, on Easter-day, the other nuns going in a body to divert themselves there, surprised two other monks along with them, each passing his time with his favourite nun.

"The said prior and confessor when they come into the convent to visit the sick, do not go to them *recto transite*, as the bulls direct, but wherever they please, and even alone with the nuns into their cells, and they walk together in the garden.

"If they are attending on any nuns that are dying, they eat and sleep in the monastery, which is prohibited, and they eat with whom they please, even with sextonesses."†

These irregularities are imputed not only to the prior and confessor, but to all those destined, from time to time, for these employments, who are guilty of constant ill conduct.

In a letter of Flavia Peraccini to Comparini, written August, 1775, she thus expresses herself:—

"I learned yesterday morning that the *fratesses*, monkesses, had a letter last Friday from the cardinal protector of the order, in which he desires them to beseech the Lord to give them patience; that he would do all in his power for them, but that they should not be in a hurry, for the affair would be tedious. At all events, both they and the monks keep up their hopes, and make every effort to prevent any change. No one can have any idea of the extent of the intrigues of the monks; and the devices to which they have recourse to secure themselves are astonishing.

"Every time I think of the plan of the provincial to make us all communicate, and then to make us all sign a declaration that we attended the sacraments, and that every thing was done in good order, and thus

* *Secrets of Female Convents*, pp. 80. 81.

† *Id.*, p. 84.

make *liars* of us, I am perfectly unable to restrain my astonishment."

In a letter of Flavia Peraccini, prioress of Catherine of Pistoia, to Comparini, rector of the episcopal seminary in the same city, the nun relates what passed before her eyes in her own convent, what had passed there before she wrote, and what still took place in other convents, particularly at Prato.*

"It would require both time and memory to recollect what has occurred during the twenty-four years that I have had to do with monks, and all I have heard tell of them. Of those who are gone to the other world I shall say nothing; of those who are still alive, and have little decency of conduct, there are very many, among whom there is an ex-provincial named Ballendi; then Donati, Pacini, Buzzaccuerini, Calvi, Zoratti, Bigliacci, Guidi, Mighetti, Verde, Bianchi, Ducci, Serafini, Bolla, Nero di Lucca, Quaretti. With the exception of three or four, all that I ever knew, alive or dead, are of the same character; they have all the same maxims and the same conduct. They are on more intimate terms with the nuns than if they were married to them.

"It is the custom now, that when they come to visit any sick sister, they sup with the nuns, they sing, dance, play, and sleep in the convent. It is a maxim of theirs, that God has forbidden hatred, but not love; and that the man is made for the woman, and the woman for the man. They teach us to amuse ourselves, saying, that Paul said the same, who wrought with his own hands. They deceive the innocent, and even those that are most circumspect; and it would need a miracle to converse with them and not to fall.

"The priests are the husbands of the nuns, and the lay-brothers of the lay-sisters. In the chamber of one of these I have mentioned, a man was one day found; he fled, but very soon after they gave him to us as confessor extraordinary. How many bishops are there in the papal states who have come to the knowledge of some disorder, have held examinations and visitations, and yet could never remedy it; because the monks tell us that those are excommunicated who reveal what passes in the order! 'Poor creatures!' said I to an English provincial, 'they think they are leaving the world to escape danger, and they only meet with greater. Our fathers and mothers have given us a good education, and here we learn the Ave Maria backward.' He knew not what reply to make to me. God is my witness, I speak without passion. The monks have never done any thing to me, personally, to make me dislike them; but I will say, that so iniquitous a race as the monks nowhere exists. Bad as the seculars are, they do not at all come up to them; and the art of the monks with the world and their superiors baffles description.

"When they notify the death of a nun, they make a panegyric on her in the circular letter, to show that they know how to direct these poor graceless creatures! God only knows if they are not utterly lost. How ill they are attended when on the bed of death! That, indeed, is carnival-time.

"When they gave us the holy water every year, they threw every thing, even the beds, into disorder. What a racket they used to make! One time they washed Father Manni's face, and dressed him like a

* *Secrets of Female Convents*, p. 91.

nun. In short, it was a perpetual scene of amusement—comedies and conversation for ever. Every monk who passed by on his way to the chapter they found some means of showing into the convent, and entreated a sick sister to confess herself. Everlasting scandal about husbands; of those who had stolen the mistress of such a one; how others had avenged themselves in the chapter; and how they would not have forgiven even in death.

“Do not suppose that this is the case in our convent alone. It is just the same at Lucia, at Prato, at Pisa, at Perugia; and I have heard things that would astonish you. Everywhere it is the same, everywhere the same disorders, everywhere the same abuses prevail. Let the superiors suspect as they may, they do not know even the smallest part of the enormous wickedness that goes on between the monks and the nuns.”

It were endless to go through all the details of these convents and these times. The pope opposed all reformation, and finally Ricci was compelled to abdicate his see, and was driven into a compulsory submission to the pope. In this manner the reformation ended.

4. The present state of morals among the monastic orders is corrupt. Of this we have ample proofs to satisfy impartial persons, notwithstanding the studied attempts at concealment. Listen to the statements made by the Rev. S. T. Mahoney, late a Capuchin friar in the convent of the Immaculate Conception at Rome. He describes the state of the monasteries of Italy and of the Mediterranean Sea, and Asia Minor, as they were in the commencement of the present century to the time he wrote in 1836.

The following is the description which Mr. Mahoney gives of the monkish life. After describing the novitiate of the young monk, and his six years' subsequent course of study, he proceeds: “They are during the time they are students, kept less confined, and allowed more intercourse with the older monks. This more intimate knowledge of the monastic state is generally, if not universally, attended with disgust. They were comparatively happy while kept in ignorance of the real state of things; but now that the whole undisguised truth is open to them, when they have no opening left for escape, having made a solemn profession, they find, by experience, the monastic state quite different in practice from what it appears to the uninitiated, or to those who judge from the theory of the rule. Where they expected to find peace, brotherly love, devotion, and godliness, they discover little else than contentions, mutual hatred, superstition, and impiety. Wo be to him, though, who is so imprudent as to express his dislike of such a life, after having made his vows. If he wishes to have any future peace, he must dissemble his disgust, and accommodate himself to circumstances. By degrees, he will soon learn to live as others do, and by long practice in the art of monkery, he will become equal and perhaps surpass others in the very things for which he, at first, had so great an aversion.

“The choir, refectory, conversation-room, &c., are the schools in which the secrets and practices of monachism are very soon learned. The very little attention paid to the divine office during the time it is reciting in choir is complained of, even by the monks themselves. They are conscious that the careless manner in which it is performed

is sufficient to destroy any degree of merit attached to it; and even taking it for granted, that the repetition of psalms in an unknown tongue can be a right way of offering homage to the Supreme Being; the inattention with which it is performed must certainly render it rather offensive than pleasing to him. Many monks do not understand the language in which it is recited, while those who do, are, for the greater part, confirmed infidels, and go through it as a part of their daily labour. The words of the prophet *Isaiah* can be justly then applied to monkish choirs, 'These worship me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.' The young monk, on leaving the convent in which he passed his year of probation, where some attention is paid to decorum, at least in the performance of this duty, feels surprised at the inattention it is gone through with in the other convents. By degrees, however, he accustoms himself to this want of respect and reverence in the worship of God, and very soon joins his brethren in snuff-taking, laughing, smiling, and in the other devices practised by them to kill the time they are obliged to give their bodily presence to the worship of the Supreme Being."

"The refectory is another school in which the young monk learns the real condition of the life he had embraced, and to which he had bound himself by his solemn profession. The table of the convent in which he passed his novitiate, or year of probation, was frugal and temperate, and rather scanty; he will then be surprised—agreeably so perhaps—to find the tables of such convents as are not troubled with novices groaning under the weight of the best that the season can afford. There are no persons so fond of a good dinner as monks, and very few who put in practice so many shameless arts to obtain one. Indeed, all Italians are fond of eating, but monks are so to a proverb; for '*man-giore come un frate*,' means to fare as sumptuously and as greedily as a friar; an expression applied to those who are able to maintain a good table. Another proverb also seems to hint that friars are well known for good livers; indeed, their general appearance shows that they are in the habit of spending more hours in the refectory than in the choir, for they are mostly fat, corpulent men. The Italian peasantry express their idea of a fat beast of any kind, a hog, e. g., by comparing it to a friar. '*Porco grasso come un frate*,' 'A hog as fat as a friar,' is a common expression, and not meant to cast reproach on the profession of a friar, but used as being adequate to convey an idea of extreme obesity."*

In the next chapter Mr. Mahoney states his own personal experience, and what was immediately connected with it, embracing the advice of his confessor in reference to the morals of the monks. "When first introduced into such scenes as those described in the last chapter, I really imagined myself removed into a different sphere of existence altogether. I could hardly conceive it possible that men, whose ostensible object in life is the service of God, and the edification of God's people, could act in a way diametrically opposite to the fulfilment of that object. Farther experience soon convinced me that God and his service took up the smallest portion of their thoughts, and that SELF, and the gratification of their passions, were the things which each and every one had most at heart. I soon became convinced

* *Six Years in the Monasteries of Italy.* Philad., 1836, pp. 140–143.

that the religious habit was used as a cloak to cover over their detestable vices, and that the preaching of God's word, and the administration of church rites, were used as instruments, through the medium of which they might more easily attain their desired ends. In place of realizing a quiet, holy, undisturbed life, which I so fondly anticipated, I found that such a life would be more practicable in the midst of worldly pursuits than in the society of monks, and that a religious, serious deportment, so far from obtaining for its possessor love and esteem among them, would only procure him hatred and ridicule. What my feelings must have been on thus finding my long-cherished hopes of happiness in the monastic life totally destroyed by becoming practically acquainted with that life itself, and how I must have regretted the vow which I had a little before taken, of adhering to it for ever, thereby leaving to myself no opening for retraction, may more easily be imagined than described. I for a long time wished to persuade myself, so loath was I to be undeceived, that things which appeared to me evil and indecorous, might be in themselves harmless, or, at least, indifferent, and that the evil of them consisted more in my manner of viewing them than in the things viewed. But this deception of my better judgment could not last for ever; for the more I observed them, the stronger grew the opinion of their being any thing but in accordance with the precepts of revealed or even of natural religion. I began, therefore, to judge more freely of the morals of my brethren, and to feel satisfied that their manner of living must appear unbecoming and indecorous to any one, judging it even by the standard of natural morality, not to mind the more rigorous standard of divine revelation. These opinions, so long resisted, and considered as temptations of the devil, I now, that I should resist them no longer, thought it advisable to lay before my confessor, while seated in his tribunal—the confessional—and ask his advice thereon. I had not, at this time, entertained the smallest doubt of the truth and holiness of all and every doctrine of the Church of Rome, nor did it once enter my mind, that the cause of the evil lives of the monks should be attributed to the corrupt form of religion which they professed, and of which they were the ministers. Had such thoughts occurred, I should have resisted them as temptations from the evil one *indeed*. I then little imagined that a time would come when it would please the Almighty to dispel darkness from my benighted soul, and show me the way in which he loves to be worshipped, and from which way no bad effects can follow. But this happened many years after. Believing, firmly believing, indeed, in the divine institution of auricular confession, as one of the infallible doctrines of Rome, and convinced that it was the only safe method by which sinners could be relieved of their doubts and fears, and that through it remission of sins is really obtained, I approached, with reverential awe, the judgment seat of the priest, having already resolved to make the sins of the others, and not my own, the subject of my confession; to lay before him my thoughts, my opinions, my judgment, and my temptations concerning the conduct of the other monks. He heard me very patiently to the end, and then replied: *first*, that the tribunal of penance was the place for hearing the sinner confess the sins committed by himself, and not for hearing a sinner accusing fellow-sinners of sins; 'but,' con-

tinued he, 'as I have heard you so far, and as you have asked *my judgment—not opinion*, (this was said in character,) on the bad customs and evil practices of our brethren, I must acknowledge that their general conduct is not in accordance with a life of gospel purity, which their sacred character of priests obliges them to attain; and that when examined by the standard of gospel morality, it must appear to every observer in the same sinful light it has appeared to *you*. But, dear brother, we must consider that monks are also *men*, as well as those living in the world, and that he "who goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," takes more pleasure in tempting them than in tempting others; and that withdrawing from the world, and dedicating themselves to the worship of God, do not necessarily include a freedom from those passions to which all men, more or less, are subject.' He finished his apology for their vices by a word of advice directed to myself, the sum of which was, 'that I should be cautious how I showed any sign of disgust, or dislike, at the conduct of others: and that now was the time, while young, of conciliating the favour of my brethren, by overlooking their faults, and charitably attributing them to an erroneous judgment, and the weakness of human nature, and not to premeditated intention of offending God, and injuring their fellow-men. If I acted otherwise, it would be the cause of blighting my future prospects of arriving at any dignity in the order, and would bring down upon me retaliation from the persons whose conduct I took the liberty of criticising, which would, very probably, cause me no small share of uneasiness and trouble.'

"The foregoing is the substance of the advice, as far as I can recollect, which my confessor thought it his duty to give me."^{*}

By the foregoing may be seen the iniquitous tampering with the consciences of others, practised in the confessional, and the settled plan by which the Roman Catholic may be reconciled to every species of sinning. Mr. Mahoney makes the following observation as a comment on this subject: "The confessional, so far from being a place wherein the sinner is advised to abstain from sin, is converted into a place to inculcate the precept of *sinning*. This assertion will perhaps be denied by a great many, unacquainted with the evil tendency of popish institutions; but let those who have every day before their eyes the gross immoralities of the Romish hierarchy, and who are aware that such immoralities are the effects of the theory, speak, and deny the truth of it, if they can."[†]

Innumerable testimonies, of the most authentic description, could be adduced to prove the corruption of monasteries in every part of Europe. The well-attested proofs of this are so numerous, that it would take volumes to contain them. Indeed, so notorious have the corruptions been, that Catholics themselves have not been able to endure these immoral nuisances.

5. But the question respecting the purity of North American nuns and nunneries comes before us for solution. It may be inquired whether they are corrupt, or not. To this inquiry we answer:

All celibates, in general, among the Greeks and Romans, became licentious.

* Female Convents, pp. 154-158.

† Id., p. 158.

Among the ancient heretics, who received their celibacy from paganism, the celibates were licentious.

The early orthodox Christians, who adopted the celibate life, were led by it to a state of depraved manners. The testimonies of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, and other ancients, are full and pointed on this subject.

During the middle ages, and up to the Reformation, monasteries and convents were generally sinks of corruption.

Since the Reformation, the monasteries in Catholic countries, as France, Spain, Italy, &c., have been generally little better than brothels or houses of prostitution. The monasteries in Bishop Ricci's diocese are about fair specimens of the whole, with perhaps some exceptions.

The celibate priests, monks, and nuns of North America, are mostly emigrants from the licentious establishments of Europe. And as in all other such celibates the corruption of manners was general, we may safely believe that the same profligacy obtains. Here the clergy and nuns live as closely connected as those did in the monasteries of Pistoia and Prato, and we may judge what the results are. The *Sisters of Charity* seem to live in due familiarity with male celibates, and skepticism cannot doubt the consequence.

And even in our country we have had no small stir about the convents of Montreal, and Charlestown, Massachusetts; as well as of the elopement or disappearance of nuns in several places. And whether the statements of Maria Monk, and others, are true or false, in whole or in part, it matters not in this case: for, with perhaps some exceptions of the marvellous, *such* scenes have transpired in nunneries, and they have uniformly transpired. It is true, greater secrecy is observed here than in most other countries. But that the licentiousness is great the clergy themselves can have no doubt.

One observation must be made here. It is to express our surprise, that any Protestants should commit the education of their daughters to nuns; when the history of the world has already established the fact, that they might as well send them for education to those who are the inmates of the houses of doubtful reputation.

IV. *We will now make some concluding observations on the monastic institutions of the Church of Rome.*

1. The moral quality of the ascetic institution, as it affected the monks themselves, may demand some regard.

If we overlook the evidence of history, and lay aside our better Christian notions, we may be easily led to follow the hermit to the wilderness, or the monk to his cloister. In persons of an imaginative temperament, it will be difficult to repress the yearning for seclusion. To such the course of *self-denial* is, to continue to live in society amidst its toils, and cares, and duties; and the course of *self-indulgence* would be to such, to retire from the busy world to the retreat of the solitary. The anchorite may have his virtues, but we must not forget the selfishness of the system, and its direct opposition to the spirit and precepts of the gospel. And still we set a due value on the piety of some, while we reject the selfishness and delusion which entered into the system. But what shall we say to the influence upon the morals of an unmarried clergy, which resulted from the access allowed them to convents. The less

that is said on such a theme the better ; but it is indispensable to place it before the reader. If the worst enemy of the church were supposed to devise the best plan to corrupt the church, what better could he have done than to impose celibacy on both sexes ; then to screen both from the eye of the world ; and then to allow the one to have free access to the other, under pretext of spiritual superintendence ! Need any thing more be said ?

That some convents have generally been pure is readily allowed. And that individuals have maintained their integrity in the most corrupt convents, is also certain. But these are the exceptions to the general rule ; and the general rule is, that the body has been corrupt, and remains so.

2. We constantly hear of the services which the monks, and their church, have rendered to religion and learning ; and men seem willing to disbelieve or forget the deep wounds which their ignorance, and still grosser immoralities, inflicted on both. To judge of the utility of old institutions, we should not confound their accidental effects with the predominant and decided tendency of their moral operations. There is no human establishment unmixed with evil ; and perhaps none without some good. We should not therefore confine our observation to the partial operation on either side, whether good or bad ; but examine in the first place, whether the institution originated at the expense of social prosperity ; and next, whether, upon the whole, it was calculated eventually to improve or degrade society. The usurer, who founded an almshouse to keep the poor he had made, is a just picture of the monks in regard to the mental interests of mankind. They barbarized the polished, and left the barbarous uninstructed ; and then instructed them in superstitions and trifles.

A number of circumstances made the ancient Christians averse to profane learning. Most of themselves were unacquainted with literature. The learning of the times too was mixed with false and impure principles. But nothing appears to have so much prepared the way for the darkness of the middle ages as the prevalence of monkery in the Christian church. The extraordinary reverence paid to the multitudes inhabiting Egypt, amounting to seventy-six thousand, at the end of the fourth century, tended much to the discredit of study and science. When the monastic institutions prevailed in the West, a spirit of opposition to every thing that can refine and enlighten became visible.

Gregory the Great used all his mighty influence to efface the remnants of ancient literature, and to introduce monkish learning. In this he succeeded, and became the founder, master, and leader of the barbarous schools of the middle ages.*

The present course of studies in monastic institutions retains the leading features which it possessed during the dark ages. According to Mr. Mahoney's report of the course of studies pursued in the monasteries of Italy, not only is the barbarism of the dark ages retained to a great degree, but there is very little introduced of the improvements of modern times in literature and science.† What department in science has received any aid from the labours of monks ? And the accessions

* See Brucker., tom. iii ; Period. ii, pars. ii, c. ii ; De Philos, Occid., where this subject is discussed at large.

† See Six Years in the Monasteries of Ita y, &c., pp. 110-119.

to general literature from this source have been very small indeed, in comparison with the pretensions and advantages of the monastic orders.

3. The convent, though represented by its admirers as the refuge from care, and the seat of happiness, is the most pitiless state of bondage and corroding anxiety that exists in the world. The following sketch of convents, by Blanco White, will furnish a true picture of what passes within their walls :*

“The picture of female convents,” says he, “requires a more delicate pencil: yet I cannot find tints sufficiently dark and gloomy to portray the miseries which I have witnessed in their inmates. Crime, indeed, makes its way into those recesses, in spite of the spiked walls and prison grates which protect the inhabitants. This I know with all the certainty which the self-accusation of the guilty can give. It is, besides, a notorious fact, that the nunneries in Estramadura and Portugal are frequently infected with vice of the grossest kind. But I will not dwell on this revolting part of the picture. The greater part of the nuns whom I have known were beings of a much higher description; females whose purity owed nothing to the strong gates and high walls of the cloister; but who still had a human heart, and felt, in many instances, and during a great portion of their lives, the weight of the vows which deprived them of their liberty. Some there are, I confess, among the nuns, who, like birds hatched in a cage, never seem to long for freedom: but the happiness boasted of in convents is generally the effect of an honourable pride of purpose, supported by a sense of utter hopelessness. The gates of the holy prison have been for ever closed upon the professed inhabitants; force and shame await them wherever they might fly; the short words of their profession have, like a potent charm, bound them to one spot of earth, and fixed their dwelling upon their grave. The great poet who boasted that ‘slaves cannot live in England,’ forgot that superstition may baffle the most sacred laws of freedom: slaves *do live* in England, and, I fear, multiply daily by the same arts which fill the convents abroad. In vain does the law of the land stretch a hand to the repentant victim; the unhappy slave may be dying to break her fetters, yet death would be preferable to the shame and reproach that await her among relatives and friends. It will not avail her to keep the vow which dooms her to live single: she has renounced her will, and made herself a passive mass of clay in the hands of the superior. Perhaps she has promised to practise austerities which cannot be performed out of the convent—never to taste meat if her life were to depend on the use of substantial food, to wear no linen, to go unhosed and unshod for life; all these, and many other hardships, make part of the various rules which Rome has confirmed with her sanction. Bitter, harassing remorse seizes the wavering mind of the recluse, and even a yielding thought toward liberty assumes the character of sacrilege. Nothing short of rebellion against the church that has burned the mark of slavery into her own soul, can liberate an English nun. Whereto could she turn her eyes? Her own parents would disown her; her friends would shrink from her as if her breath wafted leprosy; she would be haunted by priests and their zealous emissaries; and, like her sister victim of superstition in India, be made

* Internal Evidences, pp. 144–152.

to die of a broken heart, if she refused to return to the burning pile from which she had fled in frantic fear.

“Suppose that the case I have described were of the rarest occurrence: suppose that but one nun in ten thousand wished vehemently for that liberty which she had forfeited, by a few words, in one moment: what law of God (I will ask) has entitled the Roman Church thus to expose even one human creature to dark despair in this life, and a darker prospect in the next? Has the gospel recommended perpetual vows? Could any thing but a clear and positive injunction of Christ or his apostles justify a practice beset with dangers of this magnitude? Is not the mere *possibility* of repenting of such vows a reason why they should be strictly forbidden? And yet they are laid on almost infants of both sexes. Innocent girls of sixteen are lured by the image of heroic virtue, and a pretended call of their Saviour, to promise they know not what, and make engagements for a whole life of which they have seen but the dawn!

“To what paltry shifts and quibbles will not Roman Catholic writers resort to disguise the cruelty of this practice! Nuns are described as super-human beings, as angels on earth, without a thought or wish beyond the walls of their convents. The effects of habit, of religious fear, of decorum, which prevented many of the French nuns from casting off the veil, at a period when the revolutionary storm had struck awe into every breast, are construed into a proof of the invariableness of purpose which follows the religious profession. Are nuns, indeed, so invariably happy? Why, then, are they insulted by their spiritual rulers, by keeping them under the very guards and precautions which magistrates employ to secure external good behaviour among the female inmates of prisons and penitentiaries? Would the nuns continue, during their lives, under the same privations, were they at liberty to resume the laical state? Why, then, are they bound fast with awful vows? Why are they not allowed to offer up, day by day, the free-will offering of their souls and bodies? The reluctant nuns, you say, are few. Vain, unfeeling sophistry! First prove that vows are recommended on divine authority; that Christ has authorized the use of force and compulsion to ratify them when they are made; and then you may stop your ears against the complaints of a few sufferers. But can millions of submissive or even willing recluses atone for the despair of those few? You reckon, in indefinite number, those that in France did not avail themselves of the revolutionary laws. You should rather inquire how many, who, before the revolution, appeared perfectly contented in their cloistral slavery, overcame every religious fear, and flew into the arms of a husband, as soon as they could do it with impunity. *Two hundred and ten nuns* were secularized in Spain during the short-lived reign of the cortes.* Were these helpless beings happy in their former durance? What an appalling number of less fortunate victims might be made out by averaging, in the same proportion, the millions of females who, since the establishment of convents, have surrendered their liberty into the hands of Rome!

“Cruel and barbarous, indeed, must be the bigotry or the policy which, rather than yield on a point of discipline, sees with indifference even the chance, not to say the existence, of such evils. To place the

* Report of the minister Garelli, laid before the cortes, first of March, 1822.

most sensitive, innocent, and ardent minds under the most horrible apprehensions of spiritual and temporal punishment, without the clearest necessity, is a refinement of cruelty which has few examples among civilized nations. Yet the scandal of defection is guarded against by fears that would crush stouter hearts, and distract less vivid imaginations, than those of timid and sensitive females. Even a temporary leave to quit the convent for the restoration of decaying health is seldom given, and never applied for but by such nuns as unhappiness drives into the disregard of public opinion. I saw my eldest sister, at the age of two-and-twenty, slowly sink into the grave within the walls of a convent; whereas, had she not been a slave to that church which has been a curse to me, air, amusement, and exercise might have saved her. I saw her on her death-bed. I obtained that melancholy sight at the risk of bursting my heart, when, in my capacity of priest, and at her own request, I heard her last confession. Ah! when shall I forget the mortal agony with which, not to disturb the dying moments of that truly angelic being, I suppressed my gushing tears in her presence; the choking sensation with which I forced the words of absolution through my convulsed lips; the faltering steps with which I left the convent, alone, making the solitary street where it stood re-echo the sobs I could no longer contain! I saw my dear sister no more; but another was left me, if not equal in talents to the eldest, (for I have known few that could be considered her equals,) amiable and good in no inferior degree. To her I looked up as a companion for life. But she had a heart open to every noble impression; and such, among Catholics, are apt to be misled from the path of practical usefulness, into the wilderness of visionary perfection. At the age of twenty she left an infirm mother to the care of servants and strangers, and shut herself up in a convent, where she was not allowed to see even her nearest relations. With a delicate frame, requiring every indulgence to support it in health, she embraced a rule which denied her the comforts of the lowest class of society. A coarse woollen frock fretted her skin; her feet had no covering but that of shoes open at the toes, that they might expose them to the cold of a brick floor; a couch of bare planks was her bed, and an unfurnished cell her dwelling. Disease soon filled her conscience with fears; and I had often to endure the torture of witnessing her agonies at the confessional. I left her, when I quitted Spain, dying much too slowly for her own only chance of relief. I wept bitterly for her loss two years after; yet I could not be so cruel as to wish her alive.”*

4. We hasten to conclude this whole subject of celibacy; and though we have dwelt long on its discussion, little is said compared to what may be said. There are lengths and depths of crime, of pollution, of misery, and oppression, connected with it, at which the heart sickens. To avoid offending pious ears, we have omitted the most glaring narratives, and have selected the least gross parts of the conventual history. We have also dealt in quotation, when we could do it consistently with our designed brevity, and the sacredness of truth. Those who desire to have a fuller view of modern conventual life, may read Scipio de Ricci's *Memoirs*, and the other authenticated narratives; to say nothing of such contested books as *Maria Monk*, and the like. And

* *Internal Evidences*, pp. 144–152.

if any one wish to have a full picture of the ancient celibates, let him read only Cyprian's letter to Pomponius, (if his modesty revolt not,) and he will have enough, once for all, to satisfy himself respecting the whole subject. If, however, he must have more, we will quote the outlines of the sources of information which Taylor gives at the conclusion of his book on ancient Christianity, addressed to the Oxford divines. Here he will have a clew to the whole of antiquity on this subject. To such sources those must go who are determined to have the full picture; as the Latin and Greek of these memorials cannot be translated without sin.

"The ascetic institute," says Isaac Taylor, "and the celibate has existed under three distinguishable conditions. The *first*, that in which we find it in the middle of the third century, when it was the least artificial in its constitution, and, one would suppose, the least liable to abuses. What it was in *fact*, at that time, may be gathered from those passages in Cyprian to which I have already referred. The epistle to Pomponius, and the 'Treatise de habitu Virginum, must be perused entire. The *second* condition is that of the Nicene age, when monasteries and convents were springing up on all sides, and when the ascetic feeling (mania) was at its height. The *third* is that regulated and severe form, imposed upon the monastic orders under the auspices of the Romish Church, and with which at present we have nothing to do. It is with the second that we are concerned. Does the inquirer choose then to take his idea of the Nicene asceticism from devotional pieces, and hortatory compositions, showing what it should have been; or from the direct and indirect admissions of its admirers? I presume the latter course to be preferred; nor can we do better than open Chrysostom, and it is curious to turn from any of his splendid descriptions of the celestial polity which the monastic orders professed to realize, (as tom. i, page 115,) to passages such as the one already cited, and to the two treatises, in one of which this passage occurs. I will say nothing more of them than that they should serve as a caution against the easy, but dangerous error of supposing that modern church historians have fully and fairly depicted the ancient church. The very facts most necessary to be known are barely glanced at by any of these writers. The first of these admonitory treatises is addressed *προς τοὺς ἔχοντας παρθένους συνεισακτοὺς*, the title of the second is, *περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰς κανονικὰς συνοικεῖν ἀνδράσιν*. It is manifest that the practices inveighed against were common, and the abuses mentioned notorious. There is, indeed, nothing to be wondered at in these things; except it be the infatuation of those who, with such facts before them, could yet persist in the endeavour so to fight against human nature, common sense, and Christianity. Basil's Treatise on Virginity, which I will *not* recommend the reader to make himself acquainted with, gives indications enough of the existence and frequency of abuses even worse than those referred to by Chrysostom. Jerome, cautious, and yet caustic, can neither withhold the truth, nor plainly declare it. In his epistle to Eustochium he must be listened to as a reluctant witness, intimating more than he will say. Elsewhere, however, he freely admits that the excellence professed by the two classes of ascetics was but rarely realized. Comment. in Lament., cap. iii. *Sed rara est, et paucissimis dono Dei hæc perfectio concessa.*

“Again, in the epistle, *Ad Rusticum Monachum*, the truth comes out, and it appears plainly, that the system exhibited, in Jerome’s time, every one of those inherent bad qualities which have always drawn upon it the contempt and abhorrence of mankind. This epistle (of a few pages only) the studious reader will peruse throughout: no evidence can be more unexceptionable. Alone, Jerome’s testimony might well be admitted as sufficient; but it accords minutely with that of Chrysostom, especially as to the custom against which the first of the above-named treatises is directed: ‘Some you may see with their loins girt, clad in dingy cloaks, with long beards, who yet can never break away from the company of women; but live under the same roof, sit at the same tables, are waited upon by young girls, and want nothing proper to the married state, except—wives! The luxury commonly indulged in by the rich ascetics, the ostentatious and rapacious practices of the poor, and the insanity of the fanatical sort, are spoken of without disguise. *Vidi ego quosdam, &c. . . . publice extendentes manus, pannis aurum tegimus, et contra omnium opinionem, plenis sacculis morimur divites, qui quasi pauperes viximus.*’ Nothing else can be inferred from this epistle, (and see, *ad. Nepot.*) than that the graphic description it contains of knavery, licentiousness, and insanity, was applicable to the many; and that the exceptions were few: *nequaquam considerans quid alii mali faciunt, sed quid boni tu facere debeas; neque vero peccantium ducaris multitudo, et te pereuntium turba, &c.* This sort of evidence, furnished by a passionate admirer of the ascetic institute, ought to be considered as conclusive.

“Erasmus, determined to give the ancient monks a credit, at the expense of his contemporaries, contradicts the clearest testimonies in his ‘*Antidote*’ to this epistle, which, by the way, is highly curious, as indicative of the approaching reformation. I beg to commend the passage to the attention of the modern admirers of ascetic practices, *Quæ*, says Erasmus, *magis ad judæos pertinent, quàm ad Christianos, et superstitiosum facere possunt, pium non possunt.* Does not all experience confirm this testimony?

“I really resent the humiliation of making grave references to book and chapter of a work like that of Cassian. If called upon to make good any of the assertions or intimations concerning the Nicene monkery, which I may have left unsupported by direct citations, Cassian would help me out of every difficulty. The monastic rules of St. Pachomius are appended to this writer’s *Institutes*, and exhibit the spirit and quality of the monastic life: they are prefaced by Jerome, with a brief and curious account of it, as then established in the Thebais, under the immediate direction of ‘an angel sent from heaven,’ for this purpose.

“But the reader who would give the ancient asceticism the highest possible advantage, will take his idea of it from Basil. This father’s ascetic writings do not occupy much space, and they should be read by those who are now told that the monastic system of the ancient church was wise, holy, rational, and Christian-like. These compositions are: some of his epistles, as those to Nazianzen, and to Amphilochius; the treatises, on virginity, and on abdication of the world, and spiritual perfection. By the way, why should not *this* treatise find a place

among 'selections' from the fathers? Let us have it faithfully rendered, and without retrenchment. Basil says to his disciple, a young monk, 'Hast thou left thy cell? Thou hast left there thy virtue.' What sort of virtue is that which evaporates the moment it is exposed to day-light? Or, what is the whole meaning of the impassioned advice, 'Shun the society of those of thine own age; yea, flee from it as from a burning flame!' How few then are the steps that lead from the doctrine of angelic virginity to the lowest depths! First comes celibacy, imposed upon youths of ardent temperament; then, by necessity, the stern separation of the sexes; and next—what? we may learn from Basil! It is not without vehement emotions of disgust and indignation that one sees this ancient and worst device of the devil set a going again, after such proofs of its true quality. Basil's 'Monastic Institutions,' and 'Rules,' longer and shorter, embody all points of the theory and practice of the ascetic life; and whoever wishes to know what it was, will read these throughout.

"Compelled to forego the ample citations I had intended, I will point to a few expressions only as they present themselves. Ad Amphiloc. 2. Basil decides that girls should not be allowed to profess *before* their sixteenth or seventeenth years. Any irregularity fallen into by those who had voluntarily devoted themselves at this *mature* age, was to be punished with 'inexorable severity!' He enjoins also, that when parents or brothers, or, as sometimes happened, distant relatives, brought girls to the convent, from interested motives, the consent of the victim should be ascertained! The Monast. Constit. commence by recommending a total surrender of the soul and body to God, including (cap. xx) the renunciation of every tie of kindred. 'It is the devil's craft,' says Basil, 'to keep alive in the mind of the monk a recollection of his parents and natural relatives, so as that, under colour of rendering them some aid, he may be drawn aside from his heavenly course!' Let us now compare theory with facts. We hear Basil (cap. iii) strictly forbidding, except in cases of the most extreme necessity, any sort of intercourse with women. At the same moment the monks, generally, according to Jerome and Chrysostom, were maintaining as many girls about them as their means would allow! Pachomius forbids a monk to secrete any thing in his cell, not even an apple; and Basil insists, again and again, that his monks are to renounce every atom of private property, as cap. xviii; but Jerome tells us that the monks about him were gathering wealth within their ragged sleeves.

"To Basil's rule that a monk should cease to care for his relatives, some, he tells us, objected the apostle's declaration, 'If a man provide not for his own,' &c. Yes, but Paul addressed this to the *living*, not to the *dead*; but a genuine monk is virtually dead to the world, although breathing the upper air; and, as such, he is exempt from every secular obligation! cap. xx, 'as dead thou art free from all contributions for the benefit of thy natural relatives; and, as utterly a pauper, thou hast nothing which thou canst bestow.' Is not this nearly the same as the 'corban' of the Pharisees?

"In his second discourse, Constit. Monast., Basil insists upon the greater severity needful in the government of *convents*, and imposes restrictions which one would imagine must have secured a degree

of decorum. How far these rules were regarded, we may best learn from Chrysostom. I must cut short these references, only taking the liberty to recommend those who may now be carrying the 'Hymni Ecclesiæ' in their pockets, or in their bosoms, to look into the history of monkery, from the Nicene age, onward, before they allow themselves to speak of it as a heaven-born institution."

CHAPTER IV.

WORSHIP OF SAINTS.

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I. *Nothing is more common with Roman Catholic writers, than to divert attention from the point under debate, when they are met with the arguments of Protestants. For instance, in the invocation of saints they endeavour to introduce other topics with the public and private practice of their church. They charge their opponents with being irreverent toward the saints; or, they evade or explain away the gross idolatrous practices of their church.*

Protestants honour the saints, on account of the virtues which they possessed; and they also teach that it is profitable to follow their example, as far as they have followed Christ, and have taken the word of God for their direction.

II. *We shall give a general statement of their doctrine, showing what, and how, they teach concerning the invocation of the saints.*

1. The creed of Pope Pius IV. says, "Likewise, that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invoked, that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated."

The Council of Trent, in its twenty-fifth session, decrees as follows :—

“ The holy council commands all bishops and others, who have the care and charge of teaching, that according to the practice of the Catholic and apostolic church, received from the first beginning of the Christian religion, the consent of venerable fathers, and the decrees of holy councils, they labour with diligent assiduity to instruct the faithful concerning the invocation and intercession of the saints, the honour due to relics, and the lawful use of images ; teaching them that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer their prayers to God for men : that it is a good and a useful thing suppliantly to invoke them, and to flee to their prayers, help, and assistance ; because of the benefits bestowed by God through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour ; and that those are men of impious sentiments who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invoked : or, who affirm that they do not pray for men, or that to beseech them to pray for us, is idolatry ; or that it is contrary to the word of God, and opposed to the honour of Jesus Christ, the one Mediator between God and man ; or that it is foolish to supplicate, verbally or mentally, those who reign in heaven.”*

The Catechism of the Council of Trent says, “ The veneration and invocation of angels and saints are not forbidden by the first commandment.”† Again, “ Their intercession, therefore, we invoke, because they always see the face of God, and are constituted by him the willing advocates of our salvation.”‡ They say, “ To honour the saints who sleep in the Lord, to invoke their intercession, and to venerate their sacred relics and ashes, far from diminishing, tends considerably to increase the glory of God ; in proportion as the Christian’s hope is thus animated and fortified, and he himself excited to the imitation of their virtues.”§ The Catechism farther says, “ True, there is but one mediator, Christ the Lord, who alone has reconciled us through his blood ; and who, having accomplished our redemption, and having once entered into the holy of holies, ceases not to intercede for us ; but it by no means follows, that it is therefore unlawful to have recourse to the intercession of the saints.”||

The creed of Pius IV., the Council of Trent, and the Catechism, express themselves guardedly on the subject, as any one will see who carefully examines the foregoing quotations from these authoritative standards. But this dogmatic instruction answers the purposes of the

* *Mandat sancta synodus omnibus episcopis, et ceteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus, ut juxta Catholicæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ usum à primævis Christianæ religionis temporibus receptum, sanctorumque patrum consensionem, et sacrosanctorum conciliorum decreta, in primis de sanctorum intercessione, invocatione, reliquiarum honore, et legitimo imaginum usu, fideles diligenter instruant, docentes eos, sanctos, unâ cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre ; bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare ; et ob beneficia impetanda à Deo per Filium ejus Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui solus noster Redemptor et Salvator est, ad eorum orationes opem auxiliumque confugere : illos verò qui negant sanctos, æternâ felicitate in cœlo fruantes, invocandos esse : aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare, vel eorum, ut pro nobis etiam singulis orent, invocationem esse idololatriam : vel pugnare cum verbo Dei, adversarique honori unius mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christo, vel stultum esse in cœlo regnantibus voce vel mente supplicare, impiè sentire.—Concil. Trid., sess. xxv.*

† Catechism, p. 326.

‡ Id., p. 329.

§ Id., p. 329.

|| Id., p. 331

various sentiments entertained in the Church of Rome concerning the worship of saints. Those who pray directly to the saints may rest secure from censure, and those who make them intercessors merely, as the living saints may be intercessors, may also teach and practise according to their peculiar views. We will give the sentiments of both of these under separate heads, before we proceed to place before the reader the practice of the Church of Rome, by quoting their examples of saint worship.

2. The Roman Church ascribes to the saints the honour due to God alone. Pope Gregory XVI., in his encyclical letter, addressed to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, dated August 15th, 1832, says, "We select for the date of our letter this most joyful day, on which we celebrate the solemn festival of the most blessed virgin's triumphant assumption into heaven, that she who has been, through every great calamity, our patroness and protectress, may watch over us writing to you, and lead our mind, by her heavenly influence, to those counsels which may prove most salutary to Christ's flock."*

In the same letter, toward the conclusion, the pope says, "But that all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most blessed virgin Mary, who alone destroys heresies, who is our greatest hope, yea, the entire ground of our hope. (St. Bernard. Serm. de Nativ. B. V. M., sec. 7.) May she exert her patronage to draw down an efficacious blessing on our desires, our plans, and proceedings, in the present straitened condition of the Lord's flock. We will also implore, in humble prayer, from Peter, the prince of the apostles, and from his fellow-apostle Paul, that you may all stand as a wall to prevent any other foundation than what hath been laid. And, supported by this cheering hope, we have confidence that the Author and Finisher of faith, Jesus Christ, will at last console us all in the tribulations which have found us exceedingly."†

After reading the above paragraphs, what notion are we to have of the candour, or even veracity of those Romanists who cease not, after Bossuet and others, to affirm, that *they ONLY pray to saints to pray for them*. Here is the head of their religion performing a solemn act of worship to the *deified* Mary, on a day dedicated to her presumed assumption, invoking her, as his patroness and protectress, in a *time of great calamity*, entreating her to aid him by *her heavenly influence*, to what was salutary for the church. Is this *ONLY* to pray to her to pray

* L'estemque nostræ ergo vos voluntatis epistolam damus lætissimo hoc die, quo de virginis sanctissimæ in cælum assumptæ triumpho solemnna festa peragimus, ut quam patronam ac sospitam inter maximas quasque calamitates persensimus, ipsa et scribentibus ad vos nobis adstet propitia, mentemque nostram cœlesti afflatu suo in ea inducat consilia, quæ Christiano gregi futura sint quam maxime salutaria.

† Sed ut omnia hæc prospere ac feliciter eveniant: levemus oculos manusque ad sanctissimam Virginem Mariam, quæ sola universas hæreses interemit, nostraque maxima fiducia, imo tota ratio est spei nostræ. (Ex. St. Bernardo Serm. de Nativ. B. V. M., sec. 7.) Suo ipso patrocínio, in tanta dominici gregis necessitate, studiis, conciliis, actionibusque nostris exitus secundissimos imploret. Id et ab apostolorum principe Petro, et ab ejus coapostolo Paulo humili prece efflagitemus, ut stetis omnes pro muro, ne fundamentum aliud ponatur præter id, quod positum est. Hæc jucundâ spe freti, confidimus auctorem consuminatorumque fidei Jesum Christum consolaturum tandem esse nos omnes in tribulationibus, quæ invenerunt nos nimis.—*Greg. P. XVI. Epist. Ency. 18 kalen., Sept., 1832.* See *Affaires de Rome Pièces Justificatives*, pp. 6-37.

for us ? Besides, the leader in this devotion is the supreme earthly oracle of faith ; the visible, living, speaking guide of the church. If this be not idolatry, the consequence is, that idolatry exists only in name. Similar sentiments could easily be quoted from other popes. The foregoing is given as a *specimen* of what many of them have said. We will, however, quote some of their divines who were of the same opinion.

Gabriel Biel, on the canon of the mass, says, “ That we, by the instituted order of God, should fly to the aid of the saints, that we might be saved by their merits and prayers. That our heavenly Father gave the half of his kingdom to the most blessed virgin, queen of heaven ; and that is signified in the case of Esther, to whom Ahasuerus promised the half of his kingdom. So that our heavenly Father, who possessed justice and mercy, retained justice, and conceded to the virgin mother the exercise of mercy.”*

Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, teaches that the intercession of the virgin averts the exercise of God’s justice to a degree beyond what Gabriel Biel teaches. Let any one peruse the forty-five chapters of this prelate, spread over more than three hundred pages of his folio sheet, and he will find enough to confirm him in the opinion, that the full deification of the virgin would scarcely interfere more with the divine attributes than the power ascribed to her does.† Those to whom she turns her eyes, in her advocacy, are justified and saved. She is the throne of grace to which sinners may flee with confidence.

But we must not record the profane blasphemies which we find stuffing the writings of popes, archbishops, and divines, on this subject. The volume in the reader’s hand would not contain half ; and we must not even name the vulgar preaching and sermons of friars and priests who induct the multitude into the worship of saints, as these are too gross for the ears of any intelligent Romanist ; though such stuff is an undoubted *part*, and no *abuse* of their system, both doctrinally and practically, as we will presently show.

Some Roman Catholics give a more refined view of the worship of saints than the foregoing class. We will give the sentiments of some, which will serve as a specimen of the others.

The declaration of the Catholic bishops of Great Britain, republished in this country, and adapted for a Protestant latitude, and which would, moreover, be semi-heresy at Rome, says, “ Catholics do solicit the intercession of the angels and saints reigning in heaven. But in this, when done according to the principles and spirit of the Catholic Church, there is nothing of superstition, nothing which is not consistent with true piety. For the Catholic Church teaches her children, not to pray to the saints, as to the authors or givers of divine grace ; but only to solicit the saints in heaven to pray for them in the same sense as St. Paul desired the faithful on earth to pray for him.”

Gother, in his *Papist Misrepresented*, says, “ Cursed is he that believes the saints in heaven to be his redeemers, that prays to them, as such, or that gives God’s honour to them, or to any creature whatever. Amen.” “ Cursed is every goddess worshipper, that believes the blessed virgin Mary to be any more than a creature ; that worships her,

* Gabriel Biel *super Canonem Missæ*.

† S. Antonini *Summæ Theol.*, pars iv., tit. 15, pp. 911–1270.

or puts his trust in her more than in God, that believes her above her Son, or that she can in any thing command him. Amen."

We should not forget that such declarations as the foregoing are either intended to circulate in Protestant countries; or they are the views of enlightened Roman Catholics who are freed, through the evangelism of the times, from the superstitions and the true doctrines of their church. Very few in Catholic countries, where their true system and its practice have full sway, would express themselves in such guarded language as Gother or the English prelates.

That the Roman Catholic system is an idolatrous system, has been often asserted and satisfactorily proved. The proofs are found in the ordinary devotions, and daily practice of the Roman Catholics. God is not the exclusive object of their worship; his providence is not their sole trust; nor do they confess their sins to him only; but divide that solemn act between almighty God, the virgin, angels, and the saints. Before, however, we present to the reader examples of their devotion, we will furnish some more of their own explanations respecting the *saints* that are to be worshipped, the *kind* of worship due them, and other points connected with these.

III. *As it regards the SAINTS to be worshipped, and the WORSHIP due them, we present the explanations of Ferraris, who supports his statements from the highest authorities of the Church of Rome: and the reader who wishes to trace the subject farther may consult him.**

1. In respect to the saints that are to be worshipped, the following statements are given by Ferraris, and amply supported by authorities:—

"No one should be venerated as a saint, without the license of the pope; though during his life-time he may have wrought miracles."†

"Hence he only is properly and strictly taken as a saint, and worthy of veneration, who is duly *canonized* by the pope with an *album*, or who is publicly, solemnly, and canonically enrolled in the number and catalogue of saints, and declared and defined to be a saint, by declared statute, that he may be esteemed and worshipped as such by all.‡

"The pope being assured by the instinct of the Holy Spirit, of the person's sanctity, and of his being in glory, issues his diploma or breve of his beatification.§

"Hence many choice doctors hold that it is an article of faith, that the pope cannot err, in the canonization or beatification of saints.||

"It is not certain who was the first pope who canonized saints. Many hold that the first canonization solemnly celebrated was by Leo III., in the year 804.¶

"For the purpose of canonizing or beatifying any one, it is necessary that miracles were wrought by him, not only during his life, but especially after his death.**

"In the beatification and canonization of martyrs, it is not necessary that there should be made so exact and strict inquiry concerning probity of life, and miracles done during life, as it is in the beatification and canonization of confessors; but special examination is to be made con-

* See Ferraris's *Bibliotheca*, on the article *Veneratio Sanctorum*, tom. vii, pp. 487-507.

† Id., n. 1.

‡ Id., n. 15.

§ Id., n. 2.

¶ Id., n. 19.

§ Id., n. 12.

** Id., n. 25.

cerning the miracles performed after death, and concerning the cause for which they suffered death.*

"According to the decree of Urban VIII., no canonization or beatification can take place, in modern times, within fifty years after the person's death.†

"But for just causes, by dispensation from the pope, the case may be examined and decided before, as appears from the decrees of Alexander VII., Clement IX., and Clement XI."‡

2. As to the kind of worship rendered to the saints, Ferraris will instruct us, and for this purpose we will translate him.

"That it may be fully understood," says he, "what worship or adoration is due to the saints, it is to be observed, that adoration is an act by which any one submits himself to another, in the recognition of his excellence. This is the *common opinion*. And this adoration or worship is *civil* or *political*; *sacred* or *religious*. Adoration merely *civil* or *political*, is that which may be offered to kings and supreme princes on account of the excellence of their station, or the excellency of human power which they possess beyond others, as is mentioned in Scripture, where some are said to have adored kings. So David, falling on his face, adored three times. 1 Kings, chap. xx. All the assembly blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and bowed themselves, and adored God, and then the king. 1 Chron. xxix, 20. Where, as you see, the same word adoration refers to God and the king; although to God, the worship is *latria*, to the king it is only civil respect. Sacred or religious adoration is that which is offered to any one on account of sacred or supernatural excellence, as the adoration which is rendered to God, the blessed virgin Mary, and all the saints."§

"Of sacred or religious adoration there are three kinds, viz., *latria*, *hyperdulia*, and *dulia*. Adoration, or the worship of *latria*, is that which is due to God alone, and is given on account of his uncreated supremacy and infinite excellency. The adoration or worship of *hyperdulia* is that which is due and rendered to the blessed virgin on account of the maternity of God, and other excellent gifts, and her special supereminent sanctity beyond others. The adoration or worship of *dulia* is that which is due and given to the saints on account of the supernatural excellence of their sanctity and glory. These are *common opinions*."||

We will now proceed to give,—

IV. *Examples showing in what manner, for what causes, in what sense, and with what confidence, Roman Catholics invoke saints and angels.*

Some among them affirm that they do not approve of the errors, superstitions, and abuses of the vulgar, or of individuals, in the adoration of saints. And the Council of Trent says, "that all superstition should be removed from the invocation of saints." But then they do not explain what are superstitions: for if all that is superstitious, that is, all that is unscriptural, were removed from the worship of saints, nothing would be left about which we might contend.

We will present to our readers examples of their forms of prayer; not from private sources, but from the public authorized prayers of

* See Ferraris's *Bibliotheca*, on the article *Veneratio Sanctorum*, tom. vii, pp 487-507, n. 97.

† *Id.*, n. 30.

‡ *Id.*, n. 32.

§ *Id.*, n. 35.

|| *Id.*, n. 36-39.

their church. We will quote from their Breviary, their Missals, and their acknowledged books of devotion. It is proper to say, however, that there are many pious and orthodox sentiments mingled with their forms of prayer, which we rejoice to receive and use. It is lamentable that these devout sentiments should be mingled with so many superstitious forms and unscriptural sentiments. We will arrange them under the following heads, viz. :—

First. Instances in which they ask the saints in heaven to pray for them, as they ask the prayers of the saints on earth.

Secondly. Examples in which the *intercessory*, *mediatory*, and *advocatory* prayers of the saints are asked.

Thirdly. Instances in which *latria*, or supreme worship, is rendered to saints, or divided between them and God.

Fourthly. The worship paid to saints and angels, in which *latria* is shared between them and God, is the natural tendency of saint worship as taught and practised among them ; and this, in *fact*, is actually the case.

And *first*, we will produce instances in which they ask the saints in heaven to pray for them, as they ask the help of the prayers of pious living persons.

The *angelic salutation*, or the *ave Maria*, hail Mary, is a prayer in constant use among Romanists, and is as follows :

“ Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee ; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and in the hour of our death. *Amen.*”

The following invocation to the blessed virgin, the guardian angel and patron saint, is in common use. We give it as it is in the Christian's Guide, published by the permission of the most reverend Archbishop Whitfield, Baltimore, 1832, by John Kennedy, p. 23.

“ O holy virgin, mother of God, my advocate and patroness, pray for thy poor servant ; show thyself a mother to me : and thou, O blessed Spirit, whom God in his mercy hath appointed to watch over me, *intercede for me* this day, that I may not stray from the path of virtue. Thou also, O happy saint, whose name I bear, *pray for me*, that I may serve God faithfully in this life, as thou hast done, and glorify him eternally with thee in heaven. *Amen.*”

There are few prayers used in the Roman Church, in which saints in heaven are invoked, as the examples in Scripture teach respecting the asking of the prayers of the pious on earth. In the last prayer, quoted above, the mother of Jesus is represented as our *advocate* and *patroness*, and in most other prayers the *merits* or *advocacy* of the saints whom they invoke form a part of the prayers. But in the examples in Scripture, in which the pious ask the prayers of their living friends, there is no mention either of advocacy or merits. Hence there are few *such* forms of prayer used in the Church of Rome as those recorded in Scripture. The *ave Maria* comes nearer the model of Scripture example than any other ; provided the virgin were yet alive, and provided, also, her name were not loaded with the idolatrous ignominy of their prayers, by which the majesty of God is lowered, and the intercession of Jesus Christ invaded. But we proceed.

Secondly. To furnish examples of prayers, in which the saints are

represented as *intercessors*, or *advocates*, and they are invoked in reliance on their *merits*.

1. The following are instances of prayers in which the saints are represented as *intercessors*, *advocates*, or *mediators*. We use here the "*Roman Missal*, translated into the English language for the use of the laity." We have also before us the Latin Missal published by the authority of their church in the United States. But we make use of their own translation, as it is in the English Missal.

"Sanctify, O Lord, the offerings we have consecrated to thee, and, being appeased thereby, mercifully look down upon us, by the *intercession* of blessed Saturninus, thy martyr."*

"We humbly beseech thy divine majesty, O Lord, that as the blessed apostle Andrew was a teacher and pastor of thy church, so he may be with thee our perpetual *intercessor*."†

"Assist us, O merciful God, and vouchsafe, *by the intercession* of blessed Thomas the apostle, to preserve in us what thou hast bestowed on us."‡

"O God, who, by delivering to the blessed apostle Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, didst give him the power of binding and loosing; grant that, *by his intercession*, we may be freed from the bonds of our sins."§

Innumerable other examples of a similar kind could be given were it necessary.||

2. We here annex prayers in which the *merits* of the saints hold a conspicuous place, either without any expressed connection with the merits of Christ, or associated with them.

"May the holy prayers of blessed Andrew the apostle, we beseech thee, O Lord, render our sacrifice pleasing to thee; that what we solemnize in his honour, his *merits* may render acceptable."¶

"O God, by whose favour we celebrate the glory of blessed Saturninus, thy martyr, grant that we may be assisted by his *merits*."**

"Mercifully receive, O Lord, the offerings consecrated to thee by the *merits* of blessed Felix, thy martyr, and grant they may be a continual support to us."††

"Graciously receive, O God, we beseech thee, the offerings we have made, and, in consideration of the *merits* of blessed Marcellus, thy martyr and bishop, grant they may procure for us the helps necessary to our salvation."‡‡

This list could be increased to a volume.§§

3. The subjoined examples present the merits and intercession of the saints as united or connected together.

"O God! who didst prepare an agreeable abode for thyself in the heart of blessed Gertrude the virgin, graciously cleanse our hearts, we beseech thee, through her *merits and intercession*, from all stains, and grant we may enjoy the same happiness with her, through Christ our Lord. AMEN."|||

"O God, who by innumerable miracles hast honoured blessed

* Roman Missal, p. 523. † Id., p. 524. ‡ Id., p. 533. § Id., p. 538.

|| See English Missal, pp. 528, 557, 563, 564, 582, 584, 585, &c., &c.; Christian's Guide, pp. 81, 113, 148, 157, 183, &c., &c., where other examples may be found.

¶ English Missal, p. 525. ** Id., p. 522. †† Id., p. 535. ‡‡ Id., p. 538.

§§ See other instances in the Missal, pp. 567, 592, 585, 586, 588, and *passim*.

||| Path to Paradise, p. 160.

Nicholas the bishop, grant, we beseech thee, that, *by his merits and intercession*, we may be delivered from eternal flames.”*

“O God, who, to recommend to us innocence of life, wast pleased to let the soul of thy blessed virgin Scholastica ascend to heaven in the shape of a dove, grant, *by her merits and prayers*, that we may lead innocent lives here, and ascend to eternal joys hereafter.”†

“O God, who wast pleased to send blessed Patrick, thy bishop and confessor, to preach thy glory to the Gentiles, grant that, *by his merits and intercession*, we may, through thy grace, be enabled to keep thy commandments.”‡

The foregoing quotations furnish examples in which the saints are invoked to act as *advocates, intercessors, or mediators*. They are not merely asked to *pray for us*, but also to *intercede for us*; and their *merits* are also associated with this prayer and intercession. Hence the mediatorial character of Jesus Christ is grossly invaded. For we have no examples in Scripture in which the prayers of the living saints are associated with their merits; much less have we any examples of such an association respecting the dead saints.§

Thirdly. There are many instances in which *latria*, or supreme worship, is rendered to saints, or shared between them and almighty God.

1. A general *confession* of sin is made to *them* and to God. We cite the *Confiteor*, which is a prominent form in the Breviary,|| and is a leading prayer in every book of devotion, and is in constant and general use.

“THE CONFITEOR.”

“I CONFESS to almighty God, to blessed Mary, ever virgin, to blessed Michael the archangel, to blessed John the Baptist, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the saints, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed, through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault. Therefore I beseech the blessed Mary, ever virgin, the blessed Michael the archangel, the blessed John the Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints, to pray to the Lord our God for me.”

“May the almighty God have mercy on me, and forgive me my sins, and bring me to everlasting life. *Amen.*”

“May the almighty and merciful Lord give me pardon, absolution, and remission of all my sins. *Amen.*”¶

In this form of prayer, solemn confession of sin in general is made equally to God, an angel, and to the saints. Yet the Scriptures confine such a confession to God alone.

2. Many prayers are in constant and general use in which *direct petitions* and *prayers* are made to the saints and to God.

“We fly to thy patronage, O holy mother of God! despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed virgin.”**

“O God, in defence of whose church the glorious prelate THOMAS fell

* Roman Missal, p. 527.

† Id., p. 557.

‡ Id., p. 563.

§ See Path to Paradise, p. 168; Missal, pp. 563, 571, 590, 592, 593, 597, and *passim*.

|| Brev. Rom. Pars Vernalis, p. 29.

¶ Christian's Guide, p. 24.

** Id., p. 28.

by the swords of wicked men, grant, we beseech thee, that all who implore his assistance may find comfort in the grant of their petition."^{*}
 This was *Thomas a Becket*.

"The Salve Regina."

"Hail! holy queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, and our hope! to thee we cry, poor, banished sons of Eve, to thee we send up our sighs, mourning and weeping in this valley of tears; turn then, most gracious advocate, thy eyes of mercy toward us, and, after this our exile is ended, show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus; O clement! O pious! O sweet virgin Mary!"

"*Vers.* Pray for us, holy mother of God!"

"*Resp.* That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ."†

"THE LITANY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN."

"We fly to thy patronage, O holy mother of God! despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed virgin."‡

"A Prayer to our Angel Guardian."

"O holy angel! to whose care God in his mercy hath committed me; thou who assistest me in my wants, who consolest me in my afflictions, who supportest me when dejected, and who constantly obtainest for me new favours, I return thee now most sincere and humble thanks; and I conjure thee, O amiable guide! to continue still thy care, to defend me against my enemies, to remove from me the occasions of sin, to obtain for me a docility to thy holy inspirations, to protect me, in particular, at the hour of my death, and then conduct me to the mansions of eternal repose."§

"A Commemoration of the blessed Virgin Mary."

"O holy Mary! succour the miserable; help the faint-hearted; comfort the afflicted; pray for the people; intercede for the clergy; make supplication for the devout female sex; let all experience thy help who celebrate thy holy commemoration."

"*Vers.* Pray for us, O holy mother of God!"

"*Resp.* That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ."||

"Hymn to the blessed Virgin."

"O holy mother of our God!
 To thee for help we fly;
 Despise not this our humble prayer,
 But all our wants supply.

"O glorious virgin, ever blest,
 Defend us from our foes;
 From threatening danger set us free,
 And terminate our woes."¶

"To the Virgin."

"Mother of my God! thou refuge of sinners! cast a look of com

* Roman Missal, p. 85.

† Id., p. 151.

‡ Id., p. 165.

§ Id., p. 176.

|| Id., p. 284.

¶ Id., p. 334.

passion on me. 'Thy beloved Son can refuse thee nothing. Obtain for me the assistance I stand in need of, to make a good confession, which will restore me to his grace and love.'*

• " *The Prayer of St. Bernard.* "

" Remember, O most compassionate virgin Mary ! that from all ages it is unheard of that any one was forsaken, who, placing himself under thy maternal protection, implored thy assistance and begged the favour of thy prayers. Animated with the confidence which this inspires, I fly to thee, O virgin of virgins, and mother of my God ! and, in the bitterness of my sorrows, I throw myself at thy feet. O mother of the eternal world ! despise not my humble supplications, but listen graciously, and mercifully grant the request which, from my heart, I make thee."†

" *Ave Maris Stella.* "

" Hail, thou resplendent star
Which shinest o'er the main ;
Blest mother of our God,
And ever virgin queen.

" Hail, happy gate of bliss,
Greeted by Gabriel's tongue ;
Negotiate our peace,
And cancel Eva's wrong.

" Loosen the sinner's bands,
All evils drive away ;
Bring light unto the blind,
And for all graces pray.

" Exert the mother's care,
And us thy children own ;
To him convey our prayer,
Who chose to be thy Son.

" O pure, O spotless maid,
Whose meekness all surpass'd,
Our lusts and passions quell,
And make us mild and chaste.

" Preserve our lives unstain'd,
And guard us in our way,
Until we come to thee,
'To joys that ne'er decay.

" Praise to the Father be,
With Christ his only Son,
And to the Holy Ghost,
'Thrice blessed three in one."

* Path to Paradise, p. 42.

† Id., p. 159.

The foregoing examples show that direct prayer is offered to saints in the Church of Rome, and is divided between them and almighty God. Innumerable instances could be easily given ; but our selection is sufficient to answer the purpose of conviction to every candid mind.

3. There is another class of devotional prayers in which *supplication* becomes a prominent part.

“THE LITANY OF SAINTS.”*

“LORD! have mercy on us.
 Christ! have mercy on us.
 Lord! have mercy on us.
 Christ! hear us. Christ! graciously hear us.
 God the Father of heaven, *have mercy on us.*
 God the Son, Redeemer of the world, *have mercy on us.*
 God the Holy Ghost, *have mercy on us.*
 Holy Trinity one God, have mercy on us.
 Holy Mary,
 Holy mother of God,
 Holy virgin of virgins.
 St. Michael,
 St. Gabriel,
 St. Raphael,
 All ye holy angels and archangels,
 All ye holy order of blessed spirits,
 St. John Baptist,
 St. Joseph,
 All ye holy patriarchs and prophets,
 St. Peter,
 St. Paul,
 St. Andrew,
 St. James,
 St. John,
 St. Thomas,
 St. James,
 St. Philip,
 St. Bartholomew,
 St. Matthew,
 St. Simon,
 St. Thaddeus.
 St. Matthias,
 St. Barnaby,
 St. Luke,
 St. Mark,
 All ye holy apostles and evangelists,
 All ye holy disciples of our Lord,
 All ye holy innocents,
 St. Stephen,
 St. Lawrence,
 St. Vincent,
 St. Fabian and St. Sebastian,
 St. John and St. Paul,

Pray for us.

* Path to Paradise, p. 112.

St. Cosmas and St. Damian,
 St. Gervaise and St. Pretose,
 All ye holy martyrs,
 St. Sylvester,
 St. Gregory,
 St. Ambrose,
 St. Augustine,
 St. Jerome,
 St. Nicholas,
 St. Martin,
 All ye holy bishops and confessors,
 All ye holy doctors,
 St. Anthony,
 St. Bennet,
 St. Bernard,
 St. Dominick,
 St. Francis,
 All ye holy priests and levites,
 All ye holy monks and hermits,
 St. Mary Magdalene,
 St. Agatha,
 St. Lucy,
 St. Agnes,
 St. Cecily,
 St. Catharine,
 St. Anastasia,
 All ye holy virgins and widows,
 All ye men and women, saints of God, *make intercession for us.*"

Pray for us.

"THE LITANY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN."

"WE fly to thy patronage, O holy mother of God! Despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed virgin!

Lord! have mercy on us.

Christ! have mercy on us.

Lord! have mercy on us.

Christ! hear us. Christ! graciously hear.

God the Father of heaven, *have mercy on us.*

God the Son, Redeemer of the world, *have mercy on us.*

Holy Trinity one God, have mercy on us.

Holy Mary,

Holy mother of God,

Holy virgin of virgins,

Mother of Christ,

Mother of divine grace,

Mother most pure,

Mother most chaste,

Mother undefiled,

Mother unviolated,

Mother most amiable,

Mother most admirable,

Mother of our Creator,

Pray for us.

Mother of our Redeemer,
 Virgin most prudent,
 Virgin most venerable,
 Virgin most renowned,
 Virgin most powerful,
 Virgin most merciful,
 Virgin most faithful,
 Mirror of justice,
 Seat of wisdom,
 Cause of our joy,
 Spiritual vessel,
 Vessel of honour,
 Vessel of singular devotion,
 Mystical rose,
 Tower of David,
 Tower of ivory,
 House of gold,
 Ark of the covenant,
 Gate of heaven,
 Morning star,
 Health of the weak,
 Refuge of sinners,
 Comforter of the afflicted,
 Help of Christians,
 Queen of angels,
 Queen of patriarchs,
 Queen of prophets,
 Queen of apostles,
 Queen of martyrs,
 Queen of confessors,
 Queen of virgins,
 Queen of all saints,
 Lamb of God! who takes away the sins of the world, spare us,
 Lord!
 Lamb of God! who takest away the sins of the world, hear us!
 Lord! have mercy on us!
 Christ! hear us! Christ! graciously hear us!
 Lord! have mercy on us! Christ! have mercy on us!
 V. Pray for us, O holy mother of God!
 R. That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.*

Pray for us.

The supplicatory form of the foregoing prayers, and the manner in which they are offered, divide the worship of God with saints and angels; and surely this is awarding to them the supreme worship, which we owe to God alone.

4. Ascriptions of *praise* are given to saints *directly*, or shared between them and God.

The following quotation from the Roman Breviary, thirty-third page of the vernal part, will furnish a suitable example:

“To those who recite devoutly the following prayer after the office,

* Christian's Guide, p. 166.

Pope Leo X. hath granted pardon for those defects and faults arising from human weakness in reading the office.

“Eternal praise, honour, virtue, and glory from every creature, to the holy and undivided Trinity, to the humanity of our crucified Lord Jesus Christ, to the most blessed and glorious integrity of the fruitful Mary always virgin, and to all the saints; and may we receive remission of all our sins for ever. *Amen.*”*

5. In short, *attributes* belonging to God alone are ascribed to saints and angels. She is called, the “Star of the sea, who supports the fallen state of mortals,” *Mother of mercy, Our life and hope, Most gracious advocate. She graciously helps us to accomplish the work of our salvation, by her most powerful intercession.* She is called, *Mirror of justice, Seat of wisdom, Cause of our joy, Spiritual vessel, Tower of David, Ark of the covenant, Gate of Heaven, Morning star, Refuge of sinners, &c.*

If such expressions as these have any meaning at all, they ascribe to a human being attributes which belong to God alone, such as *power, grace, knowledge, &c.*

Fourthly. The worship paid to saints and angels, in which *latria* is shared between them and God, is the natural tendency of saint worship as it is taught and practised in the Church of Rome; and in *fact*, their saint worship ends in giving to saints the honour due to God.

1. The very head of the Roman Church ascribes *latria* to the saints doctrinally, and exhorts his people to practise it.

Pope Gregory XVI., in his bull of August 15th, 1832, already cited, in recognising the virgin Mary as the patroness and protectress of the church, ascribes to her the power of “*watching over him, and of leading his mind by her heavenly influence to those counsels which may prove most salutary toward Christ’s flock.*” In the conclusion of the bull he exhorts the prelates as follows:—

“But that all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most blessed virgin Mary, who alone destroys heresies, who is our greatest hope, yea, the entire ground of our hope.” The very head of the church is here ascribing the attributes of God to a human being, founding the encouragement to pray to her in this ascription, and thus furnishes a model and example for all others to follow.

2. Hence, this sentiment, which Gregory and other popes embraced, has deeply imbued the leading divines of the Church of Rome.

And, indeed, the *devotional* psalms of the Old Testament have been accommodated to the virgin by Bonaventura, one of their leading divines. We will give a specimen of this, by quoting one psalm, as Bonaventura has applied it. We open on the fiftieth psalm, which reads as follows:—

“Have mercy on me, O lady, who art called the mother of mercy; according to the bowels of thy compassion cleanse me from all my iniquities. Because I confess my sins to thee, and before thee do I accuse myself of my wickedness. Reconcile me to the fruit of thy womb; and put me in peace with him who created me.”†

* Orationem sequentem devote, &c.—*Breviarium Rom. Pref.*, p. xxxiii. *Pars Verna.*

† Misere mei Domina, quæ mater misericordiæ nuncuparis, et secundum viscera misericordiarum tuarum, munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. Effunde gratiam

In this manner Bonaventura goes through the whole one hundred and fifty psalms, transferring and applying the supreme worship of God to a creature. In the same way he applies the songs or hymns of the prophets. Surely latria is here ascribed to the virgin Mary.

3. In consequence of this depravation of Christian worship their devotions have become *materialized*, and the worship of God as a Spirit has been transferred to inferior and material beings. Of this we have many specimens.

In the "Litany of the sacred heart of Jesus," the worship of Christ as God is transferred to the material object. We have in this litany alone thirty-one expressions similar to the following: *Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us; heart of Jesus, ocean of bounty, have mercy on us.**

In the "Litany of the blessed sacrament," the bread is put before the suppliant as the supreme God. The following are specimens: *Wheat of the elect, have mercy on us; food of angels, have mercy on us, &c.*†

There seems to be a close connection between the doctrine of transubstantiation, the worship of material objects, and the worship of saints.

The *practical* effects of saint worship in the Church of Rome are, to ascribe to saints the supreme worship which belongs to God; unless so far as they are restrained from the grosser outward idolatries of their system by the awe or influence of Protestant sentiments and practice.

4. We give as a specimen the prayer to the virgin, as used by the scapulars in Italy, Spain, and Ireland. A book was printed in Dublin in 1826, for the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular of Whitefriars-street, with the following title: "A brief Account of the Indulgences, Privileges, and Favours conferred on the Order, Confraternities, and Churches of the most glorious Mother of God, the Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel: with distinct instructions for the brothers and sisters of the sacred Scapular, and for all the faithful who visit the churches of the said Order. Translated from the Italian and Spanish languages, by Thomas Coleman, principal of the College of Carmelites, in Ireland."‡

The book affirms, that the virgin Mary will never permit those who are truly devoted to her to be damned. The book too is extracted from the writings of men who never published any work, without first having the approbation of the holy and apostolic see. These remarks are made to introduce the following prayer from the fifty-seventh page:—

"O Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, dearest mother of God, queen of angels, advocate of sinners, comforter of the afflicted, extend, O glorious virgin, the ear of your pity to the prayers of me, your most humble servant, and grant me by your grace to be in the number of those whom you love and keep inscribed in your virginal bosom. Purify my heart, O immaculate virgin! from every sin; take away and banish from me all, every thing that can offend your chaste eyes; purge this soul of its affection for earthly and sinful goods, and raise it to the love of celestial and everlasting blessings, and cause that this may be my

tuam super mea confitebor tibi et coram te me accuso de sceleribus meis. Fructus ventris tui me reconcilia, et pacifica me ei, qui me creavit.—Psalterium Virginis Mariae a Bonaventura. See also Chemic., tom. iii, p. 347.

* Path to Paradise, p. 89.

† Id., p. 84.

‡ See Protestant Journal for 1831, p. 814.

whole study and diligence ; pray to your Son, O holy virgin ! for me now, always, and at the hour of my death, and in that tremendous and awful day of judgment, and when I shall be obliged to render an account of my actions, that by your means I may be able to escape the eternal flames."

In another part of the book, page fifty-first, section sixth, we are told in an address of the virgin, that "no favours are granted here below on earth, but what pass through your most holy hands."

Let any one consider the foregoing, and he will see how inapplicable is the common explanation of their apologists who say, that "they only pray to saints or the virgin to pray for them." And the above prayer is used by the scapulars, and other devout Romanists in Italy, Spain, and Ireland.*

5. The annexed prayer is used in France, and may be found in a "Manual of Prayers and Exercises in honour of the most holy Sacrament : " Paris, 1827, by Charles Mary Libraire. We give the following translation from the French :—

" PRAYER TO THE VIRGIN MARY.

"Most holy virgin Mary, mother of God, queen of heaven and of earth, I devote myself entirely to thee : I choose thee as my queen, my protectress, and my mother. I give myself up to thee to be to the end of my life thy humble subject, thy servant, and thy child. I firmly believe in all thy privileges, and especially in thine immaculate conception, and thy triumphant assumption. I am resolved never to be ashamed of thy worship, to defend thy honour on all occasions against thine enemies, and never to permit any of those under my control to say or do any thing that may be opposed to it. I desire to act in all things from love to thine adorable Son and to thee, and I implore thee to dispose of the merit of my good works as it shall please thee, for his greater glory and for thine own. Finally, to supply those honours which I desire, but cannot render to thee, I offer to thee all those which thou didst receive here on earth from the incarnate Word, and which thou shalt receive eternally in heaven from the most holy Trinity.

"O tender mother, and supreme queen ! come thou to my aid, scatter the dangers that threaten me, disperse mine enemies ; grant to me the virtues which are needful for me : above all, assist me in all my actions, preserve me from all sin, or obtain from God my removal from this world. I ask of thee these favours through the blood of Jesus, and by the maternal affection which thou hast toward me. Amen."†

6. The saint worship of the Irish Roman Catholics runs up through *dulia* and *hyperdulia*, as they distinguish between the worship of the common saints and that of the virgin, so as to end in ascribing *latria* or supreme worship to the virgin.

In a tract published in Ireland in 1832, *cum permissu superiorum*, with the permission of superiors, entitled, *The Little Testament of the Holy Virgin*, after the preface, there is a prayer in these words :—

"O ever blessed virgin Mary, the avenue of God's tender mercies to man ! 'Thou wert promised from the beginning of the world to crush the serpent's head. Gen. iii, 15."

* See London Protestant Journal for 1831, p. 814.

† Idem, for 1832, p. 600.

In the last page of the tract there is the following :—

“ My child, I bequeath you *my strength* : it will uphold you in your temptations and labours, if you be but ready to be sacrificed for God.”

“ From conviction, that as without Mary you can do nothing ; so with her you can do all.”

“ All powerful virgin, pray for Ireland.”

When we couple this prayer with the pope's encyclical letter, both of which were issued in 1832, what greater idolatry was ever published to the world ? The pope says that the virgin Mary is *the sole foundation* of their hope. And, in the above prayer, she is put in the place of God, invested with omnipotence, *all powerful virgin*. She is represented as giving to man strength to overcome temptations and to endure labours. The two texts of Scripture, one of which Christ applied to himself, *without me ye can do nothing*, and the other, which the apostle applies to him, *I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me*, are perverted. This is the lesson which is taught the Irish children in their common school book, by the permission of the Board of Education, and by the authority of the superiors of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and, of course, by the authority of the supreme pontiff.*

7. The annexed specimen is published in a book of devotion in general use among the Portuguese ; and it is a just picture of their devotions in countries purely Roman. It was translated by the Rev. Mr. Kidder, and published in the Western Christian Advocate, vol. vii, p. 137. With the translation, we give Mr. Kidder's account of the book.

Trezenario of the prodigious wonder-worker and glorious patriarch, St. Francis de Paula, founder of the sacred order of the Minimoes, or practical method of *devotion* for the thirteen Fridays instituted by the sacred saint ; dedicated to the most august and faithful queen, Donna Marianna Victoria, our lady by the priest and friar, *Francis de Paula Bozio*, professor of the same institution. Lisbon, 1788.

With license from the Royal Board of General Commission upon the examination and censure of books.

This book consists of thirteen prayers to St. Francis de Paula for the several Fridays observed as days of special devotion by his particular followers.

The first prayer is dedicated to the saint's humility ; the second to his obedience ; the third to his chastity ; the fourth to his poverty ; the fifth to his mortification ; the sixth to his prudence ; the seventh to his faith ; the eighth to his hope ; the ninth to his charity ; the tenth to his love of his neighbour ; the eleventh to his meekness ; the twelfth to his patience ; the thirteenth and last to his perseverance.

As a specimen of what worship actually is paid to saints, and, by due authority, sanctioned, at least in Portugal, I will subjoin a translation of the “ *Prayers to St. Francis de Paula, for the third Friday, dedicated to the virtue of chastity of the said saint.*”

“ O immaculate dove of purity, most precious emerald, and most singular exemplar of chastity, who, for the space of ninety-one years that thou livedst in this vale of misery, never didst defile the lily whiteness of thy virgin purity. By means of that singular prerogative, grant me the

* See London Protestant Journal for 1832, p. 773.

grace I desire to obtain, for the sake of which I resort to thee also on these thirteen sacred days on which the passion of our Redeemer is commemorated.

" 1. I pray thee, by the vow of chastity, which, from thine infancy, thou didst make to God, always keeping it without the least failure.

Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Gloria Patri.

" 2. I pray thee, by that column of fire which, in signal of triumph, appeared over thee, when thou didst quench in the waters of a river the flame which the excitements of the flesh were kindling against thy chastity.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 3. I pray thee, by the immaculate purity which thou didst preserve till the end of life, as the oracle of the Vatican hath declared.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 4. I pray thee, by the purity of thy most chaste eyes, with which thou didst kindle in the hearts of those whom thou didst behold impulses of the most pure and virtuous desire.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 5. I pray thee, by that most pure and celestial innocence, by which thou didst attract to thy conversation the angelic spirits, who were delighted to hold intercourse with a soul so pure as thine.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 6. I pray thee, by that zeal with which thou didst persuade those who sought after thee to flee from familiarity with persons of the opposite sex.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 7. I pray thee, by the consolation and delight thou didst receive in conversing with souls pure and chaste, preferring them to princes and monarchs.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 8. I beseech thee, by that comparison which thou usest, in order to render sublime the virtue of chastity, saying, that it brings heaven to earth, and exalts earth to heaven; and that the angels are virgins without body, and virgins angels clothed with flesh.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 9. I beseech thee, by the incomparable modesty of all thy senses, with which thou didst guard, in thy heart, the inestimable gift of chastity.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

" 10. I beseech thee, by the sweet perfume which constantly exhaled from thy blessed body, and the admirable brightness which shone in all thy parts as proofs of thy perfect purity.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

11. " I beseech thee, by the prodigious miracle thou didst perform, curing the insanity of a profane lover, taking out of his ear an insect

that exhaled an insufferable odour, thus demonstrating to the bystanders the injurious effects of luxury, and the excellence of chastity.

A. M. P. N. G. P.

“ 12. I beseech thee, by that most singular gift granted by God to thy body, after death, exempting it from corruption and preserving it unscathed even by the fire into which it was cast by the heretics, but which reverently suspended its effects until sanctified by the touch of some crosses which burned conjointly with thy body.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

“ 13. I beseech thee by the great prodigy thou didst perform, when a worldly woman kissing a tooth of thine which was preserved in the sanctuary of Paula, it was broken by that kiss, on account of which, penetrated with true contrition, she made a vow to God of perpetual continence.

P. N. A. M. G. P.

“ I do not, in the slightest degree, distrust thy powerful intercession, O most holy angel of purity, notwithstanding I see myself submerged in a sea of guilt. I acknowledge myself unworthy of thy protection ; because I find myself stripped of the white garments of innocence, and consequently without merit to receive the precious robe of divine grace ; as another prodigy of sin I have scattered the treasures of the divine assistance, but in imitation of thee, confessing at once my faults, I resort to the mercy of God, whom I have so gravely offended, and I hope, from thine intercession, that, having exchanged my licentious habits for those which are good, I shall happily attain the grace for which I have supplicated thee. Amen.”

Here follows a hymn, an antiphony, and a response.

8. Even at Rome, under the eye of the pope, the most glaring idolatry exists in their saint worship. In the *Archives du Christianisme* of August 8th, 1840, we have extracts from two sermons preached at Rome. In one of the sermons, preached in the church of St. Louis at Rome, the preacher declares, “ that the kingdom of heaven was divided in two immediately after Jesus Christ had said on the cross, ‘ It is finished.’ The kingdom of Justice was allotted to Jesus Christ, who appears only as a severe judge, and the kingdom of Mercy to Mary, who alone can open to us the gate of heaven.”

The traveller who heard and reported the sermons says, “ I read, in the Church of the Jesuits, that the pope has granted one hundred years indulgence to him who will recite the following prayer : ‘ Immaculate virgin queen of heaven and the angels, I adore thee. Thou hast delivered me from hell. It is from thee that I expect all my salvation.’ ”

Such are the idolatrous sentiments and practice to which the worship of saints leads. And these are not *abuses* of their doctrine and practice ; they are, on the contrary, their legitimate and unavoidable results ; except where they are counteracted by the better teachings and practices of Protestants.

In our next chapter we will consider the popish arguments in favour of saint worship, adduce Scripture arguments against it, and trace out the history of this corruption of Christian worship.

CHAPTER V.

WORSHIP OF SAINTS—CONCLUDED.

I. THEIR ARGUMENTS ANSWERED. 1. Their argument from the super-eminence of the saints : 2. The church appoints feasts : 3. The Council of Trent has enjoined it : 4. Analogy between the saints and the courts of princes : 5. The honour ascribed to saints is ultimately referred to Christ : 6. The greatness and majesty of Christ : 7. Jeremiah xv, 1, considered : 8. The patriarchal worship of angels : 9. The names and merits of patriarchs are used in prayer : 10. Miracles were employed in favour of the invocation of saints : 11. They affirm, they only pray to the saints to pray for them.—**II. ARGUMENTS AGAINST IT.** 1. The doctrine not contained in Scripture : 2. It is contrary to the Scripture doctrine of God's worship : 3. It is contrary to Scripture : 4. The Church of Rome is idolatrous in saint-worship.

IN the foregoing chapter we gave a statement of the doctrine of the Roman Church on the worship of saints, and specimens of their forms of prayer, as they are authoritatively contained in their books of devotion, and practised in their public and private prayers. In the present chapter we will examine their arguments in support of their system, and adduce proofs against it.

I. We will first notice the arguments which Roman Catholics use to sustain their doctrine and practice.

1. Dens argues thus, "Because the saints possess supernatural excellence, and are the friends of God, it is reasonable to worship them."*

If mere excellence were a sufficient reason for adoration, then every inferior being should worship the rank of beings above him. Hence, there would, according to this, be one uniform course of idolatry established in heaven and on earth. Nor would the fact, that the excellence was supernatural change the nature of the idolatry: for still the worship would be of the same nature in both cases, as far as the idolatrous character was concerned.

2. The same writer affirms, "That the church has appointed the feasts of the saints; so that the worship of saints may be said to be established by precept."† Here saint-worship is said to be established on church authority alone. But we deny that the church has any such authority, to establish a species of worship, which is unsupported by the word of God, as well as contrary thereto.

3. Dens also affirms,‡ "That the saints are to be invoked, because the Council of Trent has enjoined it." Here, again, we must reply, that the Scripture has nowhere authorized it, which is a sufficient answer to this argument.

4. They argue, "That it is through the ministers of court that subjects have access to kings; hence, it is through his saints that men may most effectually have recourse to God."

To this argument there is an easy reply. The doings of Almighty God are not to be judged by human proceedings, which are tinctured

* Quod habeant excellentiam supernatularem et sint amici Dei; adeoque ratio ad eos colendos vere subsistit.—*Dens, Tract. de Incarn.*, n. 24, tom. v, p. 44.

† Id., *ibid.*

‡ Id., p. 45.

by sin and imbecility. It is declared of Jehovah, "I am God, and not man," Hosea xi. And Isaiah declares, "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts," Isaiah lviii, 8, 9. It is profane, in this respect, to judge the ways of God by the doings of men. Princes do not hear their subjects on account of their negligence, pride, or inability to succour them; or because they are engaged in pursuing their pleasures. Indeed, this argument is used for want of Scriptural warrant.

By the same argument the idolatries of the Gentiles were maintained: and Ambrose in his First Chapter to the Romans, and Augustine, in his eighth book, concerning the city of God, make this fully appear.

5. They tell us, "That the honour ascribed to the saints is ultimately to be referred to Christ." But this is contrary to the declared will of God, which declares that he alone is to be worshipped; that his glory he will not give to another: and, we are expressly taught, that we are to call upon God alone in the day of trouble.

6. They argue, "That Christ is too great and exalted to be affected by our miseries, or that we would dare to approach him; but we may flee to the saints, who are more ready to hear us, because they are our fellow-sufferers, and experienced in our sorrows." This argument is contrary to the express declaration of Scripture, as is manifest from the following texts:—"For we have not a High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." Heb. iv, 15, 16. "Christ is at the right hand of God, and maketh intercession for us," Rom. viii, 34. Christ himself says, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden," &c., Matt. xi, 28. "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you," John xvi, 23. This argument is therefore directly against Scripture, and it would do away the intercession of Christ.

7. They adduce Jeremiah xv, 1: "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people." The sense of the words shows that Moses and Samuel were not then standing before the Lord for the people. And this proves that the intercession of the dead was then unknown. And even if they did stand before the Lord, it does not follow that they should be invoked. But Romanists cannot say consistently, that Moses and Samuel stood before the Lord: for they teach, that the patriarchs were in limbo before the passion of Christ, and were not admitted to the vision of God. The sense of the prophet seems to be this, that the sin of idolatry was so abominable before the Lord, that should such devout persons as Moses and Samuel pray for the idolatrous Israelites, God would not heal them, nor spare the people. In the same manner God speaks in Ezekiel xiv, 14: "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord."

8. They say, "Abraham, Lot, and Joshua, men notable for piety, are represented to have worshipped angels, and to have fallen down before

them. Gen. xviii, 2, and xix, 1 ; Joshua v, 15.* Therefore it is lawful and praiseworthy to give religious worship to angels and living men, noted for piety ; but it is not less lawful to worship the saints reigning with Christ."

First. It is certain that the Angel whom Abraham worshipped was God himself, even Christ, who appeared in the form of an angel. For he is called Jehovah, verse 17, a name never given in Scripture to any created angel. And in verse 25, Abraham calls him, "the Judge of all the earth," which is an office belonging to Christ.

Secondly. It cannot be shown out of the text, that Lot offered any religious worship to the angels. He only made obeisance, or bowed himself before them, as was the common mode of salutation in the East. So Jacob bowed himself before his brother Esau.

Thirdly. The Angel that appeared to Joshua was Christ himself. Joshua called him Lord, and himself his servant. But angels are not lords over men ; for men are their fellow-servants. The words here used by this Angel, *Loose thy shoe from off thy foot, &c.*, are the same which the Angel on Mount Sinai spoke to Moses. Exodus iii, 5-8. From this, it appears to be the same person who appeared in both places, and the phrase here used is one which belongs to God alone.

Origen,† on this passage, says, "Joshua would not have worshipped him, if he had not known him to be God : for who else is the Prince of the Lord's warfare, but the Lord Jesus Christ ?"

Fourthly. The angels of the Old and New Testaments are all one ; but in the New Testament the angels refuse to be adored, Rev. xxii, 8, 9 ; therefore the angels of the Old Testament did not receive adoration.

9. They also plead, that in the Old Testament the names and merits of the patriarchs are pleaded, as reasons why God should have mercy : "O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac," Gen. xxxii, 9 ; Exodus xxxii, 13 ; Deut. ix, 27. "For thy servant David's sake," &c., Psalm cxxxii, 10.

The Scripture plainly declares, that by these phrases the ancients referred to the covenant made with their fathers, which was established by the oath of God. Exodus xxxii, 13 ; Deut. xxvi, 16-19. They refer only to the *promises* made to the fathers, and to the benefit of God's covenant with them, when they say, "Remember Abraham." God indeed promises, that on account of the pious parents he would be gracious to their children. But the pious never allege the merits of their ancestors, but the promise of God : for they do not pray, Hear us, because they were meritorious ; but because thou hast *promised, covenanted, and sworn.*

10. They affirm, "That in behalf of the invocation of saints, many miracles were wrought, and miracles are testimonies of the truth of doctrine."

By miracles alone, without the testimony of Scripture, no doctrine can be proved, as the Scripture declares : "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them ; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet,

* Bailly, de Incarn., c. 2, tom. ii, p. 271.

† Hom. vi, in Joshua.

or that dreamer of dreams : for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul," Deut. xiii, 1-3. "For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many. And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many." Matt. xxiv, 5, 11. "Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved," 2 Thess. ii, 9, 10. God permits impostors to try the faith of his followers, to put their religious experience to the test. For he who experiences religion cannot be drawn away by idols. Indeed, experience of the truths contained in the word of God can alone preserve men from false religion.

11. They maintain as a general argument, in their opinion sufficient to answer all Protestant cavils, "that, as we implore the prayers of the living, there is therefore no reason against seeking the suffrages of the saints in heaven."*

Bishop Milner says, "In short, they (the saints) do nothing for us mortals in heaven, but what they did while they were here on earth, and what all good Christians are bound to do for each other; namely, they help us by their prayers."†

To the foregoing we reply,—

(1.) When they say, *that they only request the saints to pray for them, as we commonly do good men*, they say what is not true. Indeed, it is utterly *false*. Because their breviaries, litanies, and books of devotion, show, that they supplicate the saints to befriend them by their own inherent power; or to intercede for them to the throne of God, by virtue of their own personal merits, in blasphemous derogation to the all-atoning and incommunicable intercession of Christ.

(2.) Their plea is also *disingenuous*; for they know very well, that the question is concerning unseen and heavenly mediators only, not men like ourselves. We allow that it is the duty of Christians to pray for each other. But then there is a great difference between desiring good men to pray for us, in the gospel sense of that duty; and desiring saints and angels to pray for us, in the sense of the papal rituals. We request those prayers only as they shall be offered up in the name, and through the merits of the great, and, properly speaking, sole Intercessor; and we look for no effect from them but on that condition. The Church of Rome addresses herself to saints and angels as *intercessors*, by what we may call their own right, by virtue of their own inherent sanctity. Or, rather, she applies to them directly as to *saviours*, for their proper and immediate help; and expects it from the supposed privilege of their rank or merits, independently of their *prayers*; or, at least, of the *manner* in which those prayers shall be presented through the name of Christ. The formal words of their litanies and forms of prayer, already quoted, show that this is their meaning.

But they will say, that the condition of interceding through the merits of Christ is *implied*, though *not expressed*. I reply then, that admitting it to be so, there is, nevertheless, a great difference between *praying* to saints and angels to pray for us, though in the gospel forms

* Dens, de Incarn., n. 25, tom. v, p. 47. Also Bailly, de Incarn., tom. ii, p. 273.

† End of Controversy, p. 208, let. xxxi.

of intercession, and merely *requesting* good men to pray for us in these forms. The *latter* address is made in a way remote from all *appearance* of idolatry, and free from the *suspicion* of it. The *former* is preferred in the *place*, at the *time*, with the *posture*, in the *language*: in short, with all the *circumstances* and *formalities* of divine worship.

When we ask the prayers of men, we know that they hear our addresses to them. We cannot even suppose this much of saints and angels, without ascribing to them the incommunicable attributes of the Almighty. The Scripture saith, "It is God who searcheth the heart and reins, and that he only knoweth the hearts of the children of men," Psalm vii, 9; Rev. ii, *passim*; Jer. xvii, 10; 2 Chron. vi, 30.

Many of the ancient fathers doubted, whether the saints know any thing that is done on earth. Augustine was of the opinion, "that they know no more what we do on earth, than we know what they do in heaven." For proof of this, he quotes the following words of Isaiah: "Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not," Isaiah lxiii, 16.*

Still, it may be insisted, that prayers, whether offered to God by men, or glorified saints, are *intercessions*; and therefore Protestants, as well as papists, are guilty of idolatry. This is the hinge on which the question turns, and to show the difference of the two cases, palpably and clearly, I say,

(3.) The gospel, in permitting, or rather in commanding, us to ask the prayers of each other, justifies this sort of intercession, and absolves it from the blame and guilt of idolatry. It gives a sanction to this mode of mediating with God, by his saints on earth: and does not regard it as a practice that interferes with the mediatorial office of Christ in heaven.

But the same gospel, on the contrary, says not a word about any such address being directed, or permitted, to be made to angels or spirits. It even condemns all addresses of this kind, under the opprobrious name of unauthorized *will-worship*. Col. ii, 23. Though we be allowed, in some sense, to have good men for our mediators or intercessors, yet in the tabernacle of heaven we can have none but Christ. The intercession by saints and angels is against the spirit and letter of our religion. It is a practice, which, not being enjoined, is forbidden; which, being disallowed, is reprobated. In a word, it intrenches on the incommunicable prerogatives of the sole Mediator in heaven, at God's right hand, *who ever liveth to make intercession for us*. Col. ii, 23. It sets up new mediators, without, and against, his leave: it is therefore unchristian and idolatrous.

(4.) Soliciting the prayers of the dead leads to *idolatry*. When we solicit the intercessory prayers of our living friends, we are in no danger of falling into any undue or superstitious veneration of them; but when we solicit the intercessory prayers of departed saints, we are in danger of falling into idolatrous habits. This danger is by no means chimerical. Experience of the past, and prophetic anticipation of the future, teach that such is the certain result.

The entire polytheism of the Gentiles consisted in the worship of the demon gods, most curiously associated with *sabianism* and *mate-*

* Aug. de Cura pro mort. agenda, c. xiii; de vera Relig., c. xxii.

rialism : and these demon-gods were no other than the departed souls of canonized mortals.*

Such was the worship into which the idolatrous Israelites declined, when they joined themselves to Baal-peor. They did not renounce the worship of Jehovah ; but they added to it the rites of Thammuz, Adonis, Baal or Osiris.

Such also is the worship into which prophetic teaching declares corrupt Christians would fall : " The Spirit," says St. Paul, " speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines concerning demon-gods," 1 Tim. iv, 1. The primitive believers understood St. Paul, as foretelling an apostacy in the Christian church, as we learn from Epiphanius, who flourished in the early part of the fourth century. He says, " Some persons are mad enough to honour the virgin as a sort of goddess. Certain women have transplanted this vanity from Thrace into Arabia. For they sacrifice a bread-cake in honour of the virgin ; and, in her name, they blasphemously celebrate sacred mysteries. But the whole matter is a tissue of impiety, abhorrent from the teaching of the Holy Spirit : so that we may well call it a diabolical business, and a manifest doctrine of the spirit of impurity. In them is fulfilled this prophecy of St. Paul : Certain persons shall apostatize from the faith, attending to fables, and doctrines concerning demon-gods. For the purport of the apostle's declaration is this : they shall pay divine worship to the dead, even as men formerly paid such worship in Israel.

" In like manner also, the glory due unto God has been changed into error, by those who see not the truth. For the natives of Neapolis still sacrifice to a girl, whom I take to have been the daughter of Jephthah : and the Egyptians honoured Thermutis, Pharaoh's daughter, as a goddess : and many such things as these have happened in the world, to the seduction of those who are seduced. But we Christians must indecorously honour the saints. Rather ought we to honour him who is their sovereign Lord. Let, then, the error of seducers cease. The virgin Mary is no goddess. To the peril, therefore, of his own soul, let no one make oblations in her name."†

The same apostacy is foretold by St. John, who adds some particulars, by which the apostates may be distinguished : " And the rest of the men who were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship demon-gods, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk," Rev. ix, 20.

Hence, we find no difficulty in seeing the reason why God has allowed us to request the prayers of our living friends ; while he has given us no authority to ask the prayers of the departed saints. The former practice could not lead us to idolatry ; the latter practice always did lead men to idolatry.

II. *Arguments against saint-worship.*

And *first*, the invocation of saints is not contained in the word of God, or in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. This is expressly admitted by many Romanists.

There is no part of Scripture which *teaches* the invocation of saints.

* See Faber's *Pag. Idol.*, i, 1.

† *Epiph. Adv. Hær.*, lib. iii, Hær. 78.

There is no express *command* in Scripture which enjoins it.

There is no *promise* that such an invocation is acceptable to God, or useful to men.

There is no *example* furnished in Scripture which shows that the saints who have departed from this life have been worshipped.

There is no *threatening* in Scripture, no example of punishment threatened, or executed against those who refuse to worship the saints.

Even the Council of Trent does not refer to Scripture, in proof of this doctrine.

2. The invocation of saints is contrary to the Scripture doctrine concerning the worship of God. Our Lord, quoting the ancient commandment, enjoins, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve," Luke iv, 8. "Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen." 1 Tim. i, 17. And the angel especially instructed John to worship God. Rev. xix, 10.

3. The adoration of saints is contrary to the Holy Scriptures.

(1.) They invoke the saints as *helpers* and *protectors*; but this belongs to God alone: "God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in trouble," Psalm xlii, 1, and xlviii, 2.

(2.) They fly to the saints for *mercy* and *grace*, in direct opposition to the following, and other passages of Scripture: "Let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need," Heb. iv, 16.

(3.) They seek from the saints, what belongs to God alone to give. They address the saints, as *givers* of temporal and spiritual gifts, of things present and things to come. They worship, venerate, and invoke them; they pray directly to them, as was fully shown; they worship and serve the creature more than, or besides, the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Rom. i, 25.

(4.) The worship of saints is contrary to the mediatorship of Christ: "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," 1 Tim. ii, 5.

Here observe, 1. There can be no advocate or mediator, except him who is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John ii, 1. But the saints are not propitiations for our sins; therefore they are not mediators. 2. St. Paul affirms, that the Mediator must be God and man. 3. Besides there is only *one* Mediator. 4. They cannot be mediators, who need themselves a Mediator, as the apostle sheweth: "For such a High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens: who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people: for this he did once, when he offered up himself," Heb. vii, 26, 27. Saints cannot be our priests, therefore not our mediators or intercessors.

(5.) The Scriptures teach us to worship only one God: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve," Matt. iv, 10: "Now, unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen." 1 Tim. i, 17. All religious worship is here forbidden to be given to any but God alone.

(6.) The worship of saints is expressly forbidden. When Cornelius

fell down at Peter's feet to worship him, he was forbidden by Peter. Acts x, 25. So the angel would not suffer John to worship him. Rev. xxii, 9. Paul and Barnabas prevented the people from worshipping them. Acts xiv, 14.

(7.) The Lord's Prayer teaches us to address God alone, and not saints. It is therefore contrary to the instructions of Christ to pray to saints.

4. The Church of Rome is justly and scripturally charged with idolatry in the worship, adoration, and invocation, which she addresses to saints and angels.

Idolatry, in the Scripture sense, is of *two sorts*, and consists,

1. Either in giving the honour due to the one true God, as Maker and Governor of the world, to any other subordinate being. 2. Or, in giving the honour due to Christ, as the sole Mediator between God and man, to any other subordinate mediator.

The *former* is the idolatry forbidden by the Jewish law, and by the law of nature. The *latter* is Christian idolatry, properly so called, and is the abomination condemned in so severe terms by the gospel. And this species of idolatry is, without doubt, chargeable on any Christian church that shall adopt, in its religious addresses, another mediator besides Christ Jesus.

But the Church of Rome, not in the private writings of her divines, but in the solemn forms of her ritual, *publicly professes*, and by her canons and councils *authoritatively enjoins*, the worship of saints and angels, under the idea of mediators or intercessors: not, indeed, in exclusion of Christ, as *one*, or *chief* Mediator; but in manifest defiance of his being the *sole* Mediator. This charge is truly and justly brought against that church, as it now stands, and hath stood for many ages, and cannot by any subterfuge be evaded. And therefore, she must now be content to have the charge of demon-worship, or antichristian idolatry, fastened upon her.

JAN 23 1911

